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THE MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES OF CALIFORNIA

BY

FR. ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT, O. F. M.

AUTHOR OF

"The Franciscans in California"

"The Franciscans in Arizona," etc.

Vol. I. LOWER CALIFORNIA

With Portraits, Maps and Fac-Similes

"El alma de la historia es la verdad sencilla."—Spalding, Prof. de la Vida

SUPERIORUM PERMISSU

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

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BY
ZEPHYRIN ENGELHARDT

TO

MARY IMMACULATE

THE PATRONESS OF

CALIFORNIA

PREFACE

This volume has been compiled from original sources for the purpose of furnishing full and accurate information in plain language and as concisely as clearness would permit. It is also intended to serve as an introduction to the history of the missions in Upper California. I herewith cordially acknowledge my obligation to the Rev. Fr. Ildephonse Moser, O. F. M., for assisting at the final revision of the manuscript. If, notwithstanding the great care exercised, anything should happen to be erroneous, correction will be cheerfully made at the earliest opportunity. "I am aware," to use Fr. Francisco Palóu's words, "that neither Homer among the poets, nor Demosthenes among the orators, neither Aristotle nor Solon among the sages, failed to err, because, although they were eminent sages, orators, and poets, they were always men. The misery of our nature is great; and, while those that write do not cease to be men, there will always be men who observe them. Remember thine own frailty, and thou wilt have compassion on mine." (*Prologo de la Vida del Fr. Junípero Serra.*)

THE AUTHOR.

For the benefit of those who are not familiar with the Spanish language accents have been employed wherever it was deemed advisable. The reader will, moreover, please observe that in Spanish

a has the sound of a in far,
e has the sound of e in they,
i has the sound of ee in seen,
o has the sound of o in so,
u has the sound of oo in food,
g before e and i is sounded like h, or rather like the German ch in ach, nicht;
j and x always have the sound of h, or rather of the German ch as above;
ll is properly sounded like lli in million, but in America it is generally sounded like y in yard, yes;
ñ has the sound of ny in lanyard.
y, when standing alone, has the sound ee in see.

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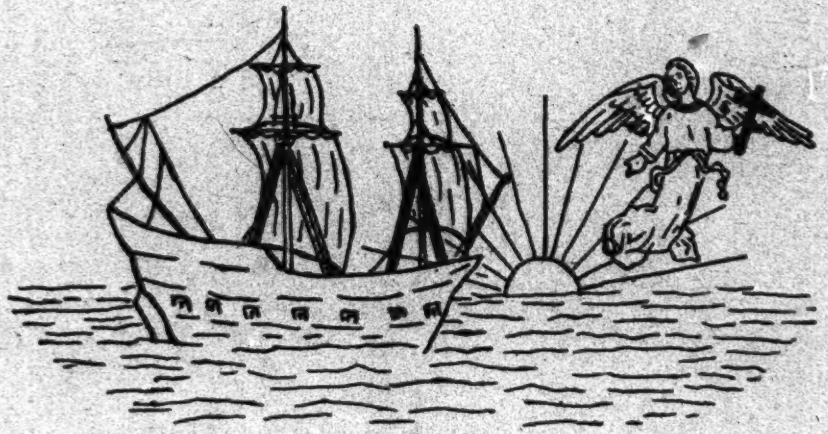
PART I.

EARLY VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Origin of Missions.—St. Francis of Assisi.—The Franciscan Order a Missionary Institute.—Franciscans the First Missionaries in America.—Their Efforts in the West Indies, Central and South America, Mexico, Florida, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, Canada, Maryland.—Their Numerous Martyrs.

MISSIONS for the conversion of pagan nations began with the advent of Christianity. They are the result of Christ's command to His Apostles, "Go ye into the whole world and teach all nations and teach them to observe whatsoever I have told you." These first missionaries have passed away, but the Church founded upon the Apostles continued the work of gathering tribes and nations into the fold of Christ. Her messengers have at all times made their way to the most distant parts of the earth, in order to establish missionary stations where all might learn the truths of salvation.

From the time of St. Benedict, the patriarch of the monks in the West, the Church discharged her duty of converting infidel peoples mainly through religious Orders whose members devote themselves to missionary work. To this class of zealous men belong the Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits, who in the order named undertook the Christianization of the natives in the New World.

The Franciscan Order, which was the first in the field, was founded by Francis, the son of the Assisian merchant Peter Bernardone. At the age of twenty-four years young Bernardone began to devote himself to the exercises of piety, to the contemplation of the Life, Passion, and Death of his Divine Savior, and to weeping for his own sins, although, as his biographers declare, Francis never committed grievous sin. Others, young and old, learned and unlearned, wealthy and poor, laymen and ecclesiastics, attracted by the wonderful example of the youthful penitent, and moved by the same irresistible, yet sweet, supernatural force which had changed the

son of the wealthy Peter Bernardone, attached themselves to the "Poor Little One of Assisi," as Francis chose to call himself, with the request that he direct them on the path of Christian perfection.

Francis saw that his youthful dreams were to be realized after all, though in a manner quite different from what he had fancied in the days of his worldly ambition. He was, indeed, to be the leader of a great army, but the foes should be the enemies of immortal souls rather than the petty opponents of his native city; the weapons should be the preaching of the Word of God; and the commissary or quartermaster, none other than "My Lady Poverty." Guided by the light from above, meditation on the Life and Death of the Divine Master convinced him that it was better to pray and labor for the conversion of sinners than merely to weep for their sins; and that he and his disciples, at all events, were chosen to preach the Gospel. Hence it was that, instead of becoming a contemplative institution, the Order of Friars Minor was founded as a distinctively missionary brotherhood of which the founder himself was the first missionary.

The Rule composed by the Saint makes it evident that he considered the preaching of the Gospel, subject to the authorities in the Church, the principal object of his institute. After giving directions concerning their mode of life and the various offices of the Order, Francis sets forth the main outward occupation of the friars in the following manner: "The friars must not preach in the diocese of any bishop when their doing so may be opposed by him. And let no one of the friars dare to preach in any way to the people, unless he has been examined and approved by the Minister-General of this brotherhood, and the office of preaching conceded to him by the latter. I also warn and exhort the same brethren that in the preaching they do, their words be well considered and simple, for the benefit and edification of the people, announcing to them vices and virtues, punishment and glory, with brevity of speech, because the Lord made His word short upon earth."[1]

[1] Rule of St. Francis, Chapter IX.

The holy founder, we see, makes preaching dependent on the consent of the respective bishop, which shows that the Seraph of Assisi was thoroughly Catholic, and, therefore, imbued with profound reverence for the divinely instituted authority of the Church. Devotion to the Church of Christ, especially for her Supreme Visible Head, was indeed characteristic of the founder of the Franciscan Order. Hence it is not surprising that he should begin the Rule, which his sons still vow to observe, with these words: "Brother Francis promises obedience and reverence to the Lord Pope Honorius and his successors canonically elected, and to the Roman Church." He likewise closes the Rule with this declaration: "Moreover, I command the Ministers-General under obedience that they ask of the Lord Pope one of the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church to be governor, protector, and corrector of this brotherhood, so that, being always subject and submissive at the feet of the same holy Church, grounded in the Catholic Faith, we may observe poverty and humility and the holy Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which we have firmly promised." [2]

Lest his brethren imagine that they were to confine their preaching to people already civilized and Christianized, St. Francis begins the last chapter of his Rule with these unmistakable words: "If any one of the friars by divine inspiration desires to go among the Saracens or other infidels, he shall ask permission therefor from his minister-provincial; but the ministers shall give permission to those only whom they deem fit to be sent." [3] The zealous patriarch himself regarded missions among heathen people so important and so pleasing to God, that he resolved to be the first to devote himself to that work.

With this end in view, Francis embarked for the land hallowed by the footsteps and Blood of his Divine Master, in order to preach Christ to the Mahomedans in Palestine, then

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[2] Rule of St. Francis, Chapter XII.
[3] Rule of St. Francis, Chapter XII.

as now controlled by the partisans of Mahomed. Contrary winds, however, forced the vessel back to Italy, and frustrated his first attempt at a foreign mission. He then set out for Morocco; but he had scarcely arrived in Spain, when he was recalled to settle important business in connection with his Order. These efforts, though ending in failure, plainly show the bent of the holy founder's mind. Nor would he abandon his plans for the conversion of unbelievers. At the second general chapter, held at Assisi in 1219, the friars under his direction took systematic action to organize missionary bands and to include the whole world in the range of their evangelical activity.

Lest their authority to preach be disputed, and to prove their filial regard for the Holy See, without whose approbation Francis and his disciples would not presume to speak as missionaries, they petitioned Pope Honorius III. for letters of approval. The Pope readily granted the prayer, and issued the following Apostolic Letter which the friars might offer in evidence whithersoever they went:

"Honorius, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical Superiors, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

"As Our beloved sons, Brother Francis and his companions, have renounced the vanities of the world, and have embraced a form of life which the Roman Church has approved, and, following the example of the Apostles, desire to preach the Word of God throughout the world, We beseech and exhort you in the Lord, and command you by these Apostolic Letters, to receive as Catholic and faithful the Brothers of this Order, who, bearing these Letters, shall present themselves to you. Show yourselves favorable to them with all kindness for the honor of God and out of regard for Us. Given... the 11th of June, in the third year of Our Pontificate."[4]

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[4] "Honorius, Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Ven. Archiepiscopis, et Episcopis, ac Dilectis Filiis Abbatibus, Decanis, Archidiaconis, et aliis Ecclesiarum Praelatis, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.—Cum dilecti filii, Frater Franciscus et Socii ejus de vita

Francis in his simplicity added a message of his own beginning thus: "To all those in authority, to Consuls, Judges, and Governors in whatever part of the world, and to all others to whom this letter may come, Brother Francis, your little contemptible servant, wishes health and peace." [5]

Equipped with the approbation of the Holy See and the blessing of their beloved founder, the friars set out barefooted for their laborious task, having "no scrip, no bread, nor money in their purse, but shod with sandals," [6] like the Apostles of old. Brother Benedict of Arezzo with a number of companions was sent to Greece; Brother John of Parent and one hundred brethren were directed to preach in Spain; Brother Agnello of Pisa and others were ordered to England with this brief mandate: "I, Brother Francis of Assisi, Minister-General, command you, Brother Agnello of Pisa, in virtue of holy obedience, to go to England and there to discharge the office of minister-provincial. Farewell." [7] Other friars went elsewhere, and six of the brethren were told to preach Christ and His Gospel to the Moors of Morocco. Five of them

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et religione Minorum Fratrum, abjectis vanitatibus hujus mundi, elegerint vitae viam a Romana Ecclesia merito approbatam; ac serendo semina Verbi Dei Apostolorum exemplo diversas circumeant mansiones; Universitatem Vestram rogamus et hortamur in Domino, per Apostolica Vobis scripta mandantes, quatenus latores praesentium de praedictorum Fratrum Collegio existentes, cum ad Vos duxerint declinandum, ipsos recipiatis sicut Catholicos et Fideles; alias eis ob reverentiam Divinam et Nostram exhibentes Vos favorabiles et benignos. Datum . . . III Idus Junii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Tertio." "Bullarium Franciscanum," tom. i, p. 2, Romae 1759; Wadding, "Annales," tom. i, p. 301, ad annum 1219; "St. Francis and the Franciscans," 152-153. Honorius became Pope in 1216.

[5] See the letter in "The Writings of St. Francis" by Fr. Paschal Robinson, O. F. M., 125-126.

[6] Mark, vi, 8-9.

[7] "Ego Frater Franciscus de Assisio, Minister Generalis, praecipio tibi, Fratri Agnello de Pisa, per obedientiam, ut vadas ad Angliam, et ibi facias officium ministeriatus. Vale." Wadding, "Annales," tom. i, 303, ad annum 1219.

arrived at their destination only to suffer a violent death at the hands of the fanatical Sultan in 1220, and thus became the proto-martyrs of the Seraphic Order.[8]

Francis again chose the Holy Land. With one companion, Brother Illuminatus, he landed in Syria, then occupied by the Sultans of Damascus and of Egypt. Though Meledin, the Sultan of Egypt, had offered a prize for the head of a Christian, Francis boldly approached the Mahomedan headquarters. To the amazement of his court Meledin listened with marked attention to the fervent address of the barefooted stranger, and then sent him back unharmed to the camp of the Christians. Seeing that it was not the will of God that he should suffer martyrdom for Christ, as he had hoped, Francis returned to Italy, where he closed his wonderful career on October 4th, 1226, at the age of forty-four years.

The Friars Minor have ever since regarded the preaching of the Gospel to heathen people as one of the most sacred legacies bequeathed by their holy founder, as is evident from the efforts made by the superiors at all times to obtain volunteers for the missions in foreign countries. Referring to the Chinese and Turks, for instance, the official organ of the Seraphic Family, the *Acta Minorum*, in February, 1903, authoritatively declared, "The Very Rev. Fathers Provincial must needs be generous and well disposed in presenting missionaries to the Most Rev. Father General. Those acting contrariwise may greatly fear to incur the severest judgment from the Savior of the world for having impeded the conversion of souls. We must bear in mind that the scope of our Order is not restricted to the well-being of believing peoples, but chiefly consists in the conversion of unbelievers. Hence, to put obstacles in the way of suitable missionaries, so that they may not follow the vocation granted them by God, must be considered the greatest sin against the Order, against the

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[8] "Analecta Franciscana," tom. iii, 14; "St. Francis and the Franciscans," 156-157, 174-181.

Church, and even against God, inasmuch as such a vocation ought rather to be encouraged and assisted by every means."[9]

It is owing to this ever active missionary spirit among the Friars Minor that millions upon millions of American Indians have obtained the Christian faith. The children of St. Francis were, indeed, the principal factors in the very discovery of America, inasmuch as the persons most prominently connected with that event belonged to the Seraphic Family. Fr. Juan Perez de Marchena, the friend and counselor of Christopher Columbus, was the guardian or superior of the Franciscan monastery at La Rábida; Queen Isabella of Spain wore the cord and scapular as a member of the Third Order of St. Francis; and the great navigator likewise belonged to the Third Order.[10] Fr. Juan Perez accompanied his illustrious friend on the second voyage, and landed on the Island of Hispaniola, or Hayti, in 1493. At Port Concepcion he built the first chapel in the New World of boughs, and there on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8th, offered up the first holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and in the name of Jesus Christ blessed the land in whose discovery he had taken so conspicuous a part.[11]

Besides Fr. Perez, a number of Franciscans, Hieronymites, and a few secular priests under their apostolic vicar, Very

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[9] "Quapropter RR. PP. Provinciales generosi et faciles sint oportet in missionariis Reverendissimo P. Generali praesentandis; secus facientes districtissimum Judicium a Salvatore mundi ob impeditam animarum conversionem subire pertimescant. Memores esse debemus, Ordinis nostri scopum haud restringi ad fidelium populorum bonum, sed potissimum consistere in conversione infidelium. Idoneis igitur missionariis obstacula movere, quominus vocationem a Deo ipsis datam exequantur, maximum censendum est peccatum in Ordinem, in Ecclesiam, imo et in Deum, cum talis vocatio deberet foveri omnibusque mediis juvari."

[10] St. Francis founded three Orders for those who aspire to a more perfect observance of the law of God. The First, or Franciscan Order, was established in 1208 for men; the Second, or Order of Poor Clares, in 1211 for women; and the Third, or Order of Penance, in 1220, for married and unmarried men and women who strive after perfection without leaving their homes.

[11] See Appendix A for authorities.

Rev. Bernardo Buil, landed at Hispaniola. The secular clergy attended to the spiritual wants of the Spaniards, whereas the religious devoted themselves to the conversion of the natives. The vicar apostolic, however, returned to Spain in the following year.[12] In honor of St. Francis, Columbus had a monastery of stone erected for the Franciscan friars at a place around which in the course of time arose the city of Santo Domingo. This was the first convent in America, and Fr. Juan Perez was appointed the first guardian. Another monastery for the Friars Minor was built on the same island at La Vega. In connection with both houses the Fathers conducted the first schools for boys.[13]

Upon the advice of Cardinal Ximénes, himself a Franciscan, ten additional Franciscans were sent to Hispaniola in 1502. They brought along the first church bells.[14] About this time the friars also passed over to Cuba and, with the assistance of the natives, erected the first convent there. It was dedicated in honor of St. James, the patron of Spain. The general chapter of the Order, held in 1505, only thirteen years after the discovery of San Salvador, organized the convents of the West Indies into an independent province under the title of the Holy Cross. It was the first of its kind in the Western Hemisphere.[15]

Pope Julius II., on November 15th, 1504, provided the Church in America with the first bishop in the person of the Franciscan, Fr. García de Padilla, who, at the request of the king, was appointed for the See of Santo Domingo. The

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[12] See Appendix B.

[13] Harold, "Epitome Annalium," ad annum 1493, no. 3; Herrera, "Década," i, lib. v, cap. xii; "Colón y La Rábida," 267. See Appendix A.

[14] Harold, ad annum 1502, nos. 4-5.

[15] Fr. Torrubia, O. F. M., "Cronica Serafica," lib. i, cap. xvi; Wadding, ad annum 1505; Harold, ad annum 1505, no. 18; "Colón y La Rábida, 267; "Boletin," Madrid, 1892, tom. xx, no. iii, 287; Fr. Franciscus Gonzaga, O. F. M., "De Origine Seraph. Relig.," pars iv, 1197-1198.

bishop-elect received consecration in May, 1512, but died on November 12th, 1515, before he could leave Spain.[16]

In 1511 twenty-three Franciscans, by order of King Ferdinand, were sent to the Island of Puerto Rico, or San Juan. Two years later the king commanded that the sons of native chiefs should be placed in charge of these friars for a term of four years to be instructed in reading, writing, and the Christian religion. These boys proved so clever and willing that on returning to their homes they drew many thousand Indians into the fold of Christianity.[17]

When King Ferdinand learned that the Spaniards had discovered and occupied the mainland of America, he directed that a number of Friars Minor under the leadership of Fr. Quevedo, should preach to the natives of the newly-acquired country. At the request of the king, Pope Leo X., on August 28th, 1513, appointed Fr. Juan de Quevedo bishop of Darien, or Santa Maria de la Antigua. Bishop Quevedo and his companions sailed from the port of San Lucár, Spain, on April 12th, 1514, and arrived at their destination on June 30th.[18]

As evidence of missionary zeal and intrepidity in their ranks, the Franciscans could point to three martrys for the faith as early as the year 1516. These were Fr. Fernando Salzédo, Fr. Diego Botello, and a lay-brother whose name is unknown. They had been captured by the cannibal Caribs, killed, mutilated, and devoured according to the custom of these savages.[19]

Hernando Cortés and his little army entered Mexico in 1519. A secular priest, Rev. Juan Díaz, and a priest of the

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[16] Harold, ad annum 1504, no. 3; Mendieta, "Hist. Ecles. Ind.," lib. i, cap. vi, 33; "Boletin," Madrid, 1892, no. vi, 587-588, 600, 612-615.

[17] Harold, ad annum 1511, no. 1; ad annum 1513, no. 1; Gonzaga, pars iv, 1197-1198.

[18] Harold, ad annum 1514, no. 1; "Boletin," Madrid, 1892, tom. xx, 602-603; Bancroft, "Hist. Central America," vol. i, 390.

[19] Harold, ad annum 1516, no. 10; Mendieta, "Hist. Ecles. Ind.," lib. i, cap. xiii, 41.

Order of the Holy Trinity, Fr. Bartolomé de Olmedo, accompanied the expedition as chaplains of the troops. When Cortés, in 1521, had subdued the Mexicans, he entreated the Pope and the emperor to send members of religious Orders as missionaries, who by their very conduct would convince the Indians that they did not come for the gold of the natives, but only to save their immortal souls. Emperor Charles V., accordingly, appealed to various Mendicant Orders [20] for volunteer preachers of the Gospel. The Flemish (Belgian) Franciscans, in 1522, sent Fr. Juan de Tecto, guardian of the monastery at Ghent, Fr. Juan de Aora, and Brother Pedro de Mura, better known as Pedro de Gante. These three were the first to preach Christianity among the natives of Mexico. After reaching Tlaxcála in August, 1523, they taught the divine truths with such effect that the Indians in large numbers applied for baptism. [21]

The work of conversion on a grand scale began with the arrival of the so-called "Twelve Apostles," who, under the leadership of Fr. Martin de Valencia, came to Mexico in May, 1524. Soon after reaching the capital, Fr. Martin, who was clothed with the authority of a vicar-apostolic, convoked the first ecclesiastical council in the New World. The sessions began on July 2d, 1524. Nineteen Franciscans,

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[20] Mendicant Orders are those that have no fixed income, but live on the voluntary alms of the faithful. The most prominent are the Augustinians, Capuchins, Barefooted Carmelites, Dominicans, and Franciscans. Their members are known as "friars." Whether priests or lay-brothers, they usually prefix the initials "Fr.," the abbreviation for "friar," to their names. "Fr." before a name in this work invariably stands for "Fray" or "Friar," but may be read "Father," the common term for priest; lay-brothers will be designated as such. Secular priests, or priests of non-Mendicant Orders, will be designated by the terms "Father" or "Reverend."

[21] Bernal Diaz, "Verdadera Historia," capp. xxiv, xxvii, xxxvi; Harold, ad annum 1522, nos. 1-2; Mendieta, lib. iii, cap. iv, 187. The pulpit, made of one block of stone, from which the friars are said to have preached, is still to be seen in the Franciscan church at Tlaxcála. It bears the following inscription copied by the writer on Sept. 3d, 1905: "Primer Púlpito de Nueva España. Aquí tubo principio el Santo Evangelio en este Nuevo Mundo."

five secular priests, six secular doctors of canon law, and Hernando Cortés took part in the deliberations. On the same occasion the first Franciscan custody on the mainland was organized under the title of Santo Evangelio, or Holy Gospel, and Fr. Martin was elected first custos. [22]

The first aim of the friars was to gather the boys into schools connected with the various convents, and then to teach their pupils reading, writing, and singing. Often as many as six or eight hundred children received an elementary education under the same roof. Marvelous, too, were the results of their labors among the grown people. Brother Gante reported that with one companion he frequently baptized eight thousand, sometimes ten thousand, and even fourteen thousand persons in one day. Solórzano, according to Harold, declares that "there was not one of Fr. Martin's brethren who down to 1531 had not baptized as many as one hundred thousand people." So deep was the impression made by these friars that the arrival of the Franciscans under Fr. Martin de Valencia became the starting-point in the chronology of the natives under the term of "the year when the faith came." [23]

In 1527 Mexico was made a diocese. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga of the Franciscan Order, whom Charles V. had nominated on December 12th, 1527, was appointed first bishop by Pope Adrian VI. The general chapter of the Order, held at Nice in 1535, elevated the Custody of the Holy Gospel to the rank of a province, which now comprised seventy convents in different parts of Mexico. Later on other provinces and several apostolic colleges, or Franciscan seminaries, were

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[22] Harold, ad annum 1524, nos. 5-6; Gonzaga, pars iv, 1221. A custody is a small province. The head of a custody is called "custos"; the head of a province bears the title "provincial"; the superior of a monastery is styled "guardian"; "presidente" in Spanish countries is the superior of a small convent or hospice. The superior of all the Franciscans in California was also called "presidente," which is equivalent to "commissary."

[23] Harold, ad annum 1524, ut supra; Bancroft, "Hist. Mexico," vol. i, 171.

established, whence zealous missionaries set out to convert the natives in the countries to the north and northwest, notably in Florida, New Mexico, Arizona, Texas, and the Californias.[24]

Meanwhile the Friars Minor accompanied the Spanish conquerors into Central and South America for the purpose of communicating the divine truths and protecting the natives against the rapacity of the military. The intrepid Fr. Marcos de Niza with some of his brethren entered Peru in 1532, along with Francisco Pizarro. In the course of time nearly all the tribes of South America were visited and permanent missions established in their respective territories.[25]

In the vast territory comprising the United States Florida first beheld the Franciscan habit. Five Friars Minor, led by their commissary, Fr. Juan Xuarez, set foot on the eastern shore with Pánfilo de Narvaez on April 4th, 1528. Fr. Xuarez came as bishop-elect of Florida and Rio de las Palmas, and therefore enjoys the distinction of having been the first bishop of a diocese within the boundaries of the United States. The whole expedition perished on the coast from drowning or starvation or at the hands of savage Indians. Only four men escaped to relate their privations and the fate of their companions.

The Franciscans again appeared in Florida, determined to win the natives for Christ, after the Dominicans and Jesuits had abandoned the field. They succeeded in establishing prosperous missions all along the coast, penetrated the interior as far west as the Mississippi River, and traversed the region to the north as far as Georgia, though with heavy sacrifices of men and labor. Fourteen Friars Minor suffered violent death at the hands of the Indians in return for their efforts to spread the Gospel. Nevertheless, missionary stations and missionary laborers grew so numerous that in 1612 they were formed into a province, along with the convents in Cuba,

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[24] Harold, ad annum 1527, no. 5; ad annum 1535, no. 7; Icazbalceta, "Fray Juan de Zumárraga," p. 16; Gonzaga, 1221-1226; Mendieta, Torquemada, Espinoza, Vetancurt.

[25] Harold, ad annum 1532, no. 2; "Cronica de Xalisco," 280-282; Gonzaga, 1311-1349.

under the title of "Provincia de Santa Helena de Florida." It was the first province of religious in the United States, and antedates the coming of the "Pilgrim Fathers" by eight years. In 1634 this province comprised thirty-four friars who maintained forty-four mission stations, where they controlled about thirty thousand neophytes. [26]

The territories of Arizona and New Mexico were discovered by the Franciscan Fr. Marcos de Niza in 1539, some years before the death of Martin Luther, sixty-eight years before any English colony was founded in the Western Hemisphere, and two hundred and thirty-seven years before the Declaration of Independence. Fr. Marcos is the same that accompanied Pizarro to Peru. Three years later, 1542, three Franciscans were martyred in New Mexico as victims of their zeal for the Christian faith. They were Fr. Juan de Padilla, Fr. Juan de la Cruz, and Brother Luis de Escalona. Permanent missions were established in both territories at the end of the sixteenth century. At most of them schools for boys were conducted by the missionaries. From 1539 to 1850 about three hundred Franciscans, of whom thirty-eight were killed by the natives, labored among the Indians of New Mexico and northern Arizona. [27]

Early in 1685 the French Franciscan Fathers Máximus Le Clerq, Zenóbius Membre, and Athanasius Douay, with three Sulpitian priests, accompanied Robert de la Salle into Texas. Save the erection of a fort, nothing was accomplished in the course of the two years during which they were allowed to remain. With the exception of Fr. Douay and Rev. Cavalier, who both escaped to Canada, all the members of the expedition were murdered by savages.

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[26] Harold, ad annum 1527, nos. 4-5; Gonzaga, 1612; Mendieta, lib. iv, cap. x, 397; lib. v, cap. xxi, 616; cap. xxvi, 628; Barcia, "Ensayo Cronologico," Década, ii, Año MDXXVII; Shea, "Hist. Cath. Church"; "Cath. Missions." See Appendix C.

[27] Harold, ad annum 1539, no. 3; ad annum 1540, no. 1; Mendieta, lib. v, cap. iii, 742-745; Benavides, "Memorial"; Vetancurt, "Menologio Franciscano"; Gonzaga, 1278-1298; Salpointe, "Soldiers of the Cross." See also "The Franciscans in Arizona."

Permanent missionary work began with the Spanish Franciscan Fr. Damian Mazanet, who entered the territory in 1689. A large number of Indian missions were established in the interior, on the gulf coast, and notably on the Rio San Antonio at and near the present city of San Antonio. The missionaries labored with much success down to the time of Mexican Independence, which everywhere put an end to the missions controlled by religious Orders. The most noted of the friars are the Venerable Fr. Antonio Margil, called the Apostle of Texas and Guatemala, and Fr. Isidoro Espinosa, the historian. They both toiled among the savages under the most disheartening circumstances about the beginning of the eighteenth century. Altogether about one hundred and sixty priests and lay-brothers of the Order of St. Francis devoted all or part of their lives to the conversion of the Indians in this territory. Six of the missionaries were murdered by the natives, and five others are said to have perished in prairie fires.[38]

Nor was the northern part of the continent overlooked by the sons of the Seraphic Saint during the period of discovery. "The unambitious Franciscan Le Caron," says the Historian George Bancroft,[39] "years before the Pilgrims anchored in Cape Cod, had penetrated the land of the Mohawk, had passed to the north into the hunting grounds of the Wyandots, and, bound by his vows to the life of a beggar, had on foot, or paddling a bark canoe, gone onward, and still onward, taking alms of the savages till he reached the rivers of Lake Huron." Three French Friars Minor, to one of whom Bancroft alludes, entered Canada as pioneers of the faith in 1615. For ten years they were the only missionaries that lived among the Indians in the vast territory called New France. One of them, Fr. Nicholas Viel, was put to death by an Indian in 1625, and thus became the proto-martyr of Canada. In the course of time the Franciscans, finding their number insuf-

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[38] Espinosa, "Cronica Serafica"; Arricivita, "Cronica Serafica"; Shea, "History of the Catholic Church," vol. i.

[39] "History of the United States," vol. ii, 783.

ficient to meet the growing wants of the country, invited the Jesuits to share the field with them. Several priests of the Society of Jesus arrived in 1625. Both missionary bands labored in harmony until English bigotry destroyed the missions and expelled the devoted men who aimed at nothing save the conversion of the savages to the faith of Christ. [30]

The same cause prevented the Franciscans from securing a foothold in the colonies settled by the English. The Jesuits in turn had, indeed, invited the English Friars Minor to assist them in the Catholic settlements of Maryland, and the Intermediate Chapter held at London in 1672 had sent two Franciscan friars, followed by others in subsequent years; but the persecutions suffered in the mother country made it impossible to continue the training and sending of missionaries, so that no more arrived from England after the year 1699. [31]

Individual friars, mostly of French or Belgian extraction, penetrated to the northwest as military chaplains, and sometimes as missionaries attempted to convert the natives, but no permanent missions resulted from their efforts during the Colonial Period. One of the Franciscans, in his zeal to reach the Indians of the West, suffered death in 1680 at the hands of savages in Illinois, and another was killed in Michigan during the year 1706. The most noted of the Belgian religious was Fr. Louis Hennepin, O. F. M., who in 1680 discovered the Upper Mississippi River and named the Falls of St. Anthony. He is also known as the author of the two works, *Description de la Louisiane* and *Nouvelle Decouverte,* in which he describes his voyages, travels, and discoveries.

Having briefly reviewed Franciscan missionary activity in America during the three centuries immediately following its discovery, we shall now describe the early voyages to Lower California and the northwest coast, and then proceed to relate the history of the missions and missionaries of the peninsula.

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[30] John Gilmary Shea, "History of the Catholic Church," vol. i, 224-225.

[31] Fr. Thaddeus, O. F. M., "The Franciscans in England," 81-83.

CHAPTER II.

California.—Its Discovery and First Missionaries.—Hernando Cortés.—Fr. Marcos de Niza, O. F. M.—Vasquez de Coronado.—Juan Cabrillo's Voyage.—His Death.—Francis Drake.—Thomas Cavendish.

THE territory whose history we are about to relate has been variously described under three distinct titles: California, New Albion, and Carolina Islands. The term California is first mentioned by Bernal Diaz, the comrade in arms of Hernando Cortés;[1] New Albion was applied by the English freebooter, Francis Drake, while navigating along the Pacific Coast in 1577; and Carolina Islands, or Islas Carolinas, was used by the German Jesuit, Henry Scherer, in the atlas published by him at Munich in 1702. The last two names were soon forgotten, but the term California prevailed.[2]

For nearly two hundred years the term California was employed to designate the peninsula which is known as Old or Lower California, and which in the early days was supposed to extend from Cape San Lucas northward to a line drawn from the mouth of the Rio Colorado to a point on the Pacific Ocean considerably south of the port of San Diego. After the Spaniards had discovered and settled the region north of the peninsula, which was also called California, the designations Upper and Lower, or New and Old California, became necessary.[3]

The discovery of California, under God, is due to the restless ambition of Hernando Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico. He had been deprived of the power to govern New Spain, and therefore sought to find and subdue other countries where he might enjoy the fruits of his success unmolested. With

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[1] Bernal Diaz, "Verdadera Historia," cap. 200, where the word California occurs twice.

[2] Rev. Miguel Venégas, S. J., "Noticia de la California," pte. i, sec. i, p. 2; pte. ii, sec. iii, 183-184; Rev. F. X. Clavijero, S. J., "Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California," lib. i, sec. i, pp. 1-2.

[3] Alexander Forbes, "California," Introduction, p. 2.

this end in view he directed that two ships should be built in the harbor of Tehuantepec, or Port Santiago, and in order to hasten their completion he lived there for a year and a half in a hut on the beach to superintend their construction. In the meantime Cortés urged Fr. Martin de Valencia, the custos of the Franciscans in Mexico, to allow some friars to join the expedition as chaplains for the crews and as missionaries for the people whose land might be discovered. Fr. Martin resolved to go in person with seven other prominent religious of the Order. The friars selected were Fr. Martin de Jesus, or de la Coruña, Fr. Ildefonso de Herrera, Fr. Juan de Padilla, who became the first martyr of New Mexico, Fr. Toribio Motolinia, Fr. Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, Fr. Francisco Ximénez, and Fr. Alfonso de Guadalupe. Except the last two, all were guardians or superiors of monasteries in New Spain.[4] After waiting in vain for seven months Fr. Martin returned to the capital in order to preside at the coming chapter of the custody, doubtless accompanied by the Fathers mentioned who had a vote in the council. Before departing he directed Fr. Martin de la Coruña to remain and to embark in the ships whenever they should be ready to sail. The Franciscans, Fr. Juan de San Miguel and Fr. Francisco Pastrana, accompanied him.[5]

The two vessels, *La Concepcion*, in charge of Captain Diego Becerra, and the *San Lázaro*, commanded by Hernando Grijalva, set sail on October 30th,[6] 1533. The ships were separated the very first night[7] after leaving the port. Grijalva moved onward for about three hundred leagues, and on De-

[4] "Carta" de Fr. Martin de Valencia, Tejunatepec, January 18th, 1533, in "Codice Franciscano," tom. ii, 177-186, Mexico, 1889. See also "Cronica de la Provincia de Michoacan," edited by Dr. Nicolas Leon, p. 151, Mexico, 1899.

[5] Mendieta, lib. iv, cap. x, 394-397; lib. v, pte. i, cap. viii, 587-588; Tello, "Cronica de Xalisco," tom. ii, 161; Beaumont, "Cronica," iii, 485-486, 490; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 45.

[6] Hittell, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 45, quoting "Relacion del Viaje"; Bancroft, "Hist. Mexico," vol. i, 422, says October 29th.

[7] Diaz, cap. 200; Venegas, pte. ii, 152; Clavijero, lib. ii, 91. Hittell and Bancroft have second night.

cember 20th arrived at an island which, on account of the day, the vigil of St. Thomas, the Apostle, he named Santo Tomás Island.[8] The *San Lázaro* then returned to Mexico.

Becerra, the captain of the *Concepcion*, had meanwhile aroused such hatred against himself through his overbearing disposition that Pilot Fortún Ximénes[9] and his confederates killed him while he lay asleep. A number of soldiers, who had remained faithful, shared the same fate, and more would have been put to death, had not the Franciscan friars interfered. Under the circumstances the religious declined to continue the voyage, and were therefore set ashore on the coast of Xalisco with the wounded who had been spared.[10]

Dreading the wrath of Cortés, Ximénes left the coast of Xalisco in search of new islands. After sailing in a northwesterly direction for some time, the *Concepcion* reached a bay whose shores were inhabited by Indians. Here well-deserved punishment overtook the mutineers. On landing to take in a supply of fresh water, Ximénes and twenty Spaniards were massacred by the natives. The few sailors who had remained on board the ship then steered the vessel back to Xalisco and made the port of Chiametlá, where they related what had occurred. They also reported that the newly-discovered land abounded in pearls.[11]

Cortés now resolved to fit out another expedition and to command it in person. He enlisted a large number of soldiers, sailors, and colonists with their wives, and set out from Chiametlá about the middle of April, 1535. The fleet consisted of the three ships, *San Lázaro, Santa Agueda*, and *Santo Tomás*. Fr. Martin de la Coruña with some other Franciscan friars joined the expedition for the purpose of

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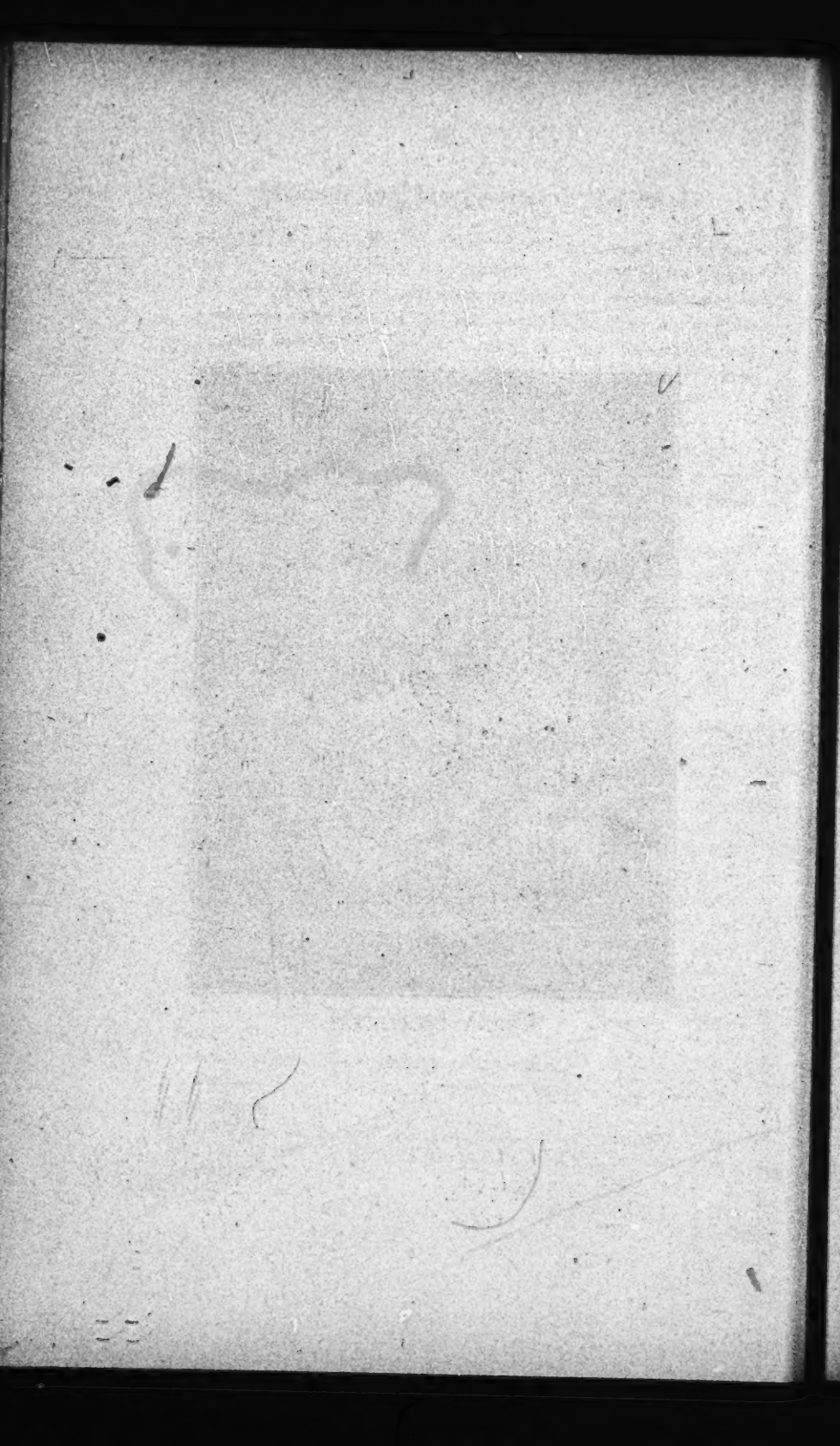
[8] Now Revilla Gigedo Island, according to Greenhow, "Hist. Calif.," 52.

[9] Also written Ortún, Orduño, etc., Jiménes.

[10] Bernal Díaz, "Cronica de Xalisco," Venegas, and Clavijero locis citatis.

[11] "Cronica de Xalisco," 162; Díaz, "Hist. Verd.," cap. 200; Venegas, pte. ii, 153; Clavijero, "Historia," lib. ii, 32; Greenhow, "California," 52-53.

HERNANDO CORTÉS



preaching the Gospel to the savages.[12] On May 3d the squadron landed in the bay where the murderers of Becerra had been killed in the preceding year. In honor of the feast of the day, Invention of the Holy Cross, the port was called Santa Cruz. It is on the southeast coast of the peninsula of Lower California, and generally supposed to be identical with the Bahía de la Paz. When all had assembled on the shore, Cortés took formal possession of the country for the King of Spain, and he may on that occasion have bestowed the name California.[13]

Only a part of the enlisted men had come with Cortés, but as soon as the necessary quarters were arranged he sent back the ships for the rest of the people and supplies. They safely crossed the gulf, but only one vessel managed to return to Santa Cruz; the others were driven from their course by violent storms and ran aground on the coast of Xalisco, crew and colonists barely saving their lives. "Cortés," says Bernal Díaz, "in the meantime was impatiently awaiting the arrival of these ships, particularly as all his provisions were consumed; for the greater part of the biscuits and salted meat was on board the vessels which had gone ashore off Xalisco. As the inhabitants of Santa Cruz are perfect savages, and neither grow maize nor in any way till the ground, but merely live on wild fruits, fish, and animals, there arose so dreadful a famine among Cortés's troops, that twenty-three of the men died of hunger and disease. The greater part of the remaining troops likewise suffered from ill-health, and cursed Cortés, the island, the bay, and the discovery. Determined to put an end to their distress, if possible, Cortés ran out with the vessel, which had arrived, in search of the other two, taking with him fifty men, two smiths, and several shipwrights. On arriving off Xalisco he found one of the ships lying on a sandbank, quite deserted, and the other he discov-

[12] "Cronica de Xalisco," 164; Mendieta, "Hist. Eccles. Ind.," lib. v, pte. i, cap. xx, 615; Bernal Díaz has "clerigos"; Clavijero says "varios religiosos"; Venegas has "muchos clerigos y religiosos."

[13] Bernal Díaz, cap. 200; "Cronica de Xalisco," 162; Venegas, pte. ii, 154-155; Clavijero, lib. ii, 32; Greenhow, 53.

ered jammed between the rocks. By dint of the utmost exertions he succeeded in setting them afloat again; and, after the carpenters had properly repaired them, he safely arrived at Santa Cruz with the two vessels and their cargoes. Those of the troops that had not tasted any nourishing food for so long a time ate so ravenously of the salted meat that half of them died of over-eating."[14]

A whole year had meanwhile passed by without any promise of advantage. Nor is it known with what result the missionaries labored among the natives, if we except the vague remark which Fr. Tello makes, that the Fathers "produced considerable fruit."[15] Missionary success could not have been considerable, if the four or five witnesses of Nuño Guzman, who testified under oath, told the truth;[16] for the Indians of that part of the peninsula must, then, have stood on the lowest plane of humanity, inasmuch as their manner of living was not above that of brutes. The new country proved utterly barren, and, except for a few pearls found on the coast, destitute of everything that could attract the Spaniards. Men and officers were alike disgusted and wanted Cortés to abandon the supposed island.

While the Spaniards were suffering on the peninsula of California, a rumor circulated in México that the great conqueror had died. In order to obtain definite information regarding her husband, the alarmed wife despatched two ships under the command of Francisco de Ulloa with a letter to Cortés, in which she begged him to return, to tempt fortune no longer, but to be satisfied with his former deeds of bravery, which had spread his fame throughout the world. The new viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, in a friendly letter likewise urged him to come back to the scene of his early exploits, where he would be needed. Not displeased, probably, at this opportunity of withdrawing so honorably from a

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[14] "Verd. Historia," cap. 200; Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 155-156; "Cronica de Xalisco," 163, 208-210; Clavijero, lib. ii, 32.

[15] "Hicieron notable fruto," p. 164.

[16] See Banc. "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, p. 53, note 44.

hopeless undertaking, Cortés turned the command of the ships and of the colony over to Francisco de Ulloa, and then sailed for Acapulco, which he reached in the beginning of the year 1537. Ulloa found it impossible to maintain the people in the barren country, and therefore soon followed his master back to Mexico with all that had remained alive.[17]

Notwithstanding these reverses Cortés still hoped to retrieve his shattered fortunes and his waning prestige by discovering and conquering some rich territory. He had scarcely rested a few months, when he made preparations for a new expedition under Francisco de Ulloa. The little fleet, consisting of the three ships, *Santa Agueda, Trinidad,* and *Santo Tomás,* with three friars whose names are not known, sailed from Acapulco on July 8, 1539.[18] The *Santo Tomás* was soon lost on the coast of Culiacán. The other two vessels continued up the shore of Sonora until they reached the head of the gulf, where the Spaniards ascertained the fact that California was not an island as they had imagined. They passed down the eastern coast of the peninsula, and on the 18th of the same month once more anchored in Santa Cruz Bay. Moving southward in November, they rounded Cape San Lucas, whence they made their way up the western coast to an island which Ulloa called Cedros Island, but which is known as Cerros Island. Allowing the *Santa Agueda* to depart for Mexico, the captain proceeded northward until he arrived at a cape about eighteen leagues farther up, in about thirty degrees north latitude. Lack of provisions and unfavorable winds compelled Ulloa to cease making further efforts in that direction. He, therefore, sailed back to Mexico after applying the name Cabo de Engaño, or Cape Disappointment, to the land discovered. Soon after his arrival in Xalisco he was murdered by one of his own soldiers. "Thus," says Bernal Diaz, "miserably terminated the various expeditions which Cortés fitted out in the South Sea, and I have frequently been

[17] Tello, "Cronica de Xalisco," 163-164; Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 157-158; Clavijero, lib. ii, 32; Bernal Diaz, "Verd. Hist.," cap. 200.

[18] Bancroft, "Hist. Texas," vol. i, 79. Venegas and Clavijero, following Gómara, have the year 1537.

assured that they cost him more than 300,000 pesos." The conqueror of Mexico made no more attempts of that kind. Finding the viceroy disinclined to further his plans, the disappointed warrior returned to his native land, Spain, and died in 1547.[19]

The poor returns which Cortés had obtained from his various costly enterprises did not deter Viceroy Mendoza from making other attempts to acquire more territory that would yield the wealth which all desired. At his request Fr. Marcos de Niza, a Franciscan friar of the Province of the Holy Gospel, Mexico, set out to explore the region to the north of Sonora. Entirely unarmed, and accompanied by Estevánico, the colored survivor of Narvaez's expedition to Florida, Fr. Marcos left Culiacán, Sinaloa, on March 7th, 1539. He wandered into the very heart of the continent, where, in sight of Zuñi, New Mexico, he planted the Cross and named the country "El Nuevo Reino de San Francisco." Then he retraced his steps through Arizona, and arrived at the capital of Mexico on September 2d, 1539. The report of the intrepid friar, in the following year, caused the armed invasion of New Mexico under Vasquez de Coronado. The latter was accompanied by the same Fr. Marcos and three other Franciscans, Fr. Juan de Padilla, Fr. Juan de la Cruz, and Brother Luis de Escalona, or Úbeda. Fr. Marcos soon returned to Mexico on account of ill-health, but his three companions remained among the Indians, even after Coronado, disgusted at not finding the gold expected, had abandoned the territory in April, 1542. They were all three killed by the natives, for whose sake they had come to preach the Gospel.[20]

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[19] Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 159-161; Clavijero, "Historia," lib. ii, 32; Tello, "Cronica," 164; Bernal Diaz, "Verd. Hist.," cap. 200, 204; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 78-81; "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 7.

[20] "14th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology," Washington; "Pacific R. R. Reports," vol. iii, chap. vi; Bernal Diaz, "Verd. Hist.," capp. 200, 202; Mendieta, "Hist. Eccles. Ind.," lib. iv, cap. xi, 399-401; cap. xlii, 541; lib. v, pte. i, cap. xlv, 674; lib. v, pte. ii, cap. iii, 742-745; Mota Padilla, "Conquista," 111-115, 158-171; Vetancurt, "Cronica," tract. v, cap. i, no. 7; "Cronica de Xalisco," prol. xxii-

In connection with Coronado's campaign the viceroy directed Francisco de Alarcón to make a voyage of discovery, and to bring supplies to Coronado by way of the Gulf of California. Alarcón sailed from Acapulco on May 9th, 1540, with the two ships, *San Pedro* and *Santa Catalina*. At San Gabriel another vessel, the *San Miguel*, joined him. Proceeding up the coast of Sonora, he discovered the mouth of the Rio Colorado and gave it the name "Rio de Nuestra Señora de Buena Guia."[21] Alarcon ascended the stream far enough to convince himself that California was not an island, and that there was no means of communicating with Coronado by water.[22]

In the spring of 1542 the two ships, *San Salvador* and *Victoria*, were placed in command of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese navigator, with orders to search the whole northwest coast for rich countries and a passage to the Atlantic Ocean. There is no evidence that any ecclesiastics joined this expedition which sailed from Navidad, Colima, on June 27th, 1542. Cabrillo crossed the gulf and entered Santa Cruz Bay on July 2d. Proceeding southward he rounded Cape San Lucas on the 6th. From there he examined the coast carefully, and generally named the points of interest, after the old Spanish custom, for the saint whose feast occurred on the day of discovery. This resulted in a nomenclature far more beautiful than the profane designations frequently employed by English-speaking sailors and adventurers. The list of names applied along the shore of Lower California include Port San Lucas, Port Trinidad, Port San Pedro, Magdalena Bay, which was

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xxiii, pp. 305-307, 407-441; C. F. Lummis, "The Spanish Pioneers," 78-83; Elliott Coues, "On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer," 152, 367, 479-487, 505-512, 521, 538; Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 167-170; Greenhow, 57-61; Bancroft, "Hist. Arizona and New Mexico," 27-71. See also "The Franciscans in Arizona," chapters i-ii, pp. 1-20.

[21] River of Our Lady of Safe Conduct.

[22] Bernal Diaz, "Verd. Hist.," cap. 202; Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 170; J. R. Bartlett, "Personal Narrative," vol. ii, 168-170; "Pacific Railroad Reports," vol. iii, Indian Tribes, chap. vi, 112-113, Washington, 1856; Vetancurt, "Cronica," tract. v, cap. i, no. 7; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 90-95.

discovered on the 19th, and where the explorers tarried a few days, Point Santa Catalina, Port Santiago, Santa Ana Island, Port San Pedro ad Vincula, San Estévan Island, Port Santa Clara, and San Bernardo Island. On August the 20th Cabrillo arrived at Cabo del Engaño, the most northern point reached by Francisco de Ulloa. Ten leagues beyond the navigator discovered a good port; he landed, took formal possession in the name of the king, and called the place Posesion. It now bears the name Las Virgenes. He then passed on to Cape San Martin, now San Quentin, and on the 17th of September anchored in Todos Santos Bay, which he called San Mateo Bay, where he again took possession. Finally, on September 28th, the vigil of St. Michael, the Archangel, fifty years after the discovery of America, Cabrillo entered a fine, land-locked harbor which he christened San Miguel. It bore this name until Vizcaino sixty years later changed it to San Diego.

Leaving this port on October 3d, the two vessels continued their course through unknown waters, and on the 10th anchored opposite an Indian village situated at or near the site of the later Mission San Buenaventura. Here Cabrillo landed and took possession with the usual formalities. He called the cluster of Indian huts Las Canoas, because the natives, who were clothed in the skins of animals, approached the ships in canoes capable of holding a dozen men. On the 13th the vessels passed two uninhabited islands and dropped their anchors in the channel, apparently in sight of what is now Santa Barbara. Indians came out in canoes and offered fish for barter. On the 17th Cabrillo arrived at a point of land which he named Cape Galera; it is now widely known as Point Concepcion. On account of violent storms the two ships spent a week in the harbor of an island which Cabrillo called San Miguel. Leaving this port on Wednesday, 25th, for two weeks more he vainly endeavored to make headway against contrary winds. During this time the men of the *Victoria* suffered exceedingly for want of a deck. At last, on the 11th of November, the weather became so favorable that the vessels were enabled to make twenty leagues along a lofty

sierra, to which Cabrillo gave the name San Martin, but which is now called Santa Lucia. On November 17th he doubled a pine-covered point which he called Punta de Pinos, and then entered the harbor which in history became famous as Monterey Bay. Here the navigator anchored and attempted to land in order to take possession, but found it impossible on account of the stormy sea. Proceeding up the coast, he reached a point which he named Cabo de Nieve, on account of the snow-covered mountains. The weather now grew so rough that he ran the ships back to San Miguel Island, where he determined to pass the winter. At this port Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo died on January 3d, 1543. In October he had broken an arm on this very island. The unattended fracture and the hardships of the northern trip had probably hastened the untimely end of the brave commander. The faithful crew interred his body on San Miguel Island, which they changed to Juan Rodriguez Island.

The dying navigator had ordered the pilot, Bartolomé Ferrelo, to continue the discoveries at all hazards. Ferrelo set sail on February 18th, and passed Point Pinos on Sunday, the 25th. On the 28th he discovered a prominent cape which he called Cape Mendocino, in honor of Viceroy Mendoza. In spite of violent storms and heavy fogs the heroic Spaniards continued their course and arrived at a point of land which they named Cabo de Fortunas, from the dangers encountered in its vicinity. On the first of March the ships were in latitude forty-four degrees by solar observation, or, as Bancroft would have it, in forty-two degrees thirty minutes, just beyond the present boundary of California. Cold weather, violent storms, and, worst of all, the want of provisions, forced the brave sailors to discontinue their explorations. On the return voyage the ships were driven apart near San Clemente Island. Ferrelo ran the *San Salvador* into San Diego Bay, and waited six days for the *Victoria*, but the missing vessel did not rejoin the flagship until the latter arrived at Cedros Island on March

26th.[23] Both finally reached Navidad on April 14th, after an absence of ten months.[24]

The wise and energetic Mendoza in 1551 was transferred as viceroy to Peru; thereafter for nearly fifty years the Spaniards made no attempts in the direction of the northwest coast of America. Meanwhile a number of English freebooters took advantage of Spanish inactivity and inflicted all the damage possible upon the trade and possessions of the hated rival of their nation. In this manner California made the acquaintance of the first Englishmen.

Foremost among the British adventurers was the notorious Francis Drake. He had several times visited the West Indies as slave-trader, and had been instrumental in the sacking of various towns on the coast. The Spaniards had prevented complete success of some of his schemes and incurred his hatred, which he deemed sufficient justification for a life-long warfare on all that was Spanish. "Moreover," says Bancroft,[25] "the Spaniards were Catholics, and there was a prevalent sentiment in England at this time that the poor deluded victims of popery might be righteously robbed and killed, if not altogether submissive to the robbing." Drake, on the 13th of December, 1577, sailed from Plymouth with five small vessels, which had been equipped ostensibly for a voyage to Egypt, but in reality for a cruise of plunder in the Spanish dominions. The governments of England and Spain were at peace with each other; but the principles of general law and morals were not so scrupulously observed by the British as to prevent Queen Elisabeth from favoring Drake's enterprise,

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[23] Hittell has 24th.

[24] Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 180-183; Clavijero, lib. ii, 33; Greenhow, 62-63; Hittell, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 73-78; Bancroft, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 69-80; "Hist. Texas," vol. i, 133-137; Shea, "Hist. Cath. Church," vol. iv, 329.

[25] Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 140-141. See also Greenhow, "Hist. of Oregon and California," 70-75; Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 90-97.

with the real object of which she was well acquainted.[36] The daring navigator succeeded in conducting one of his five ships, the *Golden Hind*, of a hundred tons' burden and with about sixty men on board, into the Pacific Ocean to prosecute his lawless plans against the wealth of the Spaniards on the western coast of South and Central America. Here he plundered towns and ships with little opposition. So deep and lasting was the impression made by the pirate that for more than a century his name was mentioned only with horror in those countries.[37]

Having at length completed his depredations and filled his vessel with booty by sacking the town of Guatulco in Oaxaca, Drake, in the spring of 1579, became anxious to return to England. He had reason to expect that the Spaniards would intercept him on his way through the Straits of Magellan, and he therefore resolved to seek the much-mooted northern passage to the Atlantic Ocean. At this period all navigators believed in the existence of a northern strait between the Atlantic and the Pacific.[38] Hoping to escape with his booty-laden ship by means of this passage, the freebooter left the scene of his robberies and for two months sailed northward, until on June 5th the schooner reached about the forty-third degree of latitude, at a point discovered by Cabrillo's men thirty-six years before. Heavy fogs and constant violent winds made progress to the north so difficult that Drake looked

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[36] "There is no reason to doubt that his scheme was secretly supported by the favor and purse of Queen Elisabeth," says Bancroft, loco citato; Greenhow, p. 70, is of the same opinion.

[37] "Habia llenado de terror todas las costas del Mar del Sur," says Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 183.

[38] "Lorenzo Ferrer de Maldonado claimed that in 1588 he had entered the strait on the coast of Labrador and emerged at the Pacific end in latitude sixty. Juan de Fuca asserted that in 1592 he entered the strait from the Pacific in latitude forty-seven, and that he sailed through to the Atlantic; but this elusive strait was pushed farther and farther to the northward until at length it has become Behring's Strait and the northwest passage." ("Sutro Collection," Historical Society of Southern California, vol. ii, part i, page 10, note i.)

for a safe harbor. Finding none suitable in that latitude, he moved along the shore to the southward, until the 17th of June, when he discovered a bay in about the thirty-eighth degree. Within this bay the English remained for thirty-six days, employed in refitting the ship and procuring supplies for a lengthy voyage.

The natives, who appeared in large numbers, some naked, others covered with the hides of animals, at first showed signs of hostility; but the English, aware of being at the mercy of the Indians, wisely refrained from enraging them. Having at last thoroughly repaired the *Golden Hind* and taken possession for the British crown of the country which he called New Albion, Drake, on July 23d, sailed out of the harbor named for him Drake's Bay. Abandoning all hope of finding the northern passage to the Atlantic, he steered directly across the Pacific Ocean, sailed through the Indian Ocean, rounded Cape of Good Hope, and arrived in England on September 26th, 1580, after an absence of nearly three years. Four months later he was knighted and thereafter was known as Sir Francis Drake.[29]

The success of Drake's buccaneering enterprises encouraged another English adventurer to attempt similar expeditions. This was the notorious Thomas Cavendish, whose name became almost as terrible to the Spanish colonists as that of Drake. Cavendish sailed from Plymouth on July 21st, 1586, with one hundred and twenty-three men in three ships, and with two of the vessels arrived at Cape San Lucas on October 14th, 1587. There he lay in wait for the Spanish galleon which generally passed the cape on its way from the Philippines to Acapulco. On November 4th the *Santa Ana*, with a rich cargo, appeared and was captured by the freebooter. The pirates secured one hundred and twenty-two thousand pesos in gold, and transferred the most valuable part of the freight to their own vessel. The passengers, among whom were some

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[29] Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 183; Clavijero, lib. ii, 33; Greenhow, 70-75; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 140-143; "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 81-94; Hittell, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 85-97.

women, were forced to land, and then Cavendish had fire set to the galleon, which still carried five hundred tons of merchandise. He thereupon sailed away with the plunder and reached England on September 9th, 1588. After his return he reported his achievements as follows: "I have navigated along the coast of Chili, Peru, and Nueva España, where I made great spoils. I burned and sunk nineteen sail ships, small and great. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burned and spoiled." The unfortunate Spaniards would have perished on the barren coast, had they not succeeded in extinguishing the fire on their ship, which the wind had driven to the shore, and saved the hull with some of the cargo. After repairing the vessel as well as possible, the crew managed to move the vessel across the gulf to a port on the Mexican coast. It is said that among the survivors was Sebastian Vizcaino, who will engage our attention in the next chapter.[30]

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[30] Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," tom. i, lib. v, cap. xli; Venegas, pte. ii, 184; pte. iv, 43-44; Greenhow, 76, 88; Hittell, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 98-102; Bancroft, "Hist. Mexico," vol. ii, 744-750; "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 144.

CHAPTER III.

The Philippine Trading Vessels.—Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeñon's Voyage.—San Francisco Bay.—Sebastian Vizcaino's First Voyage and Settlement in Lower California.—The Franciscans Accompanying Him.—The Natives.—Voyage Up the Gulf.—Disaster.—Abandoning the Enterprise.—Report.

THE bold robberies of Drake and Cavendish, and later of Woodes Rogers and George Shelvoke, at last roused the Spaniards to a sense of the danger threatening their possessions in the South Sea. The risk appeared greater because of the supposed existence of a northwest passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific—the mythical Strait of Anian, which was said to lead past the fabled city of Quivira, so prominent in the history of New Mexico. If communication could be effected north of the newly-discovered territory, as many believed, then there was nothing to prevent the English from establishing themselves in the Pacific Ocean over which Spain claimed absolute dominion. That would put an end to the profitable Philippine trade with its steady flow of revenue for the royal treasury. "His Majesty had also been informed that ships sailing from China to Mexico ran great risks, particularly near Cape Mendocino, where the storms are most violent, and that it would be advantageous to have that coast surveyed thence to Acapulco, so that the ships, mostly belonging to his Majesty, should find places for relief and refreshment."[1]

The trading vessels, which annually came from the Philippine Islands with precious freight for Mexico, made their way across the ocean, not directly, but by taking a route far to the north. It had been discovered that the prevailing winds and the currents of the sea between America and Asia favored the ships that were bound westward, but rendered a much more northerly route a matter of necessity for their safe return to the east. It was for this reason that the richly-laden galleons from the Philippines ran up beyond the tropics, and, taking

[1] Torquemada, "Monarq. Ind.," tom. i, cap. xlv, 693.

advantage of the ocean currents, crossed the Pacific in about the latitude of Cape Mendocino. From there they sailed down the coast of California to Acapulco. It was along this coast that the English privateers had waylaid the merchant vessels. Others, it was thought, might likewise endanger the commerce so established, and therefore Spanish interests in the South Sea demanded that the coast be occupied and fortified.

With this end in view the King of Spain, under date of January 17th, 1593, directed Don Luis Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, to have the harbors surveyed on the route to and from the Philippine Islands. Viceroy Velasco purchased the ship *San Pedro*, "in which the exploration might be made on the return voyage," as he reported to the king under date of April 6th, 1594, "and I ordered the navigator, who at present sails in the flagship, who is named Sebastian Rodriguez Cermeñon, and who is a man of experience in his calling, one who can be depended upon and who has means of his own, although he is a Portuguese, there being no Spaniard of his profession whose services are available, that he should make the exploration and demarcation, and I offered, if he would do this, to give him his compensation by allowing him to take merchandise on board; and I wrote to the governor of the Philippines that he should allow him to put aboard the ship some tons of cloth, in order that he might have the benefit of the freight-money; and I caused him to be given all that might be needed for the purpose." [2]

In obedience to the royal mandate Cermeñon in the *San Agustin* took the usual course from the Philippines northward in 1595. While sailing down the coast of California he discovered a port which Drake had entered sixteen years before. Cermeñon named it Puerto de San Francisco, probably from the day of arrival, which might have been September 17th, the feast of the Stigmata of St. Francis, or October 4th, the feast of St. Francis. Fr. Torquemada relates [3] that the

[2] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, part i, 18-19, Historical Society of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1891.

[3] Torquemada, tom. i, lib. v, cap. lv, 717-718; Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 183; pte. iv, 111-112.

San Agustin, laden with silk and beeswax, was wrecked in this bay behind Point Reyes, and that the pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, later joined Vizcaino; but he does not explain how the pilot made his escape to Mexico. The royal officers at Acapulco, however, made the following report to the viceroy concerning the fate of the vessel and her crew: "On Wednesday, January 31st, of this year, there entered this harbor a vessel of the kind called in the Philippines a viroco,[4] having on board Juan de Morgána, navigating officer, four Spanish sailors, five Indians, and a negro, who brought the news that the ship San Agustin, of the exploring expedition, had been lost on a coast where she struck and went to pieces, and that a barefooted friar[5] and another person of those on board had been drowned, and that of the seventy men or more, who embarked in this small vessel, only these came in her, because the captain of said ship, Sebastian Rodríguez Cermeñon, and the others went ashore at the port of Navidad, and, as they understand, have already arrived in the city (Mexico). An account of the voyage and of the loss of the ship, together

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[4] A viroco was a small vessel without deck, having one or two square sails and propelled by sweeps. Its hull was formed from a single tree, hollowed out and having the sides built up with planks. ("Sutro Collection," vol. ii, p. 20.)

[5] He may have been an Augustinian or a Franciscan. If the "San Agustin" arrived at Bay San Francisco, or rather Drake's Bay, on any but the days mentioned above, it is probable that the friar was a Franciscan, as there would have been reason to give the name of the vessel to the port rather than that of St. Francis. The first Augustinians reached the Philippines in 1565. The first Franciscans landed at Manila on June 24th, 1577. The Augustinians Fr. Andrés de Urdaneta and Fr. Andrés de Aguirre, in the "San Pedro," sailed from Manila on June 1st, 1565, to find a practicable return route from the islands to New Spain. The course of the "San Pedro" was eastward to the Ladrones, thence northward to latitude thirty-eight degrees, and eastward to the American coast, where she made a landfall somewhere to the north of what is now Monterey, whence the vessel sailed down to Acapulco. From this it appears that the two Augustinian friars were the first religious who sighted Upper California. See "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, p. 10.

with the statement made under oath by said navigating officer, Juan de Morgána, accompany this. We visited the vessel officially, finding that there was no kind of merchandise on board, and that the men were almost naked. The vessel being so small, it seems miraculous that she should have reached this country with so many people on board."[6]

While Cermeñon[7] explored the coast of California, King Philip II., in 1595, directed Don Gaspar de Zuñiga, Count de Monterey, viceroy of New Spain,[8] to take the necessary steps for the permanent occupation of the country said to be rich in pearls and precious metal, in order to protect the Philippine commerce. Sebastian Vizcaino, a man of good judgment, a good soldier, and experienced in maritime affairs, as Torquemada says, had already made a contract with Viceroy Velasco, the predecessor of Monterey, on the strength of which he enlisted a large force of soldiers, sailors, and colonists, and equipped three ships for a voyage to California. The Audiencia[9] had approved the agreement. The new viceroy resolved not to interfere, but reported to the king,[10] "I have insisted, as far as I could and ought to insist, that he should furnish me with a satisfactory memorandum concerning the ships and lanchas he intends to take along, etc. . . . He has furnished this memorandum. I had it examined by persons understanding such matters, and what has been provided appears to them sufficient; but, in order that he fully carry out what he intends to do, it is essential that he take with him a complete outfit of all things necessary, so that the Franciscan friars who will accompany him may undertake the conversion and pacification of those countries with safety, and that the land be settled, so that for absolute lack of food and other

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[6] Letter dated February 1st, 1596. "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 18-20.

[7] The "Sutro Collection" invariably spells Cermeño.

[8] The Conde de Monterey landed at Vera Cruz on Sept. 18th, 1595, and on October 5th entered the capital to assume charge of the government.

[9] Supreme Court with executive powers.

[10] Mexico, February 29th, 1596.

things the people may not be driven to the necessity of robbing and doing violence to the natives," etc. [11]

Nevertheless the king did not approve of Vizcaino's appointment, as we learn from a note made by the Royal Council to the viceroy's letter. "This communication," it says, "having been considered on the 27th of May, 1596, let it be written to the viceroy that he take from Sebastian Vizcaino the right to make this conquest and discovery, and that he report to what other person they can be entrusted, who may conduct the same more satisfactorily and with the hope of success." [12] Vizcaino had, meanwhile, departed with his fleet, but the viceroy had taken the precaution to send along a confidential person, who was to report everything that took place, especially concerning the treatment of the Indians. [13]

The missionaries who accompanied Vizcaino were the Franciscan Fathers, Francisco de Balda, Diego Perdomo, [14] Bernardino de Zamúdio, Antonio Tello, Nicolás de Sarábia, [15] and the lay-brother, Cristóbal Lopez. The fleet, consisting of the *San Francisco*, or *La Capitana*, *San Joseph*, or *La Almi-*

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[11] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 26-32.

[12] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 28, 32.

[13] "Y asi he enviado persona particular de confianza . . . que podrá dar buena cuenta de lo que allí se ha de hacer, y de la conduccion de los soldados y castigo de los desordenes que hicieren en los pueblos de los Indios." "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 28.

[14] "Fr. Diego Perdomo, Franciscano, que de la predicacion de la Florida habia vuelto á su convento de Mexico donde profesó año de 1584, acompañó á Sebastian Vizcaino en la jornada, que hizo á la California, porque el deseo de estender la religion Catolica no dejaba sosegar su fervor." Cárdenas, "Ensayo Cronologico," año 1596, p. 169.

[15] Icazbalceta, "Coleccion de Documentos," tom. ii, 48-49, writes "Arabia." He gives the names as above. Tello, he says, was a native of Guadalajara, and member of the Xalisco Franciscan province, and the information was taken from an ancient Franciscan Chronicle. See "Introd. Bibliogr." to the "Cronica de Xalisco," p. xix; Torquemada, "Monarq. Ind.," tom. i, lib. v, cap. xli, p. 682; "Constitucion y Leyes Municipales" de esta Provincia del Santo Evangelio, May 7, 1667; Vetancurt, "Cronica de la Prov. de Santo Evangelio," tratado v, cap. i, no. 8.

THE FRANCISCANS FOUNDING THEIR MISSION

renta, and the lancha *Tres Reyes*, sailed from Acapulco for Zalágua, where fresh water and provisions were taken aboard. When the port of Mazatlán had been entered for more supplies, more than fifty soldiers deserted. Fr. Balda,[16] the commissary, on account of illness, decided to discontinue the voyage, after naming Fr. Diego Perdomo his successor. As Fr. Diego resigned soon after, the friars held an election at the first landing-place on the other side of the gulf. This was the first election in California, and resulted in the choice of Fr. Bernardino de Zamudio.[17]

Vizcaino came in sight of land probably near Cape San Lucas. Sailing northward for two days, "I made a landfall," he writes to the king, "in a very large bay, which to the seaward is shut in by two very large islands. The bay is of capacity sufficient for a great number of ships, as the harbor is free from obstructions. At this place there came a great number of Indians, who received me peacefully, and remained at the place while I was there. What happened there is this: The clergy being desirous of celebrating Mass, and an altar having been erected on shore, I had the image of Our Lady taken from the ship for the purpose of placing it upon the altar, and it was borne in procession from the beach to the place where the altar was. At this time there appeared an Indian chief, followed by more than eight hundred Indians, armed with bows and arrows. I went forth to meet them, and they came to me in peace. Going to where the image of Our Lady was, I fell upon my knees, kissing its feet, as did the friar who held it. Seeing this, the said Indian threw aside the bow and arrow he was holding, and humbled himself before that image, kissing its feet; looking towards the sky and the sun, he asked by gestures whether that image had come thence. He shouted to the other Indians, who drew near in order to do as this Indian had done. While the image was borne in procession to place it on the altar, the Indian chief

[16] "Porque era hombre muy metido en carnes, grueso y con los colores y circumstancias de la mar adoleció, y no pudo pasar adelante." Torquemada, tom. i, cap. xli, 682.

[17] Torquemada, Vetancurt, Tello, locis citatis.

always went before, dancing after the manner of this people. At this place I took quiet and peaceful possession of the land in the presence of these Indians. I named the province Nueva Andalucía; the port, San Felipe; the two islands, one San Francisco and the other San Sebastian."[18]

The fleet left this first landing-place on the same day, because the locality was unsuitable for a colony. Farther north Vizcaino arrived at a harbor, which he called San Sebastian. He took possession by hoisting the Spanish flag and firing some pieces of artillery, which created great amazement among the savages. He then sent out thirty soldiers with a Franciscan to explore the interior. The Indians everywhere manifested friendliness, but showed displeasure when the strangers attempted to enter the native huts. After wandering about for three days the little company returned to the camp. The surrounding country had meanwhile been examined and found lacking the necessary water. All therefore embarked to search for a more favorable location. "I went to another place," Vizcaino writes, "some fifteen leagues farther to the northwest, where there is a great bay with many shoals. On entering there the wind died away; and, as the currents are many and the ship (*San Francisco* or *Capitana*) of more than six hundred tons burthen, I was carried upon a shoal where the vessel remained aground for four days, in consequence of which it was necessary to lighten her, to cut away the masts, and to carry the provisions ashore on planks and the like, so that a great part of them was wetted and lost. After four days had passed . . . the same current carried me away from the shoal[19] and I entered the bay, which I named La Paz." This name, as Torquemada observes, was suggested by the peaceful disposition of the natives. Some of the Indians

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[18] It is impossible to say which islands are meant, unless Vizcaino refers to those opposite the next camping-place.

[19] "Y tambien con ayuda de la 'Almiranta,'" Fr. Torquemada explains. Vizcaino seems to dislike giving credit to others. The editor of the "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 73, even asserts that "Vizcaino's letters, generally, are full of exaggerated statements."

brought pearls, others offered roasted fish, pitahayas [20], plums, and another kind of fruit unknown to the Spaniards, but very agreeable to the taste. The *Almiranta* (*San Jose*) had arrived three days ahead of the *Capitana*. As soon as all had landed, brushwood huts were constructed and guarded by a stockade against an Indian attack. A small church and dwellings for the missionaries were likewise erected. Formal possession was taken in the usual manner, and thus the first colony of white people in California was established at La Paz in the summer of 1596.

The friars began missionary work by inducing the Indians to send their boys for religious instruction. As neither party understood the language of the other, the Fathers made use of signs and by this means contrived to give the little ones an idea of the true God and Creator of all. The boys communicated the lessons which they had heard to their parents and relatives. In this manner old and young gradually learnt the rudiments of Christianity to a certain extent. All were, moreover, taught to bless themselves and to recite the four most common prayers. Further than this the messengers of the Gospel could not proceed during their two months' stay in the country. Their humble and affectionate manner disarmed the suspicion of the grown people, induced the children to learn the lessons, and attracted universal love and respect; but their appearance at the altar in the sacerdotal robes, says Torquemada, caused the natives to look upon the missionaries as children of the sun, to which they had offered a certain kind of worship. On the other hand, the soldiers were detested on account of their greed and insolence. The rudeness of the soldiers towards the native women was such that the Indians would not allow their wives and daughters to go unaccompanied to the camp of the white men. [21] At this

[20] The fruit of the prickly-pear, of which the Indians and Mexicans in California are very fond.

[21] "Que esto ha sido plaga de soldados en todos estos descubrimientos. . . . Persuadian á los religiosos, que se quedasen alli con ellos, y que los soldados se fuesen, que no eran buena gente, por que los trataban mal, y les tomaban todo lo que traian. . . .

port of La Paz several pieces of iron were found, which Cortés may have left there. The Indians, in fact, told the Spaniards that other white people had been there before.

In the meantime, "desirous of exploring the whole gulf," Vizcaino reports to the king, "I determined to enter it with the small ship and the lancha for the purpose of discovery, leaving at this place the flagship and the people who were married and most burdensome, and taking with me eighty men. This I did, leaving Captain Rodrigo de Figueroa as my lieutenant at this place. I left the port, which is in a little less than twenty-five degrees of latitude, on the 3d of October. While I was navigating said gulf, I encountered a storm from the north which lasted four days, at the end of which time we were struck by a hurricane from the south. . . . This storm lasted two days, and on its cessation I found myself at a point in latitude twenty-seven, and in the midst of six islands and many shoals, from which it pleased God in His mercy to deliver me. At daybreak there came from the land five canoes full of Indians, making signs that we should go ashore, and promising things to eat and water, of which there was lack. So I came to a place which the Indians showed me and went ashore with forty-five men. There a great number of Indians met me, giving me fish and fruits and manifesting great content in seeing us."

"At this place one of my soldiers, unseen by me, inconsiderately struck one of the Indians in the breast with the butt of his arquebus, at which the Indians were angered and discharged some arrows at us. . . . Seeing this boldness of

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Y quando venian las mujeres al real, estaban siempre cercadas de los Indios, por defenderlas de los soldados, que no las hiciesen alguna ofensa." Torquemada, "Monarq. Ind.," tom. i, 684. Thus early the work of the missionaries was hampered and often nullified by the adventurers in Spanish uniform; and this state of things we shall frequently encounter all through mission history. More often the presence of the soldiery was a curse than a blessing. The wonder is not that the religious were successful in converting savages, but that they made any headway at all, when the conduct of military attendants provided the sensual pagan mind with arguments for not embracing Christianity.

the Indians, I ordered four arquebuses to be discharged into the air, in order to frighten without injuring them. At the noise of the discharge they all fell to the ground; but when the smoke had cleared away they arose, and, seeing that no harm had been done to them, with greater earnestness they fell to shooting arrows again. On this I ordered my people to fire low, and at the first discharge there fell I do not know how many of them, upon which the rest of them began to run away up the slopes of the mountain. Seeing that nothing could be accomplished here, I set about embarking in order to pursue the journey; but, the long-boat which I had being small, all could not embark at once. So I left the major with half of the people on shore, and sent the long-boat back for them at once. Among these soldiers presently there arose differences concerning who had borne himself the better in the fray, so that they did not embark without some delay; but seeing that the punishment of the disobedient was determined upon, they embarked. While the boat was making for the ship, and already at some distance from the shore, there came upon the scene a great number of Indians shooting arrows and aiming high. One of these hit one of the oarsmen on the nose, who ceased rowing when he felt himself wounded. The man on the other side continued his work, the long-boat took a sheer, and in consequence the soldiers on board were thrown into disorder. They attempted to regain their positions, but, as they were fully armed their defensive weapons being of leather and boards, they went under, and out of twenty-five but six escaped by swimming and being rescued."

"In view of the misfortune which befell us at this place, and as we were without a long-boat, or any means of going ashore, or of obtaining water . . . all being in accord, I turned back for the port of La Paz. . . . Having reached the said port, and what had occurred being learned by the others . . . many of them lost heart . . . So they requested me to take them back to New Spain, since it was impossible to go on . . . because of the lack of food in the land, and of the great mountainous wilds which it was impossible to penetrate. The stock of provisions we had

brought was very greatly reduced by the disaster to the ship *San Francisco*, as well as by the amount consumed, so that there remained not enough for wintering there.[22] That we might not perish, I gave them permission to return to New Spain in the ship *San Francisco* and the lancha, while I and forty men stayed behind with the ship *San Jose*, in order to push on into said gulf for the purpose of exploring the whole of it. We left this place on October 28th, 1596, I for the discovery of said gulf, and the others for New Spain. Following my route I encountered many storms and contrary winds from the north and northwest. So contrary were they that, during the sixty-six days I remained in the gulf, I could not ascend it farther than latitude twenty-nine degrees,[23] and this only by dint of driving the ship in such a manner that the rudder-irons broke. This taking place, and the winter having set in, and as we were unable to make farther progress with the ship, I sailed, in accordance with the request of all, for the port of the isles of Mazatlan, steering by means of the sheets of the sails, God in pity conducting us."[24]

Vetancurt gives an additional reason for the precipitate departure of the Spaniards from the peninsula. According to him, one of the soldiers was so infatuated with a pearl which an Indian girl, the daughter of a chief, wore suspended from her neck, that he one day tore it from her. This incensed the natives to such a degree that it was found expedient to give up the conquest of California; "and thus," he remarks, "on account of one pearl the whole treasure was lost."[25] The Franciscan friars, willing to subject themselves to all manner of hardships for the sake of the Indians, desired to remain in the country; but Vizcaino would not permit it. He prom-

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[22] Torquemada says the provisions were so nearly exhausted that each member of the colony received each day but one ration, consisting of a small dish of corn.

[23] Torquemada says they proceeded about one hundred leagues.

[24] Letter of Vizcaino, Febr. 27th, 1597, in "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 35-47.

[25] "Y por una perla se perdió el tesóro." Vetancurt, "Cronica," trat. v, cap. i, no. 11.

ised that they should soon return, and then directed them to embark with the rest.[26]

At the close of his report to the king Vizcaino offered himself for another voyage, provided he were granted certain privileges. "It seems advisable," he writes, "that the work be continued and that this exploration be undertaken anew for many reasons. Of these the principal one is the great service which will be rendered unto God, our Lord, by the conversion of the many souls in that land, who so willingly gave proofs of a desire to receive the holy Gospel. . . . So I also note that pearls are abundant and of excellent quality. The Indians told me by signs that, letting the winter pass so that the sea should be smooth, they would enter the water and bring out a great quantity. As a token that this is the truth, I send two of the pearls which the Indians gave me, that Your Majesty may see them. . . . I also note, further, that in the sea there is a greater quantity of fish of all kinds than there is in any sea discovered. I also note that in those waters there is a great number of salt deposits, so abundantly supplied by nature that a thousand fleets can be laden."[27]

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[26] "Los religiosos, que se sujetaban á padecer cualquier penuria por no desamparar la tierra, quisieron quedarse; pero no se lo permitió el general, prometiendoles que en breve darian la vuelta, y asi partieron con la esperanza de volver; pero no se lo concedió Dios." Icazbalceta, in "Coleccion de documentos para la historia de Mexico," tomo ii, pp. xlviii-xlix; Zárate Salmeron, "Relaciones," nos. 13-14.

[27] Sebastian Vizcaino, "Relacion." Vizcaino announced his return from the expedition in a letter to the king, dated Mexico, February 27th, 1597, and it may have accompanied his "Relacion." For the original and translation see "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 33-52. Compare also Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," tom. i, lib. v, cap. xli-xlii, 682-686; Vetancurt, "Cronica," trat. v, cap. i, nos. 9-11; Tello, "Cronica de Xalisco," Introduccion Bibliografica, xix; Venegas, "Noticia," tom. i, pte. ii, 184-189; Clavijero, lib. ii, 33-34.

CHAPTER IV.

Sebastian Vizcaino's Voyage.—The Carmelite Fathers.—First Corpus Christi Procession.—San Bernabé to San Diego.—The Natives.—San Diego to Monterey.—First Holy Mass at Monterey.—Return of the Santo Tomás.—Monterey to Cape Mendocino.—Dreadful Hardships.—The Return.—The Tres Reyes.

DESPITE the unfortunate outcome of the enterprise in charge of Sebastian Vizcaino, Viceroy Monterey in a letter to the king dated July 28th, 1597,[1] supported Vizcaino's petition, "since he has been at expense in the expedition, and has acted with all the skill and judgment to be looked for, although with poor success and loss of prestige." Again in a letter of November 26th, 1597, Monterey urged the king to entrust another fleet to the same commander, because "the unfortunate ending of the voyage was not due to incapacity on the part of Vizcaino, who, on the contrary, gave evidence of some ability and greater spirit than could have been expected."[2]

The decision of the royal council approved by the king was favorable, but included a rebuke. It read as follows: "Let him be answered that, from what he says here, and as he is inclined to comply with the agreement made with Sebastian Vizcaino, and as he approves his sufficiency and his person, it appears to be fitting that he go on with the work of the expedition which he has begun in execution of his contract which is confirmed,[3] that he do this with all possible speed, and that he be aided in accordance with what he asks in the second memorial presented by him, or, at least, with so much of his demand as may be agreed upon and made operative; that there be sent with him some religious of well approved character, and as many of them as possible, as well as some

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[1] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, pp. 52-53.

[2] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, pp. 55-60.

[3] Refers to the contract made between Viceroy Velasco and Vizcaino after September 18th, 1595. "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, pp. 24-25.

judicious persons of satisfactory reputation to assist him, and that he be admonished to regard them as examples of the prudence and consideration he should observe and the tact with which he should proceed; that he be reproved for the lack of prudence shown on his last voyage, particularly in having killed the Indians, as he relates in his report, and in having allowed the soldier who struck the Indian with the butt of his arquebus to go unpunished, and that he treat the Indians with great love and tenderness, making gifts to them in order to attract them in good will to the holy Gospel, and not permitting injury to be done them;[4] that he report what he may do and what the result of the expedition may be; that His Majesty be consulted in the matter, *the main end he is to accomplish being the conversion of the Indians.*[5] Let that which is said concerning the ship of light burthen, which could be sent from Acapulco to explore the coast, be done; . . . and let this enterprise be undertaken at once with the circumspection that is proper."[6]

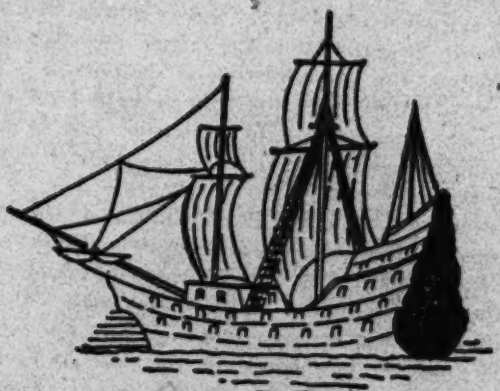
The death of King Philip II. delayed action; but one of the first decrees issued by his son and successor, King Philip III., and dated September 27th, 1599, related to the expedition which was to make the survey of the northwest coast. No expense was to be spared in equipping the ships, and more than ordinary care was to be exercised in the selection of men and vessels, in order that the undertaking might succeed. The fleet consisted of the *San Diego*, which in Torquemada's narrative is generally called *La Capitana*, because it was commanded by Sebastian Vizcaino, who bore the title captain-general of the expedition; the *Santo Tomás*, which with Torquemada figures as *La Almiranta* for the reason that her commander, Toribio Gómez, had the title almirante; and the *Tres Reyes*, in charge of Ensign Martin Aguilár and Pilot

[4] This solicitude of the kings of Spain for the Indians runs through all the royal decrees; unfortunately subordinates suited themselves.

[5] This explicit declaration likewise gives the mind of all the Spanish kings.

[6] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, pp. 56-57, 61-63.

Antonio Flores. A long-boat[7] was also taken along for the purpose of exploring shallow waters and narrow passages. The force was composed of nearly two hundred picked men under Captain Alonso Estévan Peguero, Captain Gaspar de Alarcón, Ensign Juan Francisco Suriano, and Sergeant Miguel de Legar. Three barefooted friars of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel accompanied the explorers as chaplains. They were Fr. Andrés de la Asumpcion, as superior, Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, and Fr. Tomás de Aquino. Fr. Antonio de la Ascension was directed to keep the journal, and



Navio, or Ship.

Captain Gerónimo Martin Palácios acted as cosmographer and surveyor. The officers and men on board the three vessels, according to Torquemada, formed one of the most brilliant corps ever raised in New Spain for such a purpose.[8]

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[7] "Dos navios, una lancha, y un 'barco-luengo,'" are the vessels that Vizcaino reports to the king. The navio had a deck and three masts; the lancha (the fragata of Torquemada) was a small vessel having no deck and but one mast; its movement was aided by sweeps; the barco-luengo was a long boat having one or two masts and a bluff bow. "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, p. 64.

[8] Torquemada, tom. lib. v, cap. xlv, 694; cap. xlvi, 694-695; Venegas, pte. ii, 190; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 153-154.

Before their departure from the capital Viceroy Monterey in a speech impressed upon men and officers the importance of the work which they were about to undertake. He urged them to preserve peace among themselves, to obey the officers, and to pay special respect to the religious whose co-operation, he hoped, would greatly contribute to the success of the enterprise. They set out from the city of Mexico on March 7th, 1602, and reach the port of Acapulco on the 20th of the same month. Here men and officers received the sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist,[9] and on Sunday, May 5th, at five o'clock in the afternoon, they sailed out of the harbor, "in the name of God and His Blessed Mother and of Your Majesty," as Vizcaino wrote to the king from Acapulco just before sailing.[10]

On May 19th the ships reached the port of Navidad and remained for repairs until the 22d. After touching at one of the islands of Mazatlán on Sunday, June 2d, Vizcaino steered across the gulf. On Sunday afternoon, June 9th, land was sighted, but a heavy fog prevented him from going ashore until the 11th, when the fleet anchored in a small bay which, on account of the feast, was called San Bernabé. It is situated immediately east of Cape San Lucas, the southern extremity of Lower California, and is now known as Port San José. The expedition was detained until July 5th. The country seemed well inhabited by Indians. Profiting by the lessons of his former visit, and remembering the rebuke from the royal council, the commander published an order imposing the death penalty upon any soldier or sailor who should cause disturbance among the natives.[11] Had this measure been adopted by all conquerors, Englishmen and Americans,

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[9] "Habiendo los religiosos administrado los sacramentos de la Confesion y Comunion á todos los que iban al Descubrimiento." Torquemada, p. 695.

[10] "Hoy Domingo cinco de Mayo á las cinco (Torquemada has 'á las quatro') me hago á la vela en el nombre de Dios y de Su Bendita Madre y de Vuestra Magestad." "Carta" de Vizcaino, "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 63.

[11] Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 138.

as well as Spaniards, would not have covered themselves with so much infamy while dealing with the aborigines of America. No sooner had the Spaniards landed, when the Indians withdrew to a hill; but Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, armed only with the blessing of the superior, went towards them and sought by means of signs to allay their apprehensions. He embraced each one affectionately, and by degrees dispelled their fear and distrust.

While awaiting a favorable opportunity to continue the voyage, the commander and his followers gave vent to their Christian faith in a manner which must have amazed the natives. Having established friendly relations with the Indians, "the general," says Torquemada, "commanded that a large tent[12] be erected, in order that an altar be placed therein, and that the religious celebrate Mass during the days they were detained there, as they have always done. On the octave of Corpus Christi the religious celebrated the feast, and a solemn procession was held with the Most Holy Sacrament and with a statute of Our Lady of Carmel, which, for the consolation of all, the religious had brought along. On this day, too, all the members of the expedition confessed and received holy Communion, and there was High Mass with a sermon, which was a great consolation to all."[13] After this the Indians, who generally went naked, would come to the camp, or to the tent where holy Mass was celebrated, bringing skins of deer, mountain lions, tigers, etc.[14]

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[12] Tienda. Enramada is the term invariably used when the structure was made of bougha.

[13] "En la Bahía de San Bernabé, etc., mandó el general, que luego se armase una grande tienda, para que allí se hiciera altar, y los religiosos dixeran Misa los dias que allí se detuviesen, como lo hicieron siempre, y el dia de la Octava de el Corpus los religiosos celebraron allí la Fiesta, y se hizo una Solemne Procesion con el Santisimo Sacramento, y con una Imagen de bulto de Nuestra Señora del Cármen, que los religiosos llevaban, para consuelo de todos; y este dia se confesó y comulgó toda la gente de la Armada, y hubo Misa Cantada, y sermon, que para todos fué de mucho consuelo." Torquemada, tom. i, lib. v, cap. xlviii, 698.

[14] Torquemada, "Monarq. Ind.," tom. i, cap. xlvii, 695; cap. xlviii, 696-699; Greenhow, "Oregon and California," 89.

On the fifth of July the fleet sailed around the cape and began to survey the west coast in the face of trying difficulties. The scurvy broke out among the crew and the northwest wind allowed the ships to proceed but slowly. On the third day a violent storm separated the *Tres Reyes* from the other two vessels. Finally such a calm set in that the *Capitana* and the *Almiranta* made only one league from the 8th to the 16th. From this circumstance the range of mountains at the foot of which the Spaniards had landed, was called Sierra de Enfado.[15] On the last of these days, the titular feast of the Carmelite Order, the friars placed the statue of Our Lady of Mount Carmel on an altar, where all appealed for relief to the patroness of the expedition. While they were yet praying, a favorable wind arose and on July 20th brought the ships to Port Santa Maria Magdalena. Before reaching the bay, the *Santo Tomás* lost sight of the *Capitana*, and continued on her way to the north. On the 22d, the feast of St. Mary Magdalene, Vizcaino went ashore with the crew and erected an altar. Fathers Andrés de la Asumpcion and Tomás de Aquino celebrated holy Mass and men and officers received holy Communion. Here the *Tres Reyes* rejoined the flagship.[16]

In the meantime the *Almiranta*, or *Santo Tomás*, sailed on and reached Isla de la Asuncion on August 5th. The next day, the feast of the Transfiguration of Christ, some of the crew received holy Communion during the holy Mass, which was celebrated by Fr. Antonio de la Ascension. The *Almiranta* then moved onward and on the 19th dropped her anchor at Cerros Island to wait for the *Capitana*. The latter arrived at the Isla de la Asumpcion on the 15th, and anchored two leagues farther up at an island which was named San Roque, for the saint of the next day. On the 19th the *Capitana*, or *San Diego*, arrived at the Isla de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora with the *Tres Reyes*, and on the 24th they entered the port of San Bartolomé. Finally, on the last day

[15] Sierra of Vexation.

[16] Torquemada, tom. i, cap. xlviii, 699-700; Greenhow, 89.

of August, the *Capitana* came up with the long-lost *Almiranta* at Cerros Island. Here, on September 8th, the whole fleet celebrated the birthday of the Mother of God with as much pomp as possible. There was a High Mass and sermon, followed by a procession with the statue of the Blessed Virgin. Nearly all received holy Communion. Wood and fresh water were taken aboard, and on the next day the voyage was resumed. Various stops were made and names applied to the places discovered, but on this point Torquemada's narrative is so confused that it is impossible to identify them all. Storms again drove the *Almiranta* away from the other ships, but on October 3d, the eve of the feast of St. Francis, the *Capitana* and the *Tres Reyes* entered a bay which lies at the foot and southeast of the Mesas de San Juan Gómez,[17] and which was given the name of San Francisco Bay. Here all observed the feast in true Catholic fashion by receiving the sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist, and by assisting at the holy Masses of Fr. Andrés de la Asumpcion and Fr. Tomás de Aquino.[18] Many Indians were seen, and Torquemada notes that the women were properly covered with the skins of animals.[19]

On October 24th the *Almiranta* rejoined the other two ships, and on the 28th, the feast of the Apostles Saints Simon and Jude, the fleet anchored in a large bay which was named Bahía de San Simon y San Judas. Here for the first time the savages showed themselves openly hostile by shooting arrows at the sailors who had gone ashore for fresh water. The Spaniards in self-defense used their guns and killed several of the two hundred aggressors, whereupon they were allowed to sail away. At intervals along the coast they saw

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[17] Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 157.

[18] It will be noticed that the navigators, officers and men, frequently received the sacraments. This fact shows that the members of the expedition were a select class, and not like most of those that subsequently came to California as soldiers and sailors.

[19] Las mujeres andaban muy honestas y cubiertas con pieles de animales; y son fecundisimas, porque cada una traia consigo dos niños á los pechos." Torquemada, tom. i, cap. li, 708.

fires and heard the shouts of the natives, but they sailed on and came to four islands situated about six leagues from the shore. These were called Islas de los Coronados for the four martyrs whose feast is celebrated on November 8th.

"To the north of these islands," says Torquemada, "on the mainland, is the famous port called San Diego,[20] which the expedition entered on November 10th, the eve of St. Martin's day,[21] at about seven o'clock in the evening. On the morning after the day of the glorious St. Martin, the general ordered some men to go and examine a mountain which protected this harbor from the northwest wind; these were Ensign Alarcón, Captain Alonso Peguero, Fr. Antonio de la Ascension, and eight archers. They found much live-oak timber and other trees, such as the rock-rose and others resembling the rosemary, besides some very odoriferous and wholesome plants. From the top of the mountain the port appeared to be very fine, spacious, and convenient, because it was sheltered against all storms. The mountain, which protects the port on the northwest side, may be three leagues in length and half a league in width. On the other side to the northwest is another good port."[22]

"When they had returned with this report, the general commanded that a suitable tent be pitched to serve as a church, in order that the religious might celebrate Mass; that the ships should be cleaned and tarred; that some men should procure firewood and others stand guard. This was done on a sandbank, or island of sand, where they dug wells and trenches. When the sea was high, the pools contained sweet and good water; but when the tide went out it was salty.[23] One day a sentinel gave notice that many Indians

[20] So named by Vizcaino, probably for the saint of the day on whose feast, November 12th, a landing was effected. Cabrillo, sixty years before, had given it the name San Miguel.

[21] "Entró ésta Armada la víspera de San Martin, que fué á 10 de Noviembre, á las siete de la noche." Torquemada, tom. i, lib. v, cap. lii, 710.

[22] This is known as "False Bay."

[23] "Quando la mar era creciente, tenian los pozos el agua dulce y buena; y siendo menguante, salobre."

were coming along the beach, all armed with bows and arrows, but naked and besmeared with black and white paint. The general requested Fr. Antonio to go and receive them in peace; Ensign Juan Francisco and six archers went with him. When they had come up to the Indians, and had made signs of peace with a strip of white cloth and by throwing up earth with their hands, the first thing the Indians did was to turn the bows and arrows over to the soldiers. Fr. Antonio embraced the savages and gave them some beads on strings, which they put on their necks for display. Thereupon they went towards the place where the general was; but when they saw the multitude of Spaniards, they did not dare approach, and so withdrew to a hill, whence they sent two very old, wrinkled women. When they arrived at the tent, the general, the religious, and some of the soldiers, gave them strings of glass beads and some biscuits, and with these sent them to tell what treatment they had received at the hands of the people who had recently arrived in their country. The women related their impressions, whereupon all immediately came to see the Spaniards. Most of them came painted black and white, and wearing many feathers on their heads. Vizcaino and the others received them with much pleasure, and, besides other things, gave them many fish which had been caught in their presence with a net. Quite transported with the good treatment accorded them on this occasion, the Indians came every third day for biscuits and fish, in turn bringing skins of martens, wild cats, and other animals, together with the traps in which they caught them." They also informed Vizcaino that in the interior were people who had beards and wore clothes like the Spaniards. He could learn nothing more, but concluded that they were the people who had recently settled in New Mexico.

After the commander had surveyed the port he gave orders to resume the voyage, although many of the soldiers were suffering from scurvy, and some of the ablest men had already died. On Wednesday, November 20th, all received holy Communion and then continued on their course, generally sailing against a northwest wind. On the 25th the explorers came

in sight of a large island which they named Santa Catalina Island, for the saint of the day, St. Catherine, Virgin and Martyr. They landed on the 28th, and on the next morning they assisted at the holy Masses offered up by Fathers Andrés and Antonio. Fr. Tomás was too ill to celebrate Mass. A large number of Indians witnessed the solemn scene. Here for the first time in the history of California the Spaniards encountered a place of idol worship. It was nothing more than a circle within which stood a gaudily painted figure supposed to represent a demon. On one side was the picture of the sun, and on the other that of the moon. The sacrifices offered to this idol consisted of birds, whose feathers were used to ornament the circle. While the soldiers were approaching, two crows flew from the spot and perched on some rocks near by. The natives seemed to dread these birds; for this reason, probably, and on account of their extraordinary size, the Spaniards shot and killed them. This caused their Indian guide to utter the most woeful lamentations. The inhabitants of the island communicated with the Indians on the mainland by means of canoes, some of which were capable of carrying as many as twenty men. Though very friendly, the islanders also proved quite skillful as thieves.

After leaving the island, probably on December 2d,[24] the little fleet soon ran into the channel to which they gave the name of the virgin and martyr Santa Barbara. Near the first island, probably in the neighborhood of the later Mission San Buenaventura, a canoe containing five Indians left the mainland and moved directly for the *Capitana*. One of the savages boarded the vessel and in his own language made a long speech, of which Vizcaino and his men naturally understood nothing. By means of signs the Indian invited the explorers to visit his rancherías, where they would be supplied with everything. When he noticed that there were no women on board, he inquired for them. Vizcaino replied that they brought none along and had no need of them. The

[24] Torquemada followed by Venegas has 25th, which is of course a misprint.

surprised Indian then promised that, if they would go ashore, he would provide each man with ten women. This singular proposition provoked great mirth among the explorers, but was not accepted.[25]

Soon after the departure of the Indian, at seven in the evening of December 3d, the eve of St. Barbara's day, a favorable wind arose and continued until the next morning, when the Spaniards found themselves near the last island of the channel. They saw much timber along the coast, and the native rancherías were numerous. On December 14th the expedition arrived opposite a lofty range of mountains, which was called Sierra de Santa Lucía, probably because it was first sighted on December 13th, the feast of the saint. Four leagues beyond a river was discovered and named Rio del Carmelo. "Two leagues farther on," Torquemada writes, "is a famous port between which and said river is a pine-covered mountain two leagues wide, and the land forms a point, which is called Punta de Pinos, for the entrance to the port. Into this port the fleet entered in order to prepare the despatches for New Spain; it was the 16th of December."[26]

This harbor, which received the weary explorers on the evening of the 16th of December, was named Monte-Rey, in honor of the viceroy. On the following morning Vizcaino ordered everything necessary to be taken ashore, so that the Carmelite Fathers might celebrate holy Mass while the ships lay at anchor in the bay. "The chapel," as Fr. Torquemada relates, "was placed in the shadow of a large oak-tree, some of whose branches reached the water; and near it, in a small

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[25] "Como no viese muger alguna en el navío, preguntó por ellas por señas. . . . El general le dixo, que no las llevaban, ni las habian menester. Entonces el Indio importunó al general con mas eficacia, se fuera á su tierra con la gente que traia, que el le prometia de dar á cada uno de todos, que en el navío iban, diez mugeres, de lo qual se rió toda la gente mucho." Torquemada, tom. i, cap. liii, 714.

[26] Torquemada, p. 715.

ravine, at about twenty paces, were some pools containing very good and sweet water." [27]

After assisting at a holy Mass in honor of the Holy Ghost, Vizcaino and his officers held a council to deliberate how they could best inform the viceroy about the results of the expedition and relieve the afflicted crew. Very few of the men had escaped the scurvy; the pilot of the *Almiranta* and his assistant were unable to leave their beds; the sailing-master of the *Capitana* and his assistant could scarcely remain on their feet; and sixteen of the soldiers and sailors had died. It was decided to send back the *Santo Tomás*, or *Almiranta*, in charge of her commander, Toribio Gómez de Corván, with all the sick and disabled, including Fr. Tomás de Aquino. Accordingly, after all had confessed and received holy Communion, the scurvy-stricken men were borne to the ship. The vessel, manned by a sufficient number of able-bodied sailors, departed for Acapulco on December 29th, 1602, but the voyage was one of intense pain for the sufferers. Twenty-five of them died on the way or soon after reaching the port; only nine, among whom were Admiral Corván and Fr. Tomás, survived.

Having rested his men and obtained a supply of wood and water, the *San Diego* and the *Tres Reyes* set out from Monterey Bay, on January 3d, 1603, in search of Cape Mendocino. A favorable wind carried them north until the seventh, when a storm separated the *Tres Reyes* from the flagship. The latter turned back and sought shelter in the harbor which Cermeñon in 1595 had named San Francisco Bay, and which is now called Drake's Bay. Here Vizcaino, while waiting for the lancha to reappear, looked in vain for remains of the *San Agustin*, which had been wrecked in this harbor in 1595, when a friar lost his life, as we have stated in Chapter II. [28]

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[27] "Hizose la iglesia á la sombra de una grande encina, que con algunas de sus ramas llegaba á la mar, y cerca de ella, en una barranquilla, á veinte pasos, habia unos pozos, en que habia agua muy buena y dulce."

[28] Torquemada, tom. i, cap. liv, 715-717.

The general named the point of land above Drake's Bay Punta de los Reyes, in honor of the Three Magi whose octave was then celebrated. He did not land, but sailed out of the harbor on January 8th. On Sunday, the 12th, he came in sight of a high mountain range. Fourteen leagues farther onward he discerned a cape in the neighborhood of snow-capped sierras, in about forty-one and a half degrees latitude. The pilots believed this point of land to be Cape Mendocino. On the following day the *Capitana* encountered a cold and furious rainstorm which every moment threatened to destroy the vessel. What made the situation on board more terrible was the condition of the crew; for "when the ship *Capitana*," says Torquemada, "arrived at this place of Cape Mendocino, there were no more than six persons who had health and walked about. All the soldiers, sailors, servants, and cabin-boys, afflicted with the disease which we mentioned (scurvy), had dropped into their bunks; and not only the men, but likewise the religious and the officers on duty had become so ill, that the Fr. Comisario could scarcely go to hear their confessions and annoint those that were about to die; Fr. Antonio could not rise from bed. As the men still able to manage the ship were few, there existed among all great distress, caused by fear in seeing themselves at such a place without a remedy; and had the storm been more fierce, I hold for certain the destruction of all, because the soldiers and sailors, in their weak state, could by no means have controlled the ship on account of their inability to set the sails."

In this predicament Vizcaino with his officers decided to return to La Paz; but another storm drove the vessel onward until, in the afternoon of January 19th, the Spaniards found themselves in sight of a white point of land near a high snow-capped mountain in latitude forty-two degrees. As it happened to be the eve of St. Sebastian, the patron saint of the commander, this point was called Cabo Blanco de San Sebastian. The cold now was intense and the provisions were almost exhausted. Vizcaino, therefore, began the return voyage on January 20th. On reaching Santa Barbara Channel only three soldiers were able to be on their feet. The suffer-

ings and loss of life were terrible. Though ill himself, Fr. Andrés dragged himself to every bed, in order to afford the dying the consolation of at least making their confession and receiving extreme unction. "To see so many dead, to hear so many lamentations and cries of pain," Torquemada declares, "would have moved the very stones to pity and grief; but all died like faithful Christians."[29] The *Capitana* made no stop until she reached Cerros Island on February 7th. Here water and wood were taken aboard, and on Sunday, the 9th, she sailed directly for Mazatlán, where she arrived on Monday night, February 17th. On March 19th, after a month's rest, the ship resumed the voyage, and entered the harbor of Acapulco on March 21st, 1603.[30]

Meanwhile the *Tres Reyes* under Martin de Aguilár, after losing sight of the *San Diego* at San Francisco, or Drake's Bay, was driven northward until January 19th, when she arrived in latitude forty-three degrees at a point of land which was given the name Cabo Blanco. Seeing that they had gone farther than ordered by the viceroy, that the *Capitana* did not appear, and that many of the crew had fallen sick with scurvy, Aguilar and Pilot Antonio Flores agreed to make their way back to Mexico. Both, however, fell victims to the dreaded disease and died before reaching their destination. Estévan López, the pilot in charge, brought the vessel to the port of Navidad. He and four soldiers alone survived to relate the terrible hardships of the voyage.[31]

From the city of Mexico Sebastian Vizcaino, under date of May 23d, 1603, reported the results of the expedition to the King of Spain. "Eleven months," he writes, "were spent on the voyage, during which noteworthy hardships were suffered; and, notwithstanding the unhappy experience of my men, who were all sick and of whom forty-two died before

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[29] "Ver tantos muertos, tantos gritos, y tantas lamentaciones, moveria á compasion y lastima á las piedras. Todos murieron como fieles Christianos, y por lo menos confesados y oleados."

[30] Torquemada, "Monarquia Indiana," tom. i, cap. lv, 719; cap. lvi, 719-720.

[31] Torquemada, tom. i, cap. lv, 719; cap. lviii.

our return to the port of Acapulco, I again offer to serve Your Majesty in continuing the exploration . . . in which I have spent the greater part of my fortune and of my health." [22] His offer was not accepted, for the attention of the Spanish government at that time was diverted to the far West. Ten years later, on December 26th, 1613, Vizcaino once more saw Cape Mendocino on his way from Japan as a passenger on board the San Francisco. [23]

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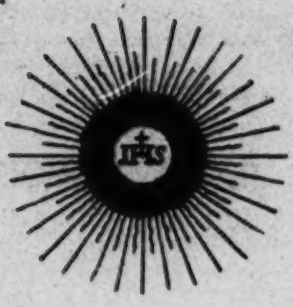
[22] "Sutro Collection," vol. ii, 70-73.

[23] Torquemada, tom. i, cap. lv, 717-718. Torquemada is the standard author for the voyage of Vizcaino. See also Venegas, "Noticia," tom. i, pte. ii, 183-202; tom. iii, pte. iv, 88-97; Bancroft, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 105; "Hist. of Texas, vol. i, 157; Greenhow, "Oregon and California," 92, who claims that Vizcaino died in 1608; Shea, "Catholic Missions," 88-89.

PART II.

THE JESUIT PERIOD.

(1679–1767)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CHAPTER I.

Efforts to Colonize the Peninsula.—The First Secular Priest in California.—The First Jesuits.—Isidro Otondo's Expedition.—The Jesuits Kino and Gogni and Fray José Guijosa.—Indian Mission and Colony Established.—Troubles with the Indians.—Mission System.—Success of the Missionaries.—Spaniards Dissatisfied.—Abandoning the Peninsula.

FOR more than a century and a half after Vizcaino's death no attempt was made by the Spaniards to secure a foothold on the west coast of California. The Gulf of California itself became the principal resort of Dutch freebooters, who, under the name of Pichilingues, kept the inhabitants of the Mexican coast in constant anxiety. Greed, however, induced adventurers to cross the gulf secretly in search of gold or pearls. Many grew wealthy through pearl-fishing. In 1615 Captain Juan Iturbi obtained the requisite government license for an expedition to the peninsula. One of his two ships was captured by the Pichilingues; with the other he sailed up the gulf, collecting pearls from the savages at various places, until he reached latitude thirty degrees, where the eastern and western shores seemed to unite in the distance. Northwest winds and lack of provisions then forced the ship back to Sinaloa. The large number of beautiful pearls which Iturbi had obtained aroused the cupidity of many other adventurers.[1]

Francisco de Ortega received permission to proceed to the land of the coveted pearls, on condition that he pay his own expenses and treat the natives kindly. He sailed from the mouth of the Rio de San Pedro on March 20th, 1632, accompanied by the Rev. Diego de la Nava, whom the bishop of Guadalajara had appointed vicar of California.[2] Ortega's

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[1] Venegas, "Noticia," pte. ii, 202-204; Clavijero, "Historia," lib. ii, 35.

[2] "Hizose este á la vela . . . accompañado del Licenciado Diego de la Nava, presbítero, á quien el obispo de Guadalajara nombró vicario de la California." Venegas, pte. ii, 205. According to this

ship, the *Madre Luisa*, made the port of San Bernabé on the 2d of May. He examined the coast northward, procured pearls from the Indians, and entered the port of La Paz. From there he proceeded northward to the 27th degree, and on June 24th he returned to Sinaloa. On September 8th, 1633, he again set out for La Paz, and arrived there on October 7th. Believing that the natives could easily be converted, he took along the Rev. Juan de Zuñiga, another secular priest. The Indians proved very docile and the pearls were plentiful. Ortega and Rev. de la Nava, with a part of the men, made an excursion northward along the coast and returned to La Paz a month later. Meanwhile Rev. Juan Zuñiga had found the natives so well disposed towards Christianity that he baptized one hundred of them. This hasty and wholesale baptizing, without sufficient instruction or time for probation, did not receive the approval of either Rev. D. Nava or Don Ortega, especially since it was not certain that the colony would be permanent. A fort was, indeed, erected and arrangements were made for a settlement, but nothing is on record, except that the La Paz Indians had two bloody fights with the Guaicuros on the southwestern shore, and that the place was abandoned by the Spaniards, probably for want of provisions.[3]

Ortega had the *Madre Luisa* prepared for another voyage, and then sailed from Santa Catalina, Sinaloa, on January 11th, 1636, in company with the Jesuit, Rev. Roque de Vega, and a force of about a dozen men.[4] Three days later the vessel anchored in a bay four leagues below La Paz. A terrible storm lasting eleven days drove the ship ashore a com-

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statement Rev. D. Nava was the first vicar-general or representative of a bishop in California, and the first secular priest who reached the peninsula.

[3] Venegas, "Noticia," tom. i, pte. ii, 205-207; Clavijero, "Historia," lib. ii, 35; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas and the Northwestern States," vol. i, 170-175.

[4] Vega was the first Jesuit to enter the peninsula; neither Venegas nor Clavijero, both Jesuits, mention him. Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 174-175.

plete wreck. The crew escaped, and Father Vega managed to save the vestments and altar vessels, so that he could offer up the holy Sacrifice while on the peninsula. The Spaniards constructed a boat out of the wreckage and reached La Paz on February 27th. Here the fort, church, and other things were found just as they had been left. The Indians, moreover, wanted the strangers to remain; but after baptizing a few dying natives, the Spaniards sailed along the coast in their frail vessel as far as the thirty-sixth degree of latitude, and on May 15th re-entered Santa Catalina.[5]

Recognizing the importance of the enterprise so often undertaken in vain by private parties, Viceroy Diego Lopez Pacheco, resolved to make an attempt at the expense of the royal treasury. He ordered Luis Cestin de Cañas, governor of Sinaloa, to cross the Gulf of California in order to explore the peninsula. Cañas begged the provincial of the Jesuits to allow a Father of the Society to join the expedition. The request was granted, and Rev. Jacinto Cortés became chaplain. Cañas sailed away from Babachilato, Sinaloa, in July, 1642, and landed at the port of San José, where the Indians received the Spaniards in a friendly manner. From here the coast was examined for forty leagues to La Paz. The natives were found so well disposed, that Father Cortés asked to be assigned to that mission permanently in case a colony were established there. He confirmed the former accounts of the poverty of the people and the barrenness of the soil, though he said that some pearls might be obtained.[6]

Pedro Portel in 1648 made a voyage to the peninsula in the company of the Jesuits Jacinto Cortés and Andrés Baez; but, after vainly searching for a place suitable to maintain a colony, he abandoned the project.[7]

In 1664 Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero undertook the reduction of California by order of King Philip IV., but by ill-

[5] Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 207; Bancroft, loc. cit.

[6] Venegas, 210-211; Alégre, "Hist. de la Comp.," tom. ii, 236-237; Clavijero, lib. ii, 35; Banc., "Hist. Texas," vol. i, 181.

[7] Venegas, 212-216; Alégre, tom. ii, 328-330; Clavijero, 35-36; Banc., "Hist. Texas," vol. i, 181-184.

treating the natives, and forcing them to dive into the gulf for pearls, he only aroused the hatred of the Indians. Though not well received at the viceroyal court, he was directed to make a second attempt in 1667, which resulted like the first. Apparently no ecclesiastic had joined either expedition.[8]

No better success attended the expedition of Captain Francisco Luzenilla, likewise undertaken with the approval of the government. His two ships, having on board the Franciscans Fr. Juan Caballero Carranco and Fr. Juan Bautista Ramirez, sailed from Chacala on May 1st, 1668. They crossed the gulf and in a few days touched at Cape San Lucas, whence they followed the coast to La Paz. Here the friars exercised their zeal in behalf of the natives; but, either on account of the avarice of the Spaniards, as Alegre remarks, or on account of the cruelty suffered at the hands of Piñadero, the Indians were in no mood to listen to the messengers of peace. This circumstance, and the impossibility of raising provisions sufficient to maintain the men, compelled Luzenilla to abandon the undertaking.[9]

In 1678 the Spanish government, through Admiral Isidro Otondo y Antillón, made a determined effort to establish a permanent settlement, but the ships and men were not ready until the beginning of 1683. The spiritual affairs of the proposed colony and future mission, by royal decree of December 29th, 1679, were entrusted to the Society of Jesus. The provincial, Rev. Bernardo Prato, directed Fathers Eusebio Francisco Kino, Juan Bautista Copart, and Pedro Matias Gogni, or Goñi, to accompany the expedition. According to Alegre,[10] Fr. José Guijosa of the Order of St. John of God crossed over on this voyage instead of Copart. Rev. Eusebio Kino was appointed cosmographer. The ships *Limpia Concepcion* and *San José y San Francisco Xavier* sailed from the port of

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[8] Venegas, 216-217; Alegre, tom. ii, 437-438; Clavijero, lib. ii, 36.

[9] Venegas, pte. ii, 217-218; Vetancurt, "Cronica," trat. v, cap. i, nos. 12-13; Alegre, tom. ii, 449-450; Clavijero, 36.

[10] Alegre, tom. iii, 43, gives the names in the text from the official document.

Chacala on January 17th; but on account of contrary winds they were detained for months along the coast of Sinaloa. At last, on March 18th, 1683, the expedition set out with one hundred well-armed men and abundant provisions. On March 30th Otondo entered the bay of La Paz, where all landed on April 2d and gave thanks to God for their safe arrival. A cross constructed from a palmetto tree was planted on a hill about a gunshot from the shore. The admiral then took possession of the country in the name of the King of Spain, and called it Provincia de la Santisima Trinidad de las Californias. Thereupon the banner of Nuestra Señora de los Remedios was placed under a palm-tree, and the locality named Nuestra Señora de la Paz. A record of the proceedings was drawn up by the notary, Diego de Salas, and signed on the same day, April 5th, by Otondo, Fathers Kino, Gogni, and Guijosa, four officers, and the official notary.[11]

During all these five days no Indians showed themselves, so deep was the aversion created by former visitors. At last a few armed and painted savages appeared; but when they saw the large number of white men, they withdrew to a hill, whence by signs and shouts they made known their desire that the Spaniards should depart. The kindness of the missionaries soon dissipated their fear and aversion, so that the natives would freely approach and accept gifts or eatables. A chapel and some brushwood cabins were constructed, whereupon the Fathers tried to learn the Indian language. In the meantime Otondo had two armed parties examine the country. One of these, accompanied by Father Gogni, went to the eastward, where in a mountain valley they discovered the Coras. The other expedition, composed of twenty-five soldiers under Captain Francisco Pareda, and accompanied by Fathers Kino and Guijosa, marched towards the southwest into the territory of the hostile Guaicuros. These Indians demanded that the Spaniards leave the country. On June 6th they appeared armed before the Spanish settlement with the avowed intention of driving the strangers out; but a ruse

[11] Alegre, tom. iii, 41-45; Venegas, 219-220; Clavijero, 36.

of the commander prevented bloodshed and scattered the enemy. Soon after a mulatto boy disappeared from the fort. The Coras accused the Guaicuros of having done away with the lad. Otondo imprisoned the hostile chief, in spite of the entreaties and threats of his tribesmen. In revenge they planned the destruction of the white invaders, and invited the Coras to join them. Warned by the Coras the Spaniards on July 1st received the Guaicuros with a volley from a small cannon. This killed ten or twelve of the savages and caused the others to retreat.[12]

On this occasion the soldiers manifested such cowardice that evidently they could not be depended upon in case of another attack. Furthermore, they tearfully begged Otondo to remove them from a country where they must either starve or die at the hands of savages. To add to the difficulty, the *Concepcion,* which had long before sailed to the Yaqui River for supplies, failed to return in time, so that provisions were running low. The commander, therefore, broke camp, and on July 14th departed with the missionaries for Sinaloa to enlist new men and to procure supplies. He then recrossed the gulf, accompanied by Fathers Kino and Gogni,[13] and on October 6th, 1683, he landed with his two ships in a bay far to the north of La Paz. This port, situated in twenty-six degrees and a half, was called San Bruno, for the saint of the day. Otondo and the missionaries selected a site for the new colony in the neighborhood of a spring less than a league from the shore. Within two hours the Indians began to approach in a most friendly manner. Aided by the natives the Spaniards built a chapel and huts of brushwood, and occupied them before the close of the same month. Otondo took formal possession of the land in the name of the king. Ten days after the arrival, the *San José* sailed away with despatches asking the viceroy for more men and money. The

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[12] Alegre, tom. iii, 46-47; Venegas, pte. ii, 155, 220-228; Clavijero, 36-37; Bancroft, "Hist. Texas," vol. i, 188-189.

[13] Venegas has "three" Fathers, but in the course of the narrative only these two are mentioned.

request was granted. Four days later the *Concepcion* crossed the gulf to the Yaqui for supplies, and returned on November 20th with all kinds of provisions, many goats, mules, and horses.[14]

In the meantime more Indians came to the settlement, attracted by the gifts of corn, blankets, hats, and pieces of cloth, which the admiral distributed in the name of the king, generally through the missionaries. To these he added, at his own expense, beads and other trinkets coveted by the childlike people. Many Indians made their home with the Fathers, and from them the missionaries endeavored to learn the two languages spoken by their neophytes; for members of two different tribes, the Edues and the Didius, applied for instruction in Christianity. The Fathers experienced much difficulty in pronouncing the words, but after some time they learned enough to attempt a catechism in the idiom of their willing pupils.

Like experienced men, and true to the practice of all Catholic missionaries, these early apostles of California had recourse to material means to illustrate sublime truths the better. On one occasion when the Indians had assembled in the little church, a life-sized image of Christ Crucified was exposed to the view of all. The missionaries watched the effect with some anxiety. Amazement and fear were depicted upon the face of every one at sight of the strange object. They dared not gaze at it, nor would they speak to the Spaniards about it. Gradually they whispered to one another: "Who is this? Who killed him? When? Where? Perhaps he was one of the enemies whom they killed in war? It must be a cruel people that treats others in this way." The missionaries then explained to their wondering neophytes that this Man had come down from heaven and had died for them; that He was not an enemy of the Spaniards, but their Master and the Father of all; that He was now in heaven; and that they all should be with him." In this manner the Jesuits instilled

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[14] Alegre, tom. iii, 46; Vetancurt, "Cronica," trat. v, cap. i, no. 14; Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 229-230; Clavijero, lib. ii, 37.

the maxims and mysteries of the Gospel, though with much difficulty; for at every step they encountered new obstacles for want of suitable words in the Indian language to express the sublime truths of Christianity. For a long time the Fathers could not make the catechumens understand the dogma of the Resurrection. The zeal of the restless Kino at last hit upon an ingenious means to help the Indians form some conception of the resurrection of the dead, so that a correct expression might be secured. In the presence of the natives he one day put several flies into the water until they were to all appearance dead. Then he took them out, covered them with ashes, and placed them in the sun. The solar rays soon caused the insects to revive and fly away. Amazed at the sight, the Indians exclaimed, *"Ibimuhueite! Ibimuhueite!"* The missionaries had at last secured a word by means of which, for want of a better expression, they explained the eleventh article of the Creed.[15]

In two years the Jesuits succeeded in gathering as many as four hundred native catechumens, who were more or less advanced in Christian doctrine, and ready for baptism under ordinary circumstances; but, fearing the discontinuance of the mission, they baptized only thirteen[16] who were in danger of death. Ten of these passed away, whilst three recovered and with the consent of their relatives were placed in charge of the bishop of Guadalajara.[17]

Whilst the missionaries loved their work, and were satisfied with the progress made by the Indians, though they suffered not a little from the fickle-mindedness of their neophytes, Otondo and his men were heartily displeased with the country. They had searched it many times in every direction to find a locality more serviceable for a colony than the sterile plot occupied by the mission; but none was discovered. The peninsula appeared so barren, that supplies would always have

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[15] Alegre, tom. iii, 47; Venegas, tom. i, 231-232.

[16] Vetancurt, "Cronica," no. 14, says all but two were children.

[17] Venegas, pte. ii, 233-234; Alegre, tom. iii, 54-56; Clavijero, lib. ii, 37-38.

to be purchased in Sinaloa. The men and missionaries in fact suffered for want of food until the *San José* arrived on August 10th, 1685. She brought the Rev. Juan Bautista Copart, S. J., twenty soldiers, fresh supplies, and eleven months' pay for the whole force. Father Kino, too, was made happy by being permitted to pronounce the final vows in the presence of Father Copart on the feast of the Assumption, August 15th. He was called to Sonora, however, and on the 29th passed over to the Yaqui missions, accompanied by a Didius Indian. He also took along some maps of the country which he had prepared. Only Fathers Copart and Gogni remained on the peninsula.[18] Meanwhile the Spaniards grew more disgusted with a land that offered neither fortune nor pleasure, and was rendered more desolate by a drought lasting eighteen months. Otondo made one more effort to find a favorable district. For that purpose he sent the *Concepcion* up the coast. He himself on the *San José* removed the sick to Sinaloa and then went in search of pearl-beds. Before departing he held a council at which the question of remaining at San Bruno was discussed. The missionaries, having in view the salvation of souls, pleaded for a continuance of the work that promised so well. As to the country, they held that no just opinion could be formed from the sojourn of a season or two. The Spaniards, on the other hand, claimed that there was no hope of material gain, and that they felt as though they were banished among savages, since they were cut off from all outside communication and deprived of the pleasure of seeing cities, churches, friends, and relatives. "Accustomed to discuss objects of self-interest only," Alegre remarks, "the soldiers could not comprehend how it was possible for the Fathers to offer to stay among such barbarians all their life, and by means of begging to procure for them every kind of relief, to treat them with affection, to suffer their rudeness, and to enter the rancherias without a sign of fear. The truth is, no earthly reasons, not the most flattering prospects, can ever offer an equivalent for the privations

[18] Alegre, tom. iii, 56.

inseparable from enterprises of this nature. Only the fire of charity, zeal for the honor of God, contempt for the world, and other supernatural motives will animate and sustain apostolic men in establishing and maintaining new missions." [19]

Admiral Otondo had both views taken down in writing and transmitted to the viceroy for action. The viceroy placed the matter before the council. This decided that, if possible, the San Bruno establishment should be continued, but that no other settlements should be attempted on the coast of California. Otondo received the viceroy's reply in September, 1685, while at San Ignacio, Sonora. The *Concepcion*, meanwhile, had discovered no better place; the admiral's search for precious stones had also been unsuccessful; and the provisions were again almost exhausted. He, therefore, directed that San Bruno should be abandoned, and commanded all to embark. In vain did the Jesuits plead for permission to stay with their four hundred Indian catchumens, for whom they had labored two years and a half. Promising their disconsolate neophytes to return at a later date, the Fathers entered the ship. The undertaking had cost the government an expenditure of $225,400. The viceroyal council thereupon resolved that California could not be colonized by the means employed. Captain Francisco de Itamarra, it is true, obtained the license to enter the peninsula at his own expense; but the attempt proved as fruitless as all previous ventures. He brought the news that the Indians fervently begged the missionaries to keep their promise, and come back to them, but many years passed by before their desires could be satisfied. [20]

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[19] Alegre, tom. iii, 56; Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 235-236; Clavijero, lib. ii, 38.

[20] Alegre, tom. iii, 56-57, 81; Venegas, tom. i, 235-239; tom. ii, p. 3; Clavijero, lib. ii, 38-39; Vetancurt, "Cronica," trat. v, no. 14.

CHAPTER II.

Efforts of the Government.—The Jesuits Accept.—The Beginnings of the Pious Fund.—Temporal and Spiritual Affairs in the Hands of the Missionaries.—Rev. Juan Maria Salvatierra, S. J. —He Crosses the Gulf.—Establishes Mission Loreto.—Difficulties.—Insolence of the Pagans.—Battle.—Rev. Francisco Piccolo, S. J.—Conspiracy.—The Soldiers.—Hardships.—Founding of San Francisco Xavier.

WE have seen that, for two centuries after the discovery of New Spain, Spanish kings, viceroys, and private parties in vain sent out expeditions to conquer and occupy California. It had become evident that the country could not be settled by military force. Almighty God, Venegas remarks, seems to have waited until human power recognized its own inability to cope with the difficulties. Probably, too, the Lord would not assist an undertaking in which religion held second place, and whose main object was worldly gain. At all events, the Cross borne by unarmed men now triumphed where the sword had failed.

The Jesuit missionaries had not forgotten their promise to the Indians of San Bruno; they were anxious to reap the harvest of souls across the gulf. Rev. Eusébio Francisco Kino, especially, longed to complete the work begun on the peninsula. While professor at the university of Ingolstadt, Bavaria, he had made a vow to devote his life to the conversion of the Indians in America, if through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier he should recover from a mortal disease. Restored to health, he came to America, and was assigned to the missions of Sonora. From there he accompanied Admiral Otondo to California, where he labored successfully for seventeen months until recalled in August, 1684, and replaced by Rev. Copart of the Society of Jesus.[1]

When the viceroy learned that the poor missionaries at San Bruno had with less expense effected more than any armed

[1] Venegas, "Noticia," tom. ii, pte. iii, 1-4; tom. i, pte. ii, 235; Alegre, tom. iii, 56.

body of men that ever visited the peninsula, he summoned a council, and on April 11th, 1686, resolved to entrust the spiritual and temporal reduction of that country to the Society of Jesus, and to offer the missionaries an annual subsidy of $40,000. The proposition was made to Rev. Daniel Angelo Marras, who, in the absence of the provincial, governed the Jesuit province. After consulting with the councilors, the offer was declined on the ground that the care of the temporalities of the mission would involve the gravest difficulties. The Society would, however, furnish missionaries for purely spiritual work, as it had done before. The Jesuits were urged a second time, but again refused, because they would have nothing to do with the temporal affairs of missions in California.[2]

This decision of the superiors grieved Father Kino exceedingly, and he strained every nerve to have it reversed. He again applied for the Sonora missions in the hope of being permitted later on to pass over to the peninsula. When the request had been granted he left Mexico on October 20th, 1686, and on the whole way endeavored to rouse interest for California in the hearts of his brethren. Yet Kino was not the man destined by Almighty God to establish the missions; this work was reserved for Rev. Juan Maria Salvatierra, who besides being a religious of tried virtue and robust health, burned with zeal for the salvation of souls. Having been appointed visitor-general[3] for the Jesuits in Sonora and Sinaloa, he selected Father Kino to accompany him on his way through the missions. Kino eagerly seized the opportunity of gaining his superior's good will in behalf of his cherished plan. "Of this," says Venegas, "they spoke on the road, about this they conversed in their lodgings, and this was the subject of all their conversations." The result was, Kino himself writes, that "the holy zeal of Father Juan Maria Salvatierra

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[2] Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 236-238; tom. ii, pte. iii, 160-161; Alegre, tom. iii, 60.

[3] A priest appointed at stated intervals to visit and inspect the different religious houses as to the observance of the Rules.

was moved to such a degree, on hearing of the ripeness of so great a harvest of souls, that from this time on he determined by all means possible to hasten the establishment of missions in California." [4]

The Society of Jesus, however, opposed the undertaking, and permission was refused by three provincials in succession, who, whilst praising the zeal, considered the project, humanly speaking, impossible. Salvatierra then appealed to the Audiencia [5] of Guadalajara, to the viceroy, and lastly, to the King of Spain; but he received no encouragement anywhere. The whole world seemed to have conspired against Fathers Kino and Salvatierra, says Venegas, and they had to content themselves with their respective field of labor, the one among the fierce savages of the Pimerias, [6] the other at Guadalajara. After ten years of fruitless efforts they resolved to make one more attempt at the capital. Both arrived there early in January, 1696, but again failed to move the authorities in behalf of their pious projects. Disheartened, Kino returned to Sonora, and Salvatierra went back to instruct the novices of the Society at Tepotzatlán. Seeing that nothing could be expected through human aid, Salvatierra recommended the matter to his novices, "for the prayers of these angelic youths," he declared, "move with powerful hands; and then the Virgin does not want this conversion to be the fruit of cupidity, but of prayers." [7]

About this time a new Superior-General had been elected in the person of the Most Rev. Tyrso Gonzáles de Santa Ella, who himself had labored as a missionary among the Moors, and, like Father Salvatierra, was filled with ardor for the

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[4] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 4-6; Clavijero, lib. ii, 39; Alegre, tom. iii, 81.

[5] Supreme Court composed of officials who represented the king in the administration of justice; it also decided everything concerning the nomination, election, etc., of representatives and other officers, etc.

[6] Northern Sonora and Southern Arizona.

[7] Venegas, "Noticia," tom. ii, pte. iii, 7; Alegre, "Historia," tom. iii, 89-90; Clavijero, lib. ii, 39.

conversion of infidels. To this man, capable of sympathizing with missionary zeal and of understanding the situation among the poor Californians, Salvatierra resolved to make a final appeal. Nor was he disappointed. The Father General agreed to relieve him of every office, if in Mexico the proposed mission were considered practicable. After many objections the immediate superiors at length allowed the persistent petitioner to take the necessary steps. The Audiencia of Guadalajara, urged by its fiscal,[8] Don Joseph de Miranda Villaizán, on July 17th, 1696, also declared in favor of the project, and even petitioned the viceroy to authorize the undertaking. The good Father then began to solicit alms for the work which immense sums of money from the royal treasury had failed to accomplish during two centuries. At the capital Salvatierra met the Rev. Juan de Ugarte, professor of philosophy in the Jesuit college, who at once consented to act as procurator for the new mission. They succeeded in arousing the interest of a number of wealthy people. Don Alonso Dávalos, Conde de Miravalles, and Don Matheo Fernandez de la Cruz, Marquis de Buena Vista, each promised one thousand dollars. This example was followed by others, so that $15,000 were soon assured. Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe, treasurer of Acapulco, donated a launch, and promised the loan of a ship for the transportation of men and goods.

All this was not sufficient to insure the continuance of missions once established. Ten thousand dollars, it was thought, would be required to furnish a revenue of $500 for maintaining one missionary in a country where nothing could be raised or obtained. On hearing this, the Confraternity of Our Lady of Sorrows, attached to the College of Saints Peter and Paul in Mexico, donated $10,000 for one missionary, and the Rev. Juan Cavallero y Ozio, a wealthy priest of Querétaro, gave $20,000 for two other missions. He, moreover, promised to pay all drafts upon him that bore the signature of Father Juan Maria Salvatierra. These generous

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[8] Attorney for the royal treasury.

contributions formed the beginning of the famous Pious Fund of California.[9]

The provincial, Rev. Juan de Palacios, now endeavored to secure the necessary royal license to enter California. This was granted on February 5th, 1697. It empowered Fathers Salvatierra and Kino to found missions on the peninsula, on condition that the royal treasury should not be expected to pay any of their expenses without an express order of the king, and that possession be taken of the country in the name of his Majesty. On the other hand, they were to have the right to enlist guards at their own expense; to select and remove the officers on giving an account to the viceroy; their soldiers were to enjoy the same rights as those in the regular army, and should be considered as serving during time of war; and finally, in order to preserve peace among the people, the missionaries were authorized to appoint suitable men for the administration of justice on the peninsula.[10]

"Thus the boon so long and patiently sought was obtained—permission to enter at their own risk and cost a poor and unattractive country for the purpose of converting the heathen; and no conqueror ever craved more persistently leave to invade and plunder a rich province. It has been the fashion[11] to see sinister and selfish designs in all Jesuit undertakings; but no just person will suspect that the founders of the California missions were actuated by any but the purest motives."

The happy Salvatierra would not allow himself to be detained, but, leaving the funds collected in charge of Rev. Juan Ugarte with authority to obtain more, he departed for Sinaloa on February 7th to notify Father Kino. He reached the Yaqui, where Sierpe's vessel was getting ready, in the

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[9] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 10-13; Alegre, tom. iii, 90-91, 94-95; Clavijero, lib. ii, 39-40; Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. i.

[10] See the entire document in Clavijero, lib. ii, 40-41.

[11] Particularly of Bancroft himself from whom the paragraph is taken. He rarely misses an opportunity to impute unworthy motives, or to make Catholic missionaries and practices appear ridiculous. Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 280-281.

latter part of August, 1697, and for two months looked in vain for the appearance of his friend. Kino had made preparations to join Salvatierra, but on account of an Indian revolt the Rev. Visitor, Horacio Police, and Governor Domingo Gironza Petris de Cruzat of Sonora, would not permit him to leave. Both deemed his presence necessary to quell the rebellion. The governor declared that Kino was worth an army of soldiers [12] by reason of the esteem which this heroic missionary enjoyed among the savages. Rev. Francisco Maria Piccolo was substituted for Kino to accompany Salvatierra; but the latter fearing further delay embarked for California on October 10th, 1697, without waiting for his companion. The whole force consisted of five soldiers, including Captain Luis de Torres y Tortolero, and three Indians. Some time was spent in fruitless search for the two California Indians brought over by Otondo in 1686, who would have been very useful as interpreters; but it seems their master concealed them lest he lose their services. [13]

The fervent missionary sailed from the port of the Yaqui River under the patronage of Our Lady of Loreto, with whose assistance he confidently expected to convert the Californians to the faith of Christ. After braving a heavy storm, he sighted the land of his desire on the third day, but the long-boat had disappeared. It carried the donation of the Yaqui Jesuits, consisting of thirty cattle, one horse, ten sheep, and four pigs, in charge of six sailors. He first made Concepcion Bay, where he offered up the first holy Mass on October 15th. The next day he reached San Bruno, the scene of missionary activity twelve years before, but the place proved so unsuitable that Captain Romero de la Sierpe, owner and commander of the ship, brought Salvatierra and the disappointed guards to San Dionisio Bay, a few leagues farther to the south, where the shore appeared covered with timber

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[12] "Valia Kino solo por muchos presidios de soldados," Venegas says; "valia mas que mil soldados," Clavijero tells us.

[13] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 13-18; Clavijero, lib. ii, 40-42; Alegre, tom. iii, 95-96.

and verdure. Here they all landed on Saturday, October 19th, very well received by more than fifty Indians from the neighboring rancheria and from San Bruno. The natives had not entirely forgotten the lessons taught by Fathers Kino, Copart, and Gogni; for all knelt to kiss the crucifix. A favorable location for a settlement was discovered near a spring about a league and a half from the shore. A tent, the gift of a pious Mexican, was erected to serve for a temporary chapel, and in front of it a large cross was planted and adorned with flowers. When everything had been prepared, the statue of Our Lady of Loreto was borne in procession from the ship to the chapel. Thereupon possession was taken of the country for the king after the usual manner. Such was the beginning of the first permanent Jesuit mission in Lower California. The colony was called Loreto, which name it has borne ever since.[14]

No sooner had the necessary dwellings been constructed than Salvatierra, like the true missionary that he was, began to learn the language of the people. He had brought along the catechism and vocabulary composed by Father Copart in the dialect of the San Bruno natives. At the time allotted for instructions, he read from these manuscripts to those that were willing to be taught, and then, pen in hand, he listened to their pronunciation of the same words. The Indians were at first very much amused, and the elder ones sometimes ridiculed the poor Father's efforts at pronouncing; but he took their banter kindly and made rapid progress. After each lesson the venerable man would distribute to all that attended the exercises a dish of boiled corn, called *pozole*, which was a great attraction to the hungry creatures. Meanwhile Salvatierra had also to attend to the needs of the soldiers and Indian servants, so that he was kept busy day and night as governor, chaplain, ordinary laborer, cook, or sentinel.

"These things may seem mere trifles and unworthy of our attention," Venegas remarks, and what he says applies to all

[14] Venegas, tom. ii, 18-20; Alegre, tom. iii, 96; Clavijero, lib. ii, 42; Forbes, "California." 16.

the California missionaries, "but I beg the reader to weigh them in the balance of the supernatural, in order to give them the value they deserve. Let him reflect what an agreeable sight to the eyes of God must be a man, who could have made a great fortune in the world, who within the Order, which he had chosen, might have lived quietly and esteemed, who voluntarily banished himself from his mother country and relatives, in order to pass over to America, and who even there gave up his offices of honor, his friends, his tranquillity, and suffered contradictions and fatigues, that he might live alone among savages, amidst hardships and dangers of death, for no other purpose or interest than to occupy himself with those small and insignificant things in order to gain the souls of Indians. At least, let every one ask himself whether there be any temporal interest capable of engaging him with equal determination. By this means he may see plainly how noble must be the purpose which imparts to these actions, of so little value in our eyes, the dignity of their motive." [15]

The kindly Salvatierra very soon learned how little the Indian appreciated his unselfish liberality. From the beginning they demanded more than the usual *almud* [16] of pozole, which he dealt out each day to all that listened to the catechetical instructions, in order to insure their attendance. There were others who insolently called for the same rations although they had not taken part in the religious lessons; and when their request was refused they loudly complained, or stole from the corn sacks what they would not earn by simply being present. The missionary then excluded them from the little stockade which surrounded the buildings, whereupon they resolved to kill both the priest and the soldiers. Unfortunately, the savages quickly noticed that the number of guards was smaller, after the ship had departed on October 26th to fetch over Father Piccolo with more men and sup-

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[15] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 20-21; Alegre, tom. iii, 96; Clavijero, lib. ii, 42; Forbes, "California," 25.

[16] An almud is the twelfth part of a "fanega" or Spanish bushel which averages a hundred-weight.

plies. A number of converts, however, among whom was a sick chief, remained faithful and warned the missionary. On the night of October 31st the conspirators approached and would have received a deserved lesson, but, just as the attack was to begin, a musket shot was heard in the direction of the bay. It was answered by a gunshot from the camp. Then a cannon was fired in the bay and replied to with the only small field-piece in the settlement. Frightened at this unexpected discharge of firearms, the hostile natives withdrew. Next morning it was learned that the timely aid had come from the packet-boat, which on account of contrary winds had been unable to cross the gulf. The vessel now tried again and reached the Yaqui soon after. When the ship had disappeared the savages renewed their hostilities, and one night stole the only horse in the colony. Two soldiers offered to follow the trail alone. According to Venegas they knew that they need have no fear of the enemies, as an Indian is always afraid when he comes face to face with fearlessness and bravery; but he considers himself the victor when he notices any sign of cowardice. A number of neophytes, however, armed with bows and arrows were sent along. After walking two leagues, they surprised the robbers just as they were about to skin the animal which they had killed for food. They were allowed to escape and the flesh of the horse was left to the friendly Indians.

The savages soon after approached the mission in larger numbers and demanded pozole. Father Salvatierra sought to avoid trouble, but their insolence would not be satisfied. One of them even threatened to kill the missionary if he did not turn over a sack of corn. It was only by means of a stratagem that the Father succeeded in getting behind the stockade. Next day the same Indians returned for more pozole as though nothing had happened. Constant watching began to wear out the little force of soldiers and three Mexican Indians, so that Salvatierra himself acted as sentinel in order that the men might rest. To make matters worse, provisions were running low. The temporary buildings, too, had been erected under the mistaken impression, due to the drought at

Otondo's time, that it never rained in California. The copious rainfall, therefore, which occurred at this period added to the misery of the little colony.

On November 12th, Chief Ibo, who on account of his fervent demand and serious illness had been baptized and had received the name Dionisio the preceding day, gave warning of another attack. Salvatierra redoubled his acts of kindness and patience in order to win the savages, but they grew more insolent from day to day. The live-stock was then driven in, and every one prepared to defend himself and the mission. On the 13th the enemy to the number of five hundred surrounded the little fort, and for two hours assailed it with arrows, stones and dirt without doing much damage. After a short intermission the assault was renewed. The soldiers would have fired upon their assailants, if Salvatierra had not forbidden it. He directed that they should kill none of the savages unless it were necessary to save their own lives, lest any of the souls, for whom the Lord gave His life, suffer eternal perdition.[17] When the enemy saw that the musket shots were not intended to kill, they grew bolder and pressed closer to the flimsy structures. The good Father then reluctantly gave permission to discharge the small cannon at the yelling hundreds of aggressors. This piece of ordnance stood in the gateway, and on this occasion was probably overloaded; for it burst into pieces, knocking down the gunner and scattering the fragments about the camp. When the Indians saw that none of their number was hurt, they rushed forward shouting to one another that if the big gun could not kill, they need not fear the small ones. The officer in command now ordered his men to use their muskets in earnest. Once more the good missionary, who could not bear to see any of the deluded creatures die without baptism, interfered. At the peril of his own life he stepped to the front and begged the mob to desist,

[17] "El Padre Salvatierra no pudiendo sufrir la perdicion de aquellas almas, que habia conquistado para Jesu Christo, dió orden á los soldados de que no los matasen sino en el caso de no poder de otra suerte libertar su propia vida." Clavijero, lib. ii, 43.

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lest any of them suffer death. The reply were three arrows, which fortunately did not wound him. Salvatierra then retired and allowed the soldiers to do their duty for the defense of the colony. The firing began, but when the savages saw that three of their tribesmen were killed and many more wounded, they retreated terror-stricken to their distant rancherías.

As a result of this lesson, messengers soon arrived to declare the repentance of the offenders and to sue for peace. Some sent their women and children, who sat down at the gate of the fort and with tears promised amendment in the name of the men. As an earnest of their good will, the women offered their children as hostages. Father Salvatierra listened to them kindly and assured them that everything should be forgotten. He distributed little presents among the women, and, keeping one of the children lest he appear to disbelieve them, the Father dismissed them. At night he directed that solemn thanks be given to the Mother of God and to St. Stanislaus, the saint of the day; for all felt that it did not seem possible for ten men to resist and defeat five hundred armed savages without aid from above. During the night Salvatierra himself stood watch that the little garrison might rest. The next morning, just as he was about to celebrate holy Mass in thanksgiving, a soldier announced the appearance of a ship in the harbor. It proved to be the missing lancha or long-boat with supplies for the mission. On November 23d the packet-boat returned bringing Rev. Francisco Maria Piccolo, some soldiers and more provisions. As the time for which the ship had been loaned now expired, the vessel was returned to her owner, and Father Salvatierra reported the founding and the state of the mission to the various benefactors in Mexico. [18]

The garrison, composed of sixteen men besides the two missionaries, now began to erect more substantial buildings

[18] Piccolo, "Memorial," February 10th, 1702, in Cartas Edificantes de la Compañia de Jesus, Madrid, 1753, tom. iii, 112-113; Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 22-38; Alegre, tom. iii, 97-98; Clavijero, lib. ii, 43-44.

and defenses. Aided by the Indians, who in return received their favorite food, pozole, they enclosed a piece of land with a stockade of stakes and thorns. Within this enclosure arose a chapel constructed of stone [19] and clay with a thatched roof. About Christmas time the dwelling of the Fathers and the barracks for the military with a warehouse were also finished. The chapel was blessed in honor of Our Lady of Loreto on the feast of the Nativity of Christ, when each missionary offered up the three holy Masses peculiar to the day. Both devoted all their time to learning the language and to teaching the rudiments of religion, Father Piccolo to the little ones in the chapel or the yard, and Father Salvatierra to the adults outside the fortifications. Only five Indians had thus far been admitted to baptism. The first was the chief already mentioned, who suffered from a horrible cancer and died a few days after his reception in November. A little while later his four-year-old son was baptized. The father received the name Manuel Bernardo and the child was called Bernardo Manuel. The names were applied in obedience to the viceroy, who had directed that the first two converts should be so called. Two other converts were the boys Juan and Pedro, so named in gratitude to the noble benefactors Rev. Juan Caballero y Ozio and Captain Pedro Sierpe. The fifth was a savage Indian who had fallen mortally wounded in the assault on the camp. After receiving what instruction could be imparted, he was baptized and died during the following night.

When the natives saw that the Spaniards had not come for the sake of collecting pearls, and that the priests cared nothing for precious stones, they approached in larger numbers to hear the Fathers speak on the truths of salvation. Alarmed at the progress of Christianity among their tribesmen, the sorcerers and medicine-men used every means to incite the people against the whites. With telling effect among the friends and relatives, they used the unfortunate circumstance

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[19] Venegas and Clavijero. Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 290, says the chapel was built of wood.

that Father Salvatierra had not brought back the two Indian boys, whom Otondo eleven years before had taken along from San Bruno. While many remained faithful, many others ceased to attend the catechism, and the exercises of Holy Week were celebrated with fewer worshipers. Not satisfied with this result, the conspirators only awaited a favorable opportunity to destroy the mission.

Soon after Easter 1698 the lancha was sent over to Sonora for supplies. This was the time deemed opportune by the savages. In order to have a pretext for a rupture, one day in April several Indians tried to steal a small boat from the beach. The two soldiers on guard at once sounded the alarm. The brave Tortolero with his men hurried to the scene, and in the fierce struggle several of the savages were killed, many others were wounded, and the rest took to flight. Two soldiers received only slight wounds. This fight taught the natives that it was hopeless to cope with bow and arrows against the firearms of the white men. A few days later the culprits came to ask pardon. Salvatierra readily forgave the treachery, though Captain Tortolero wanted to make an example of the ringleaders. The instructions thereafter were well attended. A number of the catechumens appeared so well prepared that they could have been admitted to baptism in ordinary circumstances; but the missionaries knowing the fickle character of the Indians, and fearing lest the mission should again be abandoned, wisely refrained from baptizing any one unless he was in danger of death.

The month of June arrived and with it the season of the pitahayas, when the fruit of the prickly-pear is ripe, a time of feasting with the natives of that latitude. Not even the pozole of the missionaries could keep them at the mission, or stop them from participating. Day after day old and young disappeared, until the Fathers to their sorrow found themselves almost alone.[20] In a manner this was fortunate for

[20] The Indian missionary of every clime and latitude has been subjected to the same annoyance. Even in the far north, and among tribes that were Christian for generations, the missionary will notice absentees at certain periods. Now it is maple sugar,

the mission, because the packet-boat had been absent for more than two months, and provisions had dwindled down to three sacks of poor flour and as many of wormy corn. For once the stout heart of Salvatierra failed him. Writing to a friend he says, "I begin to write this narrative without knowing whether I shall finish it, because at present we find ourselves in great need here for want of provisions, which are growing daily more scarce; and as I am the oldest of all in the camp of Our Lady of Loreto, I shall be the first to pay the common tribute to nature."

In the midst of these afflictions the soldiers were a source of much consolation to the poor missionaries. That the Fathers should have succeeded in keeping orderly a garrison of twenty-two men of different nationalities, and belonging to a profession not conducive to strict ideas of morality, so that no quarrels, no swearing and no cursing was heard among them, strikes the historians Venegas and Clavijero as most remarkable. The principal reason, however, was that the missionaries were at liberty to choose the members of their military support, whereas in later times politicians and others, who took no interest in the welfare of the Indians, sent whomsoever they found serviceable for their own schemes. At Loreto the soldiers punctually assisted at the daily devotions and performed their religious duties. An incident shows the spirit of the military stationed at the mission in the beginning of its history. One day one of the Fathers preached on cursing and swearing, a vice common among soldiers and sailors. In the course of the address he related that in some town of Germany the blasphemer was condemned to pay a fine. After the services, on their own account, the members of the garrison resolved to impose a fine on any one who was caught swearing or cursing.[21] In

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then it is wild rice, or berry-picking, or hunting, etc., which will engage the whole family for weeks, and even months. To reason with them is useless.

[21] See Bancroft's flippant account in "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 293. He claims that Salvatierra imposed the fine to obtain money to pay debts.

their distress all joined in a novena in honor of the Blessed Virgin to obtain relief from God. The devotion closed on June 21st and with it the last sack of flour was used up; but before nightfall the new ship *San José* appeared in the bay with supplies sent by Father Ugarte. The vessel also brought seven volunteer soldiers for the garrison. Needless to say, she was received with rejoicings and with thanksgiving to Our Lady and St. Aloysius, the saint of the day.

As the mission long-boat was considered lost, Salvatierra desired to purchase the new ship *San José*. The owner, knowing her unseaworthy condition, readily agreed to part with the vessel for $12,000 to be paid in Mexico by Father Ugarte. The fraud was discovered on the first trip, when the whole cargo of supplies was spoiled. It cost $6,000 to repair the leaky vessel, and even then it remained in such a bad condition that it stranded at Acapulco, and only $500 were realized from the sale of the wreck. Don Pedro Gil de la Sierpe again came to the relief of the missionaries by donating the bark *San Fermin* and a smaller vessel, the *San Xavier*. Don Agustin de Encinas also gladdened the hearts of the Fathers by making gifts of horses, cattle and other animals.

After two years Fathers Salvatierra and Piccolo had at length acquired the Monquí language spoken in the district of Loreto, and being in possession of horses they resolved to enlarge their missionary territory in order to reach other tribes. In the beginning of 1699[22] Salvatierra, accompanied by a few guards, set out upon his first apostolic tour. Nine leagues to the north he reached a ranchería consisting of only a few huts. The inhabitants had fled at the approach of the soldiers, although they had several times been notified of the friendly nature of the visit. After waiting two days in the hope of meeting the people, the disappointed Father returned to Loreto. Later in the spring he gained their full confidence at another visit lasting four days, when he distributed presents, gave instructions, and baptized about thirty

[22] Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 294, claiming to follow Salvatierra's narrative, has November 1st, 1698.

children. The place in Indian was called Londó; Father Salvatierra christened it San Juan Bautista.

Some Indians from a district called Viggé-Biaundó, in the western part of the peninsula, paid a visit to the white settlement, and manifested such gentleness and such a good disposition toward Christianity, that, contrary to their custom of baptizing only those in danger of death, the missionaries admitted one of the visitors, a bright and innocent youth, to baptism, giving him the name San Francisco Xavier. Father Piccolo, moreover, on May 10th,[23] accompanied them back to their homes. After wandering through almost impassable regions, and attended by only a few Loreto Indians, the fearless Jesuit arrived at Viggé-Biaundó and was well received. He remained four days instructing the people with the aid of the delighted and intelligent Francisco Xavier. The locality seemed well adapted for a mission, as the soil was good and water was sufficient to irrigate it. With the assistance of the soldiers the natives soon opened a road between Loreto and Viggé-Biaundó, and had it ready for travel in the month of June. In October soldiers and Indians together erected a small chapel and a few huts of adobe, or sun-dried brick, with thatched roof. The chapel was blessed by Father Salvatierra on November 1st, 1699. This was the beginning of San Francisco Xavier, the second Jesuit mission in Lower California.

Meanwhile a new temporary chapel was begun at Loreto, and about one hundred paces from the presidio the foundations were laid for a spacious church and for a suitable dwelling. The chapel was finished and blessed in the fall of 1700, but the church did not reach completion until the year 1704. In the spiritual order great progress is indicated by the baptism of about two hundred children, not counting the baptisms administered to the dying, and by the satisfactory conduct of about six hundred Indians under instruction.[24]

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[23] Clavijero has March 10th.

[24] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 38-56; Alegre, tom. iii, 98-99, 104-107; Clavijero, lib. ii, 44-47; Piccolo, "Memorial," February 10th, 1702, pp. 114-115.

CHAPTER III.

Gloomy Outlook.—Fruitless Petitions.—The Officials in Mexico.—Pearl-fishing.—Calumnies.—Captain Mendoza's Report.—Salvatierra.—Kino.—Trip to Sonora.—California an Island?—Rev. Juan de Ugarte.—Captain Estévan Rodriguez.—Mission Work.

THE year 1700 found seventy colonists at Loreto, including Spaniards, Mestizos, and Indians from Mexico, who all depended upon Father Salvatierra for their means of subsistence. As the land produced nothing, great quantities of supplies had to be procured from Sonora. The outlook appeared gloomy, and the good religious had need of his great confidence in the heavenly Patroness of the mission, lest he grow disheartened amid the flood of tribulations which threatened to overwhelm the colony during this and the following year. A great amount of money had already been lost when the *San José* was wrecked; but when in the spring of 1700 the *San Fermin* suffered the same fate at Ahomé on the Sonora coast, the loss was felt so heavily that Salvatierra hastened across the gulf in the *San Xavier*, the only remaining launch, for the purpose of obtaining means to meet his obligations. It appears that he effected nothing, beyond having the *San Xavier* repaired and filled with supplies with which he arrived at Loreto on June 21st.

During the years 1698-1699, Salvatierra had in vain appealed to the royal council in Mexico for some assistance. On the first of March, 1700, he drew up a memorial signed by himself, Father Piccolo, and thirty-five men of the colony, in which he related the founding and the state of the missions, the immense expenses incurred, and the impossibility of paying the soldiers from the alms which, besides coming late, were uncertain and limited; he implored the favor of the king, and pleaded that, lest the fruit of so many labors and hardships be lost, the soldiers be paid from the royal treasury, as was done at the numerous other military posts which the government maintained on the borders of savage territories; he described the evils that must inevitably result from the with-

drawal of the troops, and concluded by declaring that he and his companion had firmly resolved to remain alone at the mission, even though they should be exposed to violence at the hands of the savages. From Sinaloa, Salvatierra addressed another memorial to the viceroy in which he showed that the colony was in danger of perishing from hunger, because they had only the unseaworthy little *San Xavier* to transport the supplies, wherefore he begged that another ship be assigned to the mission.

All these urgent petitions failed to produce the desired effect, despite the personal efforts of Father Juan de Ugarte. The viceroy, indeed, offered the sum of $1,000, but Ugarte respectfully declined to accept it, because this amount was too small for the needs of the colonists, and would nevertheless cause benefactors to discontinue further assistance. The solicitor for the treasury now declared in reply that Father Salvatierra in 1697 had bound himself to carry on the work without expense to the royal treasury, and therefore must abide by his word. It was true, Ugarte rejoined, that he had obtained permission to enter California on condition that no expense be caused to the treasury; the condition had been observed by planting the first colony and maintaining it for three years at much personal cost, and solely with the aid of benefactors; but there was a difference between creating a colony and continuing the same permanently; and even though he had obliged himself to do so, now that, through no fault of his own, the missionary found himself in such straits, the interests of Religion and of the State demanded that he should be aided and protected. This reasoning, eminently satisfactory during the time of Spanish chivalry and warm faith, made no impression upon the politicians at the period of incipient Mexican-Spanish degeneracy and religious indifference. At all events, the viceroy seems to have deferred to the opinion of the solicitor; for he took no further steps to relieve the mission and colony, except that he reported the matter to the King of Spain. The death of Carlos II. delayed action; but his successor, Philip V., on July 17th, 1701, issued three decrees in favor of California which were very flattering

to the Society of Jesus. In the first he directed that under no circumstances should the missions be abandoned. Moreover, he thanked the missionaries and ordered that $6,000 should be paid to the mission annually. Unfortunately, at this period heavy demands were made upon the royal treasury in order to secure Texas and Florida for the crown of Spain, so that California was again overlooked.

Spain had indeed manifested interest and good will; but this cannot be said of her sons in Mexico. The principal reason for inactivity here was Mexican-Spanish jealousy of the Society of Jesus. Envy was especially strong among the adventurers who were seeking permission to occupy or visit the peninsula, with or without government aid, for the purpose of enriching themselves, regardless of the welfare or the lives of the natives. The California gulf coast abounded in rich pearl-beds. "It was to these pearl-fisheries," says Venegas,[1] "that many flocked from the continent of New Spain, from the coast of New Galicia, Culiacán, Sinaloa and Sonora; and the cruelties into which greed precipitated many had caused mutual complaints which will continue whilst this prolific root of all evils in the world exists." This state of things ceased with the advent of the Jesuit missionaries; "and nothing," the English Protestant Alexander Forbes writes,[2] "can show more strongly the pure and disinterested motives of the Jesuits than the law which they had obtained, after much trouble, from the Mexican government, namely, that all the inhabitants of California, including the soldiers, sailors and others under their command, should be prohibited not only from diving for pearls, but from trafficking in them. This law was the cause of great and frequent discontent among the military servants of the Fathers, and even threatened the loss of the conquest; but it was nevertheless rigidly enforced by them during the whole period of their rule. Fishing for pearls was not, indeed, prohibited in the gulf and along the shores of California,

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[1] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 59.
[2] Forbes, "California," p. 24.

but it was carried on by divers brought from the opposite shores by adventurers engaged in it."

Venegas and Clavijero find another source of unfriendliness towards the Jesuits in the envy of others, who could not bear to see that a penniless religious should have made a success of an undertaking in which numbers of the bravest and richest, even the government, had failed, despite the lavish expenditures of immense sums of money for ships, arms, and soldiers. Nor would they comprehend, a fact which speaks badly for their own good faith and religious education, how a man of good family, bright talent, and brilliant education, could desire to deprive himself of the society of relatives and friends, the comforts of life, and worldly honors, in order to go to distant and wild countries, and lead a life of hardship among savages, unless he had been moved by the hope of enriching himself. California had become famous for the abundance of her pearls, in fishing for which not a few had grown wealthy. Though it was evident that the missionaries set no value upon these fisheries, and neither fished for pearls nor trafficked with them, nor permitted any one in the colony to deal in pearls, the enemies tried to persuade the people and the government, that it was this source of wealth which had attracted the Jesuits to the peninsula. For these reasons, Venegas remarks, those that had not the courage to envy the missionaries on account of the hardships and perils inseparable from missionary life, begrudged them the very contributions of kind benefactors on account of the wealth hidden in the waters of the gulf.[3]

All the calumnies that were so eagerly spread in Mexico would have done little mischief, had not an enemy arisen in the colony itself. This was Antonio García de Mendoza, the new commander of the troops. The soldiers had shown themselves contented and willing in their subordination to the missionaries, by whom they were paid, until the fall of 1699, when Captain Luis Torres y Tortoléro was forced to retire

[3] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 56-69; Clavijero, lib. ii, 47-48; Alegre, tom. iii, 114-117, 123-124.

on account of an inflammation of the eyes. The Fathers had found him an energetic and trustworthy officer who took deep interest in the welfare of the mission. It was with much sorrow that they saw him depart. They had to permit the promotion of García de Mendoza, an old soldier of Fuenterrabia, who proved anything but fit for the position. He soon chafed under the restraint of the mission regulations, since his temper could ill endure the treachery and indolence of the natives, and he would have dealt summarily with them if Father Salvatierra had permitted. The prohibition of fishing for pearls was another grievance in the eyes of the trooper, and in this by degrees he gained the sympathy of his men. He demanded that, instead of doing work for the improvement of the mission, he and the soldiers should be allowed to fish for pearls to benefit themselves; and when his demands were refused he gave vent to his spleen in letters to his friends and to the viceroy himself.

The tenor of his reports may be judged from a letter addressed to Viceroy Moctezuma on October 22d, 1700. After saying that Fathers Salvatierra and Piccolo were saintly men, apostles, and cherubim, and after praising them for their zeal, their labors, and their contempt for worldly things, Mendoza bitterly complains that the soldiers were employed in constructing roads, erecting houses, and in other work, and then concludes with these words: "I find no other remedy to curb such temerity than to let the Very Rev. Father Provincial of the holy Society of Jesus know this, and to beg him to withdraw these religious from California, and to place them where they should be chastised with the punishment which they deserve; and that I, too, be placed in a tower with a heavy chain in order that I might serve as a warning to my successors."[4]

The enemies of the missionaries did not fail to spread copies of this report everywhere. Though unworthy of notice, the statements, coming from an officer, made impression upon

[4] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 53, 69-70; Clavijero, 48; Alegre, tom. iii, 114, 116-117.

some high government officials and upon all those who in the subordination of the soldiers to the missionaries saw nothing but an inordinate desire of the Jesuits for absolute independence. They pretended to believe such subjection unworthy of a royal soldier, even if his salary was paid from the alms given to the missionaries.

The calumnies industriously circulated by men of standing caused many benefactors to discontinue their contributions to the mission, so that Salvatierra through want of means found himself compelled to reduce the garrison of Loreto to twelve men who declined to forsake the priests. The result was that the savages became unruly and insolent; visits to the interior had to cease; and the baptism of adults was postponed indefinitely; in a word, says Venegas, the mission was afflicted in so many ways that it appeared that God wanted to establish the spiritual conquest of California upon contradictions and sufferings. How dispirited the two Fathers must have felt may be seen from a letter which Salvatierra on October 3d, 1700, addressed to his friend, the fiscal, or solicitor, of the Supreme Court of Guadalajara. After relating that he had already discharged eighteen soldiers, he writes: "I am only waiting, before dismissing the rest of the men, for the last resolution of the government of Mexico, whither I have already sent my final protest. When all are sent away, we shall think of paying the debts that remain; and if before that the Californians, our beloved sons in Christ, for want of military protection, should order us to give an account to God, there still remains Our Lady of Loreto, who doubtless will pay all." [5] A few months before, the zealous religious had written to Brother José de Estivales, "My Brother, at this time we shall not leave this country; California already belongs to Mary Most Holy; if his Majesty (the king) cannot assist us, we Fathers shall remain *alone, alone.*" [6]

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[5] Venegas, tom. ii, 70-72; Clavijero, lib. ii, 48-49; Alegre, tom. iii, 117.

[6] "Hermano mio, ya de esta vez no se sale de esta tierra: ya la California es de Maria Santisima. Si S. Magestad (el rey) no pudiere ayudarnos, nos quedaremos los padres solos, solos." Alegre, tom. iii, 115.

With deep sorrow Salvatierra in the latter part of 1700 saw his beloved mission on the verge of dissolution for want of the necessaries of life. As the government refused to give assistance, and the benefactors had discontinued their contributions, the sorely-tried missionary resolved to solicit alms in Sonora, which was rich in mines and withal a fertile country. He sailed from Loreto towards the end of October and landed in Sinaloa, where he at once began the collection tour. After obtaining considerable aid, he made his way to Sonora, where he also expected to meet his old friend, Father Eusébio Kino. This apostolic Jesuit had fired the heart of Salvatierra with zeal for California, and though he himself was prevented from laboring on the peninsula, he had endeavored to succor the missions by sending great quantities of provisions, besides furniture and breeding animals procured in the mining districts and missions of Sonora. Nor would his ardor rest contented with this; he had hoped to reach California from the north by extending his own mission territory until it should join Father Salvatierra's district. For this reason he had desired to ascertain whether California was an island, as generally supposed, or whether it was a peninsula, as he suspected. Starting out on this arduous exploration, Father Kino went as far as the Rio Gila, then followed its course to the Rio Colorado, whence he wandered southward until he assured himself that his supposition was correct. Thereupon he returned to his mission of Dolores, in October, 1700, after having traveled four hundred leagues.

Salvatierra found him there in February, 1701. On the first of March Kino again set out with his friend to prove that California was not an island, and that it was practicable to reach Loreto from the north by crossing the Colorado River. In this case, they might work in the same field by joining their forces as well as their territory. Accompanied by guards they went as far as latitude thirty-two degrees. One evening, an hour before sunset, from the top of a mountain they had a clear view of the mountains of the opposite coast, and towards the north they could see that Sonora and California were separated only by a narrow waterway. Un-

fortunately, lack of provisions compelled the two explorers to abandon their original intention of going to Loreto at that time around the Gulf of California. Nor did Kino ever succeed in satisfying the longings of his heart; for he had to remain among the Apaches of the Pimerías, whence he passed to his eternal reward towards the end of 1710. He had labored for thirty years in the missions of America, and at the time of his death had reached the age of seventy years. Clavijero[7] writes that Father Kino "baptized more than forty-eight thousand Indians. In all his journeys he carried no other food than toasted corn; he never omitted to celebrate holy Mass; and never slept upon a mattress. As he wandered about he prayed incessantly, or sang hymns and psalms; he died as saintly as he had lived." Father Eusebius Kuehn, or Eusébio Kino, as the Spaniards called him, was a native of the city of Trent, in Tyrolese Austria. Later he became professor of mathematics at Ingolstadt, Bavaria. In 1687 he came to Sonora and made his headquarters at the Indian mission of Dolores.[8]

Father Salvatierra hastened back to his suffering people with all the supplies that he had collected, and arrived at Loreto in the latter part of April, 1701,[9] most agreeably surprised at finding the Rev. Juan de Ugarte there. This energetic man, abandoning all hopes that the government would do anything for California, had begged leave of his superiors to devote himself to the poor Indians, instead of merely trying to procure supplies for them. The permission was reluctantly granted. He then resigned the office of rector of the seminary of St. Gregory and prepared for the long journey to the peninsula. The office of procurator for the missions, which he had exercised since the year 1697, was assigned to Rev. Alexandro Romano. Ugarte set out from the city of Mexico on December 3d, 1700, and, after wandering through

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[7] "Historia," lib. ii, 62-63.

[8] José Ortega, S. J., "Apostolicos Afanes," lib. ii, cap. xv, 326-328; Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 74-107; Alegre, tom. iii, 117-118, 123-126, 155-157.

[9] Alegre, tom. iii, 126, has May 12th.

Querétaro, Guadalajara, and Sinaloa, reached the port on the Yaqui in March, 1701. There was no ship in the harbor, save a small old bark which had been run aground as absolutely worthless. It needed a mast and much of the rigging was gone. The attempt seemed foolhardy; nevertheless, unable to control the ardent desire of his heart, Ugarte trusted himself to this discarded vessel, despite the protest of the frightened missionaries of Port Yaqui. On March 19th, three days after leaving the Yaqui, he safely landed in San Dionisio Bay, and was heartily welcomed by the astonished Father Francisco Piccolo.[10]

Father Juan de Ugarte had now reached the goal, but he found the garrison and Father Piccolo in great distress. Since October of the previous year neither supplies nor information of any kind had arrived. Nevertheless, he gave thanks to God for finding himself in California, as did Piccolo for having a companion. It only needed the presence of their superior to make their satisfaction complete. Three days later the colony was consoled by the appearance of the launch *San Xavier* with the provisions which Ugarte had despatched three months before, during which time much of the freight had been consumed aboard. Salvatierra himself arrived, as already stated, five or six weeks later. Piccolo for the present returned to his mission San Xavier, while Ugarte remained at Loreto with the Father Rector,[11] in order to learn the Indian language before entering upon active mission work.

Besides the want of provisions, another evil afflicted the colony; this was the captain of the guards, Antonio García de Mendoza. Disgusted with life at the presidio, he had continued to disturb the peace of the colony by his discontent; but when he discovered that his bitter reports did not move the viceroy to relieve him of subordination to the missionaries, and that the latter persisted in refusing permission to use the Indians in diving for pearls, or to abuse them otherwise, he

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[10] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 72-73; Clavijero, lib. ii, 49-50. Alegre, tom. iii, 127, says Ugarte landed on March 23d.

[11] Title of the local superior among the Jesuits.

determined to resign his command. Salvatierra at once accepted the resignation, and appointed Isidro de Figueroa in his place. Isidro proved incompetent, wherefore the soldiers were directed to choose their own captain by secret ballot. The Portuguese Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo was then elected almost unanimously and continued at the head of the military in Lower California for more than forty years. He had come to the country with the venerable founder in 1697, and remained there until his death. During his forty-nine years of service he proved himself a good Christian, fearless soldier, and active and prudent officer, who contributed much towards the establishment of the missions and the spread of Christianity on the peninsula, besides preserving peace among the soldiers and Indians.[12]

While the Fathers were making plans to benefit the savages, the latter were instigated by the sorcerers and medicine-men to murder Father Piccolo and to destroy Mission San Xavier. One day they approached the mission in great numbers; but when they found that the missionary, warned by a friendly Indian, had fled to Loreto, they vented their fury on the furniture of the house and the ornaments of the church. Among other things they broke the large crucifix into pieces, and pierced an oil-painting of Our Lady of Sorrows with two arrows, because, as they declared, "she is the one the Father loves."[13] On hearing this, Figueroa, the new captain, with a squad of soldiers, hastened to Viggé-Biaundó to punish the barbarians; but the savages took refuge in the mountains. Later the guilty Indians appeared at Loreto and asked pardon. Since no blood had been shed, their petition was granted, and peace again reigned for a while.

Although the natives at San Xavier had proved themselves treacherous, the place could not well be abandoned, because it was situated in one of the few districts capable of cultivation. As the Indians professed repentence, Salvatierra as-

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[12] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 108-110; Clavijero, lib. ii, 49-50; Alegre, tom. iii, 128-129.

[13] "Esta es la que quiere el padre." Venegas, p. 110.

signed Ugarte, who had learnt their language sufficiently, to that difficult post in place of Piccolo, who was to proceed to Mexico in behalf of the peninsula missions. Ugarte with a few soldiers set out for San Xavier, only to find the place deserted. For many days not an Indian was to be seen. The soldiers soon began to grumble, because they had no servants, and Ugarte would not let them go after the natives for fear of making them more distrustful. Finally, suspecting that the presence of the dreaded guards was the real cause of the trouble, he sent them back to Loreto and trusted his safety to Divine Providence. The surmise proved correct; for at nightfall of the same day a boy timidly approached the cabin. The Father joyfully caressed and regaled the youth, and urged him to tell the people to come without fear, as the soldiers had gone away. One by one the Indians returned so that the old order of things was soon restored and religious instruction resumed.

The missionary had a double task to accomplish and he determined to go to work systematically. He had to induce the savages by means of food and flattery to attend the catechism, the Rosary and the holy Mass, and at the same time to drop their pagan practices and abandon their fear of the medicine-men; then he had to teach a people unacquainted with labor, to cultivate the soil and to care for cattle and other domestic animals, and by degrees to form human beings of savage brutes who lived in absolute idleness, and like brutes sought their food while roaming unrestrained about the mountains. The existence of the new mission, as well as that of Loreto, depended upon his ability to raise enough provisions to maintain the neophytes without having recourse to aid from Mexico. At Loreto there was little soil fit for agriculture, but Ugarte at San Xavier undertook to provide at least the most necessary means for both establishments. What toil, hardships, and mental suffering this cost the good missionary among a people so capricious, unappreciative, and beastly as the Lower Californians, can be understood by those only who have been similarly situated; but we shall be able to form a good idea of the difficulties under which the missionaries la-

bored from Father Venegas's description of the conditions at San Francisco Xavier,[14] which follows in the next chapter.[15]

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[14] Authors write Xavier and Javier. The pronunciation is the same.

[15] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 109-114; Clavijero, lib. ii, 50; Alegre, tom. iii, 128-129, 133.

CHAPTER IV.

Mission Routine.—The Doctrina.—Learning the Language.—Agriculture at San Francisco Xavier.—Distress.—Piccolo's Memorial.—Revolt.—The Pious Fund.—Missionary Tours.—Another Revolt.—Search for Mission Sites.—Rev. Basaldúa's Petition.—Memorial to the King.—The Viceroy's Unfriendliness.—Intolerable Conditions.—Council.—Founding of Mission San Juan.—Lorenzo Resigns.

"EVERY morning after Mass, at which all were obliged to assist," Venegas writes,[1] "the Doctrina[2] was recited. Then breakfast, consisting of pozole, or porridge, was given to those that had to work. The Father would next set them to build the church and the houses for himself and his Indians, or to clear the soil for cultivation, to make ditches for irrigating the land, to dig holes for planting fruit-trees, or to prepare the ground for sowing seeds. In the mechanical line Ugarte was not only master and overseer, but carpenter, mason, and ordinary laborer, so that everywhere he had to bear the heaviest burden; for, though moved by example, gifts, and flattery, the Indians never entirely shook off their

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[1] "Noticia," tom. ii, pte. iii, 114-117. See also Clavijero, lib. ii, 50-51.

[2] Doctrina Christiana, or principal truths of religion. This was recited in common as fast as the respective parts were learned, and comprised the Sign of the Cross, the Lord's Prayer, the Hail Mary, the Apostles' Creed, the Confiteor, the Acts of Faith, Hope, Charity, and Contrition, the Ten Commandments of God, the Precepts of the Church, the Seven Sacraments, the Six Necessary Points of Faith, and the Four Last Things of Man. These truths, as well as the ceremonies and devotional exercises, were explained in the course of time. The Doctrina was uniform throughout California. The author as late as 1888 heard the Sanél Indians near Hopland, California, recite it in Spanish from beginning to end during holy Mass. Like the Indians elsewhere, who are rarely visited by a priest, they knew that much from tradition; but it is very much more than unscrupulous closet-historians and superficial writers can recite by heart, who flippantly declare that Catholic missionaries taught their Indian converts nothing but a string of meaningless ceremonies in an unintelligible language.

inborn love for idleness, and they would not make a step unless they saw the Father work more than all of them. Hence he was the first to fetch stones, tread clay, mix sand, cut, carry, and prepare lumber, remove earth, and arrange materials. He was equally active at other kinds of work, now clearing the thickets with a hatchet, then digging up the earth with a spade, sometimes splitting rocks with a crowbar, then again directing the water for irrigation, leading the cattle and sheep to the pastures, or watering the stock which he had procured for his mission; thus by example he taught the Indians to do everything.[3]

"These savages, whose dullness and narrow ideas at first did not grasp the utility of such labors, which deprived them of the freedom of roving about the mountains according to their custom, furnished thousands of occasions to increase the merit of patience by coming too late, or not wanting to stir, by running away or jeering at the Father, and sometimes even by conspiring and threatening death and destruction. All had to be borne with unwearied patience, without having recourse to any other remedy than kindness and soft words, mixed at times with gravity to make himself respected, and in showing consideration for their weakness by not tiring them.

"In the evening the Father would gather them a second time to say the Rosary, after which the Doctrina was repeated and formally explained, and then he would give them supper. In the beginning they were noisy during the whole time of instruction, hearing it with jests, and sneering at what the missionary said, talking among themselves, and many times giving vent to boisterous laughter. The Father endured this for a while; then he rebuked them, and as this did no good,

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[3] "I cannot think of this," says Clavijero with Venegas, "without being moved to compassion, and without recognizing the power of God, at sight of a gentleman, raised amid the comforts of a wealthy home, now reduced to a tedious and burdensome life, and buried in an obscure and remote solitude, a man of letters and highly esteemed in the schools and pulpits of Mexico, a man of sublime genius, voluntarily condemned to associate for thirty years with stupid savages." ("Historia," 50-51.)

he one day thought it necessary to employ a somewhat vigorous experiment to overcome them through fear. Near him usually stood an Indian much esteemed for his strength, who, relying upon this advantage, the only quality valued among them, ventured to conduct himself more rudely than the others. Father Ugarte, who was himself a large and strong man, took the Indian by the hair, just as he was laughing most immoderately and making signs of mockery to the others, and lifted him up into the air swinging him to and fro three or four times. That was enough to make the rest run away terrified. They soon returned, one after another; but the Father had succeeded in causing such dread that they assisted at the Doctrina with attention.

"When he discovered that the cause of their merriment were the mistakes which he made in the use of words and in the pronunciation, the poor missionary took more pains to inform himself about the one and the other by taking the children for his teachers, because he had noticed that the grown people, besides showing themselves unwilling, deceived him in order to ridicule him afterwards.[4] The task of teaching them, by reason of the extreme dullness of the poor natives, was not easily accomplished. On one occasion he impressed upon them, with all the force he possessed, the fire and the pains of hell. The result was that he afterwards overheard them saying to one another, that hell was a better land than their own, for there was no lack of wood, but that fire was there to warm them, and that therefore it was better to leave their country and go there. The distress and discouragement which this inability to understand caused Father Ugarte cannot be described; nevertheless, it was all overcome by the energy and perseverance of a tireless and painstaking man, who toiled for the glory of God.

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[4] Fr. Louis Hennepin, O. F. M., and the early Jesuit missionaries among the Indians of the Northern States and Canada, experienced similar annoyances while endeavoring to learn the native idiom. Obscene expressions were frequently told the Fathers, who, ignorant of their true meaning, would use them at the instructions until the deception was discovered.

"The Father reaped the fruit of his patience in subsequent years, when he succeeded in leading the Indians not only to know and understand the Doctrina, but also to live a regular Christian life. He accustomed their obstinate indolence to work, and obtained abundant harvests of wheat, corn, and other grain. He overcame the seeming impossibilities of irrigating and cultivating craggy and stony soil, and even raised grape-vines from which he manufactured good wine, some of which was used at the Masses in California, and the rest was sent to New Spain in exchange for needed goods. He also bred horses, and obtained abundant wool from sheep. He was, indeed, the purveyor-general for the garrison and for the missions, which all must have perished but for the assistance of Ugarte. The year 1707 for want of rain produced a very poor harvest all over New Spain. Sinaloa and Sonora suffered exceedingly. Rain had also been scarce in California; yet, in writing to Don José de Miranda Villaizán on June 9th, Ugarte says: 'Thanks be to God! It is now two months since with the sailors and soldiers we eat good wheaten bread of our own harvest, while the poor on the other coast, in Sinaloa as well as in Sonora, are perishing. Who would have dreamed it?' "[5]

The efforts of the apostolic man did not rest there. When the sheep brought from the other coast had increased sufficiently, Father Ugarte wanted his naked Indians to have the benefit of the wool. He accordingly taught them how to spin it and weave it into cloth, after he himself had made the distaffs, spinning-wheels, and looms. In order to perfect the work, he had a master-weaver, Antonio Moran by name, come from Tepic at a salary of five hundred dollars. Moran stayed in California two years, and then left the neophytes instructed in all kinds of handiwork, and thus by means of the home-made product they saved the heavy expenses of importing clothes and blankets.[6]

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[5] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 117-119; Clavijero, lib. ii, 52; Alegre, tom. iii, 142; Forbes, "California," 31-35.

[6] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 119-120; Clavijero, lib. ii, 52; Forbes, "California," 36.

Before Mission San Francisco Xavier reached this period of prosperity, the want of provisions at Loreto had compelled Father Piccolo to seek relief in Mexico. He embarked on December 26th, 1701, and arrived at Guadalajara probably early in February, 1702. On the 10th of that month he addressed a Memorial to the Royal Audiencia of Guadalajara. From this report we for the first time obtain a clear view of the state of the missions in California. After reciting the history of the foundation, Piccolo writes as follows:

"On going out, Father Salvatierra to the north and I to the south and west, we discovered many tribes of different languages, some speaking the Monquí language, which we knew, whilst others used the Laymone tongue, which we did not know. As the latter is much more extended than the other, and appears to be generally spoken in this whole vast country, we saw ourselves obliged to learn it. We applied ourselves to its study so strenuously that we learned it in a short time, and then commenced to preach in both languages. God blessed our efforts so that we have baptized more than one thousand children, all well prepared. More than three thousand well instructed adults likewise ask and desire the same favor; but we have judged it advisable to delay them in order to try them more thoroughly and to make them more firm in their holy resolution; for, inasmuch as these tribes have lived in paganism during so many centuries, and in abject submission to their sorcerers, and on the other hand are giddy and fickleminded, we have feared that they might allow themselves to be perverted unless they were firmly grounded, or when baptized they might not comply with their obligations and then expose our holy religion to the contempt of the infidels. We have, therefore, been content to keep them among the catechumens. They come to church on holydays and Sundays, and attend the Doctrina with the children who are already baptized.

"We have divided the whole country into four mission districts. The first is that of Concho, or Our Lady of Loreto; the second is that of San Francisco Xavier; the third is that of Yovidineggé, or Our Lady of Sorrows; and the fourth,

which is not as yet established, is that of San Juan de Londó. Each mission comprises many villages. Loreto has nine: *Liggigé*, two leagues from Concho; *Jetti*, three leagues; *Tuido*, four leagues. These three places lie to the north. The following are to the south: *Vonu*, two leagues; *Numpoló*, four leagues; *Chuyenqui*, nine leagues; *Liggui*, twelve leagues; *Tripué*, fourteen leagues; *Loppu*, fifteen leagues.

"Mission San Xavier de Biaundó counts eleven villages as follows: *Huimiuma*, or Guardian Angel, two leagues; *Lichu*, or Cavallero Mountain, three leagues; *Nemuyoma*, five leagues; *Undua*, six leagues; *Emulaylo*, ten leagues; *Picoiopri*, twelve leagues; *Outta*, fifteen leagues; *Onemayto*, twenty leagues. These eight villages lie to the south. The two following are to the north: *Nuntei*, three leagues; *Obbé*, eight leagues. To the west is *Cuivuco*, or Santa Rosaliá, at a distance of four leagues.

"We have built a chapel for the second mission; but, as it is already too small, a large and spacious church has been commenced, the walls of which will be of brick and the roof of wood. The garden which adjoins the missionary's house already furnishes all kinds of vegetables. The trees from Mexico which were planted there are thriving very well, and before long will bear excellent fruit. The Rev. Bachelor Don Juan Cavallero y Ocio, Commissary of the Inquisition and the Cruzada Indulgences, whose zeal and piety cannot be praised adequately, has founded these first two missions, and he has been the soul and principal promoter of this grand enterprise.

"The Mission of Our Lady of Sorrows comprises only *Unubbé*, which is to the north; *Ninumqui*, or San José; and *Yodivineggé*, or Our Lady of Sorrows, which gives its name to the whole mission. *Ninumqui* and *Yodivineggé* are populous places near each other. The gentlemen who compose the Confraternity at our College of Saints Peter and Paul in the city of Mexico under the title of the Sorrows of Most Holy Mary, and who are the principal cavaliers of that great city, have founded this mission, and on all occasions give proof

of their zeal for the propagation of the faith and the conversion of these poor Indians.

"Finally Mission San Juan de Londó has five or six villages. The principal ones are *Teupum*, or San Bruno, three leagues to the east; *Anchu*, at a like distance to the north; *Tomonqui*, which lies four leagues to the west; and *Diutro*, six leagues to the west.

"We have brought some cows and many sheep and goats to California. We have also had horses brought over for breeding purposes. We, moreover, raised some swine, but as they caused much damage, and the women were afraid of them, we exterminated them."[7]

The first result of Father Piccolo's trip across the gulf was a small cargo of corn, flour, and other supplies which the launch delivered on January 29th, 1702; but these provisions did not last long. "The charity of Father Juan Maria Salvatierra to bestow alms on the Indians was so great," Captain Lorenzo writes, "that in a short time we found ourselves in still greater distress." At last nothing remained except a little spoiled meat for which all had a loathing. The colonists were then driven to satisfy their hunger by fishing in the gulf, or by hunting in the mountains for pitahayas (prickly-pears), berries, and roots. The letters of the missionaries describing the efforts of the people at this time to keep alive are truly pitiful.

Their afflictions were aggravated by an Indian revolt which was caused by the imprudence of a soldier named Poblano, who on account of his runaway Indian wife, had killed a native, and who in revenge was murdered by the savages. Ugarte had planted some corn at his mission, and expected to relieve the general suffering with the product of the field. The infuriated Indians tore it up. They would have destroyed the church and dwelling, had not the few guards, aided by some friendly natives, prevented the calamity. The soldiers were unable, however, to save a number of goats with whose

[7] Piccolo, "Memorial" in "Cartas Edificantes de la Compañia de Jesus," Madrid 1753-1756, tom. iii, 115-121.

milk the Father had maintained himself. The missionaries, who happened to be at Londó, were warned in time by Captain Lorenzo and retired to Loreto. A few skirmishes occurred, but only three or four of the rebels were killed.

Father Piccolo, in the meantime, arrived at the city of Mexico on the first of March, 1702, and was fortunate enough to secure the payment of the $6000 which King Philip V. had directed should be made annually to the California missions. With this amount and some other donations Piccolo purchased necessary supplies and hastened them to the peninsula. At the same time Don José de la Puenta, Marques de Villa-Puente, immortalized his name by offering to furnish the means for establishing the three missions San José Comundú, La Purisima Concepcion, and Our Lady of Guadalupe. Don Nicolas de Arteaga and his wife, Doña Josefa Vallejo, moreover, gave the amount necessary to found Mission Santa Rosalia de Mulegé.[8]

Assured of the funds for maintaining four new missions, Piccolo appealed to Father Provincial Francisco de Arteaga to send four additional missionaries; but the scarcity of subjects in the province would not permit the assignment of more than two religious of the Society. These were Juan Manuel de Basaldúa, a native of Michoacan, and Geronimo Minutili, a native of Sardinia. A bark was purchased at Acapulco, laden with goods, and directed to Matanchél, on the coast of Nueva Galicia, where the three Fathers boarded the vessel. After a stormy voyage, during which some of the freight had to be thrown into the sea, they entered the San Dionisio Bay on Saturday, October 28th. At a conference of the five missionaries on the peninsula it was resolved that Ugarte should pass over to the mainland to procure more cattle, horses, and mules, in order that the missionaries might be enabled to extend their work to the interior. Minutili remained at Loreto with Salvatierra, while Basaldúa assisted Piccolo at San Xavier de Viggé and learned the language of the Indians. Ugarte

[8] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 120-126; Clavijero, lib. ii, 52-53; Alegre, tom. iii, 133-134.

left California in December, 1702, for the port of San José de Guaymas in Sonora, and returned in February, 1703, with a good cargo of cattle, sheep, horses, mules, and supplies.[9]

During Ugarte's absence Father Salvatierra made several trips to the interior; but as he traveled afoot, he could not proceed far over the rugged country. When Ugarte returned, Salvatierra undertook a longer journey for the purpose of reaching the western coast. In company with Captain Lorenzo and a few soldiers he departed in March, 1703, and took the road to San Xavier. At the mission station of Santa Rosalía Fathers Piccolo and Basaldúa joined the party. They arrived at the sea-coast without meeting any Indians. The shore was examined to the north and to the south, but no harbor could be discovered. Some land was found suitable for agriculture, but no water for irrigation; and as rain could not be relied upon, the plan of establishing a mission in that region was abandoned. After encountering a number of timid Indian men and women towards the south, all returned to Loreto. In May a second tour of exploration was made by Ugarte to the north as far as the Bahía de la Concepcion, forty leagues from Loreto, where he found a number of populous rancherías.

In 1703, on occasion of the feast of Corpus Christi, which fell on June 7th, Father Rector Salvatierra, desirous of giving the neophytes an exalted idea of the Most Holy Eucharist, had all the missionaries with their guards and as many converts as they could muster come to Loreto. The ceremonies were carried out and the procession held with the utmost splendor, in order to impress the mind of the natives through the eye and then through the ear by means of a special instruction on the consoling doctrine celebrated that day.

The joy created by the festivities was not to last long. Soon a small number of Indians brought the information that all the converts of Mission San Xavier, save the few that escaped to Loreto, had been massacred by the ringleaders of a former

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[9] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 126-129; Clavijero, 52-53; Alegre, tom. iii, 133-134.

conspiracy, aided by savages. It was the general opinion at the presidio that an example must be made of the murderers to stop the frequent hostilities. The captain with his soldiers and some Christian Indians set out at midnight and surprised the conspirators in their camp. A few were killed, but the leader escaped with the others. Captain Lorenzo, however, threatened vengeance upon all the tribesmen unless they delivered up their chief, dead or alive. A few days later the culprit was brought to the presidio, where he was tried for his misdeeds. It was proved, not only from the testimony of the witnesses, but also from his own confession, that he had been at the head of several conspiracies for the murder of the missionaries and soldiers; that, having failed, he directed the desecration of the chapel and the destruction of the San Xavier mission property; that he had been the principal in the massacre of the catechumens; and that he was the chief cause of the murder of the soldier Poblano. The captain condemned the manifold criminal to death; nor could Fathers Salvatierra and Piccolo move the commander to spare the guilty Indian's life by banishing him from the territory; but a respite was granted so that the chief might be instructed and baptized. After receiving the sacrament, the savage seemed to be a different man. He died well disposed, with assistance of Father Basaldúa. The lesson produced a wholesome and lasting effect; the natives were so intimidated that for a long time no disturbance occurred at any of the missions.[10]

The Fathers now resolved to found a mission south of Loreto on the coast at Liguí, or Malibát, and another in the north on the banks of a river for which Ugarte had searched in vain during the month of May. Fathers Piccolo and Basaldúa, accompanied by the captain and some soldiers, sailed for the north in the mission launch during the month of August, 1703. Passing beyond the Bahía de la Concepcion, they discovered the mouth of the river, which in the native language was called Mulegé, but which was otherwise known as Cabo de las Virgenes. Here they landed and moved up the

[10] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 129-134; Clavijero, lib. ii, 53-54.

stream, guided by Indians, for the distance of a league, to a place where Mission Santa Rosalía was afterward located. The country then became so rugged and hilly that it was necessary to procure horses. The whole party, therefore, crossed the gulf to Sonora, where Rev. Andrés de Cervantes, a missionary among the Yaquis, furnished the animals. Father Piccolo [11] remained in Sonora to collect alms for his new mission, and Basaldúa with the soldiers returned to Rio Mulegé. After making fruitless efforts to find a road to Loreto, all re-embarked and proceeded to Concepcion Bay, only two leagues from the mouth of the Mulegé. The launch was sent back to Guaymas, and Father Basaldúa with his men made his way over familiar roads to San Juan de Londó, where the Father Rector welcomed them. From here all returned to Loreto.

Soon after two ships, whose crews had been engaged in unlawful pearl-fishing, were wrecked on the coast of California. The men, about eighty in number, barely saved their lives. They were hospitably entertained at the presidio for several months until their boats were repaired, with the result that the meagre amount of supplies which Piccolo had forwarded from Sonora was used up, and the colony again brought to the verge of starvation. At the end of the year the shipwrecked people left the peninsula accompanied by Father Minutili, whose health had given way, and who, therefore, went as missionary to Tubutama, Sonora, near Father Kino's Mission of Dolores. The year 1704 found the missions in abject poverty; it was the seventh year since the arrival of the Jesuits, and it almost proved to be the last. The bark *Rosario* was sent to the mainland on February 12th to be repaired, and to bring back money and supplies for the soldiers and provisions for the missionaries. Father Basaldúa, who was to expose the needs of the missions to the government, sailed with her to Matanchel, whence he went to the capital by way of Guadalajara. Meanwhile Piccolo again

[11] See Bancroft's erroneous statement concerning Rev. Piccolo in "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 428.

crossed the gulf in the launch *San Xavier* for more supplies, but was unable to obtain enough for the maintenance of all; moreover, much of the cargo was spoiled aboard the unseaworthy vessel.[12]

Basaldúa cherished the belief that he should have little difficulty in obtaining generous assistance from the viceroy; but he was doomed to disappointment. From a memorial presented by the two Jesuits, Bernardo Robandegui and Nicolas de Vera, the youthful King Philip V. learned that his royal decrees of the year 1701 in favor of California had not been carried out; he, therefore, on September 28th, 1703, sent five other decrees to Mexico. In the first Viceroy Albuquerque, who in 1702 had succeeded Moctezuma, was ordered to allow the missionaries of California the same stipend[13] as the Fathers in Sinaloa, Sonora, and Nueva Vizcaya, besides bells, oil, vestments, and other articles needed at the missions; to establish a presidio with thirty soldiers on the coast of the South Sea as far north as possible, for the defense of the territory and the protection of the Philippine trading vessels; to purchase a ship, manned by eight soldiers and a captain, for the use of the missions; to pay the missions each year, without delay and deductions, seven thousand dollars in addition to the six thousand dollars granted on July 17th, 1701; to send minute reports regarding the missions already founded; to establish pearl-fisheries, but avoid complaints, violence, and disorders; and to induce poor families from New Spain to settle on the peninsula. The other letters were addressed to Don Joseph de Miranda Villaizán, to the provincial of the Jesuits, to Rev. Juan Cavallero y Ocio, and to the Confraternity of Our Lady of Sorrows, in recognition of their services in behalf of the California missions.

These orders reached Viceroy Albuquerque in April, 1704. He directed that they should be laid before a junta-general, or council, and that Father Piccolo, then at Guaymas, and

[12] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 134-138; Clavijero, lib. ii, 54.

[13] "Limosna," alms, is the term used by Venegas. It varied from $400 to $450 annually for each missionary, and was paid in the form of supplies, minus the cost of transportation.

Father Salvatierra, then in California, should be present, for what purpose it is difficult to understand. It seems the viceroy wanted to render the royal commands ineffective by delay. At all events, he did not execute them; nor did he pay Father Basaldúa the six thousand dollars allowed in 1701 for the garrison, under the pretext that the money was needed for other purposes. The Father had to content himself with repairing the *Rosario* and loading her with some goods. He took along the Rev. Pedro Ugarte, S. J., the brother of Father Juan, who was to replace Father Minutili, and arrived in the bay of San Dionisio at the end of June, 1704.

Great was the disappointment felt at Loreto; nor could the soldiers, who had expected to receive their pay in the form of goods and provisions, conceal their dejection. It was plain that only affection for the missionaries prevented the soldiers, sailors, and Indians from Mexico, in all sixty souls, from abandoning the country at once. Hunger and the lack of all necessaries of life had already reached the highest degree. Stormy weather set in and twice drove the two vessels, which had been despatched to Sonora for provisions, back to the peninsula. The situation grew so intolerable that the Rev. Rector Salvatierra called a council composed of the religious and the officers of the presidio, in order to deliberate whether or not the missions should be abandoned. "As for me," he had already written to Don Miranda, fiscal of the Audiencia at Guadalajara, under date of February 8th, 1704, "I will live alone without guards, even though at some risk; and I think Father Ugarte will do the same." At the meeting Salvatierra addressed the members as follows: "It is not necessary to explain to you the lamentable state in which we find ourselves; for you see for yourselves, and you are tormented with hunger as well as we missionaries. Equally known to all is our solicitude to procure provisions and all that is necessary for the colony; therefore no one can blame us for the present misery. We finally appealed to the government of Mexico, and, relying upon the strict orders of our pious monarch, we did not doubt that a remedy would soon be found for our ills; but our hope has not been realized. The need is

pressing, yet we know not what to do. If we remain here without relief, we expose ourselves to death, if we abandon the country, we lose the fruit of our labors. I beg you, therefore, to give your opinions freely as to what should be done."

When the Father Rector had finished speaking, Father Piccolo rose to say that, being a founder of a mission, he would not express his opinion, lest any one should be influenced by his action, but he would leave the decision to the council. Then came Father Juan de Ugarte's turn to speak. He resolutely opposed withdrawing from the territory; but he would have each man receive a certificate for what was due him, and he would have the ship placed at the service of those that wished to leave. For the rest he himself would undertake to provide roots and wild fruits upon which the Indians subsisted, until supplies could arrive from the mainland. At all events, he was determined to stay among the natives and with them live upon roots, berries, and pitahayas. His fervent reasoning and energetic speech produced the effect Salvatierra secretly desired. Fathers Pedro de Ugarte, Basaldúa, and Piccolo, also voted to stay at their post. Touched by the example of the priests, Captain Lorenzo and the other officials declared that they would stand by the missionaries. The matter was then placed before the colonists. Although they were told that they were at liberty to decide for themselves, not one availed himself of the opportunity to improve his condition by receiving certificates and having them cashed in Mexico. All exclaimed that they were willing to die in the company of the Fathers. It is a pity that a similar class of soldiers were not located at each mission of Lower and Upper California throughout the mission period. Unfortunately, the missionaries later on were not permitted to select their guards, and for this reason the soldiers were generally not a help like those at Loreto, but rather a great obstacle to the spread of Christianity.[14]

As soon as the storms on the gulf had subsided, Father

[14] Alegre says the council was the second held with like result. See his description of the first in tom. iii, 127-128.

Piccolo sailed for Guaymas in the bark *Rosario*, whilst the launch *San Xavier* proceeded to fetch necessary supplies from the Yaqui.[15] Father Juan de Ugarte, sometimes accompanied by soldiers and neophytes, set to work gathering berries and roots for the starving settlers. To show their gratitude to the soldiers for punishing the murderers of their relatives, the Indians of San Xavier de Viggé-Biaundó likewise went in search of wild fruits, so that the most pressing wants, at least, were satisfied until relief came from Sonora.

Even in the midst of distress Salvatierra did not overlook his principal object, the spread of the Gospel. He determined to found another mission towards the south, and for this purpose he started out, with Father Pedro de Ugarte and one soldier, to reach Liguí, or Malibát. Two Indian interpreters were taken along, because the dialect spoken there differed from that used at Loreto. They arrived on July 12th, 1704. The savages at first showed signs of hostility, but Salvatierra soon allayed their fears, and through his interpreters convinced them of his peaceful intentions. The Indians thereupon drew near, were caressed by the Father, and presented with such trinkets as he knew they prized. He informed them that in token of his friendly object Father Ugarte would remain in their midst, in order to show them the way to heaven. The land round about was examined and found suitable for a mission; but on account of the poverty of the colony work on the chapel and dwelling could not be commenced at that time. After a few weeks' stay, Salvatierra allowed Father Ugarte to baptize forty-eight children whom the mothers had voluntarily presented for that purpose. This in reality was the beginning of Mission San Juan Bautista de Liguí, though the formal founding took place later. Promising the people that Father Pedro should come back to live with them, Salvatierra and his companion returned to Loreto about the end of August. At the same time the two ships appeared in the bay loaded with provisions, and thus revived the courage of the sorely-tried colonists.

[15] Venegas says the "Rosario" went to the Yaqui River.

On the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, September 8th, the new church building, mentioned by Piccolo in his memorial, was dedicated at Loreto. The day was made more memorable by administering holy baptism to a large number of catechumens. Heretofore the Fathers had adhered to the custom of the ancient Church and baptized adults only on Easter Saturday and the vigils of Pentecost.

On account of some troubles among the soldiers Captain Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo resigned his command, nor could the missionaries change his resolution. Ensign Isidro Grumeque also retired from the force. Juan Bautista Escalante, ensign at the presidio of Nacosari in Sonora, was then appointed captain, and Nicolas Marquez was made lieutenant.[18]

[18] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 138-150, 152; Clavijero, lib. ii, 54-56; Alegre, tom. iii, 138-139.

CHAPTER V.

Salvatierra Goes to Mexico.—Appointed Provincial.—His Memorial.—Viceroy's Strange Conduct.—New Viceroy.—Provincial Salvatierra Visits the Peninsula.—Rev. Pedro de Ugarte at Liguí.—Treachery of the Indians.—Founding of Mission Santa Rosalía.—Rev. Juan de Ugarte at Loreto.—Search for a Port.—Salvatierra Returns to California.—Founding of Mission San José de Comundú.—Shipwreck.—Epidemics.—Other Difficulties.—Salvatierra's Disappointment.—His Death.

THE Father Rector now found himself at liberty to proceed to Mexico in compliance with the directions of Viceroy Albuquerque. He named Father Juan de Ugarte superior of the missions, and sailed for Matanchél on October 1st, 1704, in the company, it seems, of Estévan Lorenzo and Isidro Grumeque. After transacting business with the Audiencia of Guadalajara until the 26th, he continued on his way and entered the capital in the forepart of November. Meanwhile the provincial, Rev. Manuel Pineyro, died on October 21st. On opening the sealed letter of the Superior-General, which contained the appointment of a successor in such an emergency, it was found that Juan Maria Salvatierra had been named provincial. Great was the consternation of the poor Father. He at once implored the Father General, Tirzo Gonzales, to relieve him of the burdensome office, and to permit him to die among the Indian converts in California; but he was obliged to accept the office until the reply arrived, and, after all, his petitions in behalf of the missions would now have more weight. He accordingly hastened to explain the situation on the peninsula to the viceroy, and fervently pleaded for the execution of the king's orders. Albuquerque professed much esteem for the virtues and apostolic zeal of the new provincial, and was convinced that something should be done to alleviate the wants of the colony; yet he did nothing. The members of the Audiencia individually expressed themselves in like manner; nevertheless no junta or council was convened to deliberate, though the founder of the missions, whose presence had been demanded, was then at the capital, and

with him the ex-commander and the former ensign of the California troops.

At last, Salvatierra was told to draw up a memorial on the royal decree of September 28th, 1703. The Father complied on May 25th, 1705. In this document he set forth the history of the missions from the time of Admiral Otondo, and showed that, as experience had proved, one ship was insufficient for the California service; that the gravest damage would result if the garrison were withdrawn from subordination to the mission superior, as some demanded, because in that case officers and soldiers would devote themselves to pearl-fishing, and, instead of protecting the missions against savages, the troops would render themselves obnoxious by using the Indians as slaves and by slandering the missionaries for shielding the natives, as was of frequent occurrence in the missions of Sonora and Sinaloa. Salvatierra also showed that independence of the mission guards from missionary control was not beneficial to the soldiers themselves, because in a country so remote the captain could maltreat the men with impunity, and the soldiers could liberate themselves from the tyranny only by deserting; whereas, if the commander was subordinate to the missionary, he would not dare to abuse the men for fear of losing his position. At any rate, as the troops in California were paid by the missionaries, it did not seem unjust that they should be subordinate to the missionaries. As to the clause in the king's decree, which directed that some poor families should be sent as colonists to the peninsula, this could not be done until enough arable land had been discovered upon which they could maintain themselves. At present, not even the small colony of Loreto could subsist except through aid from without. Concerning a presidio for thirty soldiers, which was to be established on the west coast for the convenience of the Philippine ships, Salvatierra thought the expense was unnecessary, because it would be sufficient annually to pay the $13,000 ordered by the king for promoting mission work. A mission could then be established at a harbor where the trading vessels might find relief from the scurvy. Finally the memorial described the actual state of

the missions and showed that during the past seven years of hard labor the district, extending seventeen leagues along the gulf coast from the Puerta de la Concepcion to Agua Verde, and as many leagues into the interior, had been made subject to the king by persuasion and kindness; that on this tract of land twelve hundred Indian Christians and a greater number of catechumens had settled down in peace, so that the missionaries could go among them without military protection; and that so far there had been expended in the colony and the missions the sum of $225,000, exclusive of the $58,000 contributed by benefactors, to establish six missions, all of which, save only $18,000 received from the royal treasury, had been collected by the Jesuit Fathers.[1]

No action was taken by Albuquerque, though he had summoned Father Salvatierra and had declared his presence necessary. After waiting in vain, Salvatierra, now provincial, in June left the capital for the purpose of making the prescribed visitation of the California missions. He was accompanied by Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo, whom he had induced to resume command of the troops at Loreto, because Escalante had made himself odious by his overbearing manner. Scarcely had the Father Provincial departed, when Albuquerque called the junta, or council, to meet on June 27th, only to adjourn, however, under the pretext that nothing could be done in the absence of the California missionary. Eight months later, on March 23d, 1706, the king was notified to that effect.

According to Venegas and Alegre the viceroy's inaction was due to resentment. It seems the Jesuit missions in Sinaloa and Sonora suffered like those in California, because the stipends had not been paid for some years. As petitions availed nothing, Provincial Salvatierra, with the consent of all the prominent Fathers in Mexico, notified Viceroy Albuquerque that unless relief were granted he would withdraw his religious

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[1] Salvatierra, "Memorial," in Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 150-166; Clavijero, lib. ii, 56-57; Alegre, tom. iii, 139-141. See Bancroft's dishonest version of the matter in "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 430-432.

and turn all the missions over to the secular clergy. At the same time he ordered the rectors of the missions to be ready to leave at the first notice. This energetic move of the new provincial had the desired effect; the viceroy saw his own position imperiled. He directed that the stipends for that year should be paid, but that the payment for past years should be postponed to more favorable times. California, however, had to feel the wrath of Albuquerque. Although the order to forward to the California missionaries the sum of $13,000 annually had been renewed by the king on August 13th, 1705, and again on July 26th, 1708, both times without the knowledge of the Jesuits, Albuquerque during the whole term of his office, which lasted nine years, would do nothing for California. He, moreover, suppressed favorable royal decrees, so that Don Fernando de Lancaster Norufia y Sylva, Duke de Linares, who entered Mexico on January 1st, 1711, to succeed Albuquerque, never became aware of their existence. Linares could do nothing officially without orders from the king, though he would gladly have assisted the missionaries to the extent which the decrees commanded, since he was a friend of the Jesuits. When he died six years later, on June 3d, 1717, he bequeathed the sum of $5,000 to the missions of California.[2]

Salvatierra collected what alms and supplies he could obtain, and took the ship at Matanchél. On August 30th he landed in San Dionisio Bay, to the joy of the missionaries, soldiers, and Indians. He found them still suffering much want, despite the aid which Father Piccolo had frequently sent from Sonora; for the new provincial had thoughtfully appointed Piccolo visitor of the Jesuit missions in that territory, in order to give him an opportunity to collect alms for California with more authority, and his efforts doubtless saved the missions on the peninsula. Salvatierra acknowledged Piccolo's services in a letter written on the very day on which he landed at San Dionisio. "God repay your Reverence," he writes,

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[2] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 166-174; Clavijero, lib. ii, 57-58; Alegre, tom. iii, 142-143.

"for the help to these poor Fathers; if it had not been, on arriving in person I should have found them dead."[3]

Salvatierra remained on the peninsula for two months, working with the missionaries as if he were one of them and not the superior of a province of religious. He visited every mission station and rancheria, distributed little presents to the Indians, and instructed them as he was accustomed to do when he dwelt among them. Before leaving he ordered a mission to be established at Mulegé, and the one at Liguí, or Malibát, to be formally opened. This arrangement made it necessary for Father Juan de Ugarte to attend both San Xavier and Loreto; but, as the Father at Loreto had also to provide for the temporal necessities of the presidio and the Indians, the burden would have been too heavy for one man. For this reason the provincial appointed Brother Jayme Bravo, whom he had brought along from Mexico, to take charge of the temporal affairs. Bravo performed this duty for thirteen years, when, on account of his virtues and talent he was elevated to the priesthood. Directing the religious to look for other suitable mission sites in the interior, and to find a harbor for the Philippine ships, Father Salvatierra sailed for Mexico to finish the visitation of the Jesuit houses, and to await the news from Rome, which he confidently expected would set him free.[4]

The provincial had scarcely departed, when preparations were made to establish the missions at Liguí and Malibát. On the same day towards the end of November, 1705, two parties started out in opposite directions. Father Pedro Ugarte proceeded to the south for fourteen leagues to the place which the Monquí Indians called Liguí, whilst the Laymones gave it the name Malibát. Father Juan Manuel Basaldúa turned to the north as far as the Rio Mulegé, forty leagues distant from Loreto. This left Father Juan Ugarte alone in charge of Loreto, Mission San Xavier de Viggé-Biaundó, and Londó.

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[3] "Dios le pague á V. R. el socorro para estos pobres Padres, que á no ser asi, al llegar yo en persona, los hubiera topado muertos." (Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 177.)

[4] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 166-181; Clavijero, lib. ii, 57-58; Alegre, tom. iii, 142-144.

"Father Pedro Ugarte found the Indians of Liguí peaceable and without distrust," Venegas writes, "but he had to suffer all the inconveniences of new missions which are numerous and trying, especially when such establishments are planted among savages addicted to sloth. In the beginning he had no other shelter, for a long time, than the shade of the mezquite trees; afterwards he dwelt in a hut made of branches, while erecting the chapel and a small house of adobe. He sought to gain the good will of the savages by means of little presents and extreme kindness, in order that they might help him construct the buildings, and especially to attract them to the Doctrina, which he explained as well as he could with the aid of the Indians from Loreto while he learned the language; but his kindness as well as his gifts were lost on the adults, who, possessed of inveterate laziness, would assist at nothing, although they would accept pozole and other gifts and would beg for them. His industrious mind was obliged to have recourse to assistance from the boys who, being delighted by the Father with little presents and sweetmeats, would follow him whenever he wanted them; but in order to accustom even these to any kind of work, it was necessary to make use of artifices. Thus he would sometimes make a wager with them as to who should soonest pull out mezquite bushes and little trees; sometimes he would offer rewards to the one that dug away the most earth; let it be sufficient to say that to make bricks, he made himself a boy with boys, challenging them to play with the earth and to dance upon the clay. The Father would take off his shoes and would go upon the moist clay and tread it; soon the boys would tread it with him; then a dance would begin, when all would be jumping and dancing upon the clay and the Father with them; the boys would sing and the Father sang with them; all were delighted, jumping as though in emulation and treading the clay in various parts until it was time for luncheon. In this manner he succeeded in constructing his poor dwelling and the church, and thus by means of labor and through many hardships, with patience and perseverance, he went on taming the savages and those of the neighboring rancherías along with those whom he

sought in the mountains, ravines, and caves, going everywhere until he succeeded in baptizing many of the adults and bringing some kind of order into this new Christian settlement."[5]

When Father Pedro de Ugarte had completed his little church at Liguí, it was dedicated with the assistance of the other Fathers in honor of San Juan Bautista. This was done in gratitude to Don Juan Bautista López of the city of Mexico, who had donated the ten thousand dollars necessary to produce a revenue of five hundred dollars with which a missionary could be maintained. López retained the capital, but paid the interest regularly until he failed in business. Though the fund was lost, the Jesuits contrived to continue the mission. Father Pedro was beginning to fare better, when an incident nearly caused his death and the ruin of his mission. The occurrence is related here, because, like many similar ones, it shows the childish, fickle, and cowardly nature of the aborigines, and affords a glimpse at the difficulties with which the missionaries all over California had to contend. One day, on entering the hut of a dying woman, Ugarte found an unknown sorcerer, or medicine-man, practising his superstitions at her bedside. The Father drove him out and reproved the neophytes for admitting the man. He then heard the woman's confession, administered extreme unction, and assisted her till she died. A few days later the Indians came to him and related with much satisfaction how they had killed the bad medicine-man. The horrified missionary rebuked them severely for their cruelty, and, to emphasize his indignation, turned his back upon them. Instead of acknowledging their crime, the murderers conspired to kill the Father who had scolded them. Fortunately, he learnt the dark plan from the boy who served him. He promptly sent for the chief conspirators. Then, grasping an old, useless musket, he addressed them as follows: "I know that you want to kill me this night; but remember, that before you can kill me, I will kill you all with this." The ruse was so effective that they

[5] Venegas, tom. ii, 181-184; Clavijero, lib. ii, pp. 58-59; Alegre, tom. iii, 144; Forbes, "California," pp. 40-41.

fled from the mission with all the other neophytes, so that Ugarte had to search for his people and to lead them back with the assurance that he meant no harm, but like a father only sought their welfare. After that the natives esteemed him much more for his courage and fearlessness.

The zealous Pedro Ugarte toiled at San Juan Bautista until the year 1709, when broken health compelled him to retire to Mexico. He had scarcely recovered his strength when he returned to California and devoted himself with renewed energy to the work of Christianizing and civilizing the poor natives. He broke down a second time, however, and was sent to the Sonora missions on the Rio Yaqui, where he continued to interest himself in behalf of California by procuring supplies for her missions.[6]

Meanwhile Father Basaldúa had reached the Arroyo[7] de Mulegé, and established his mission at a ranchería two miles from the gulf coast. He encountered difficulties similar to those experienced by Pedro Ugarte, and overcame them in similar ways. When his adobe church and dwelling were completed, he dedicated the establishment in honor of Santa Rosalía to please Don Nicolas de Arteaga and his wife Doña Josepha Vallejo of the city of Mexico, who had contributed ten thousand dollars for the mission. The Indians here proved more tractable than elsewhere; nevertheless, Basaldúa's health gave way after four years of hard labor, so that he had to be transferred to Mission San José de Guaymas on the opposite coast, which had been assigned to the California jurisdiction for the purpose of supplying the peninsula Fathers with provisions. His successor at Santa Rosalía was the Rev. Francisco Maria Piccolo. This Father extended the missionary field very much to the north, and made several tours into the interior which later resulted in the founding of Missions Guadalupe, Purisima Concepcion, and San Ignacio. He remained at Mulegé until the death of Father Salvatierra, when he removed to Loreto. In 1718 the mission was turned over

[6] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 182-187; Clavijero, lib. ii, 59; Alegre, tom. iii, 144.

[7] Mountain stream. Venegas calls it a river.

to Rev. Sebastian de Sistiaga, who for many years attended to its temporal and spiritual needs. Many of the Indians of Santa Rosalía made such progress and manifested such genuine love for religion that they were admitted to holy Communion at the paschal season, and on other occasions during the year.[8] Many learnt Spanish well enough to serve as interpreters with other tribes. Some proved so faithful and industrious in behalf of the missions and missionaries that the Fathers in their reports often made mention of them. Special praise was bestowed upon two Indians, Bernardo Dabava and Andres Comanaji, who accompanied and aided the missionaries on their frequent tours through the country.[9]

Whilst the missions of San Juan Bautista de Liguí and Santa Rosalía de Mulegé were struggling successfully for existence, Father Juan de Ugarte alone had charge of the three missions of Loreto, San Juan de Londó, and San Xavier de Viggé-Biaundó. This indefatigable worker and truly apostolic man was, therefore, continually occupied in preaching, hearing confessions, instructing, baptizing, visiting the sick, assisting the dying, superintending the construction of roads, digging ditches, cultivating the soil, etc., so that, when he began to reap the fruit of his efforts in agriculture at San Xavier, his neophytes were also found punctual at the daily exercises in church, at catechism, holy Mass, sermons, and the Rosary. He had appointed so-called fiscals, whose duty it was to see that no one remained absent, and who if necessary would apply the rod. His interest for the education of the young made him convert his dwelling into a school for boys, where he instructed them in religion and morals, and taught the necessary mechanical arts with remarkable patience and devotedness. This was the first school on the peninsula, and proved of much benefit to the missions later on. For the girls,

[8] This was uncommon, nor did the practice last; ordinarily very few Indians grasped the significance of the Blessed Sacrament. Unfortunately Venegas gives no statistics, so that we cannot judge for ourselves.

[9] Venegas, tom. ii, 187-190; Clavijero, lib. ii, 59; Alegre, tom. iii, 144.

especially the orphans, Ugarte erected another house, where, under the watchful eye of an elderly woman, instructed by himself, they were gradually initiated into the work and duties peculiar to their sex. At San Xavier he also built a hospital for the sick and helpless. This was the beginning in California of the famous mission system, so much maligned by malevolent ignorance, but which more than a century ago proved to be the salvation, in the material and the spiritual sense, of the Indians from San Lucas to Sonoma in northern California. In Lower California, however, owing to the barrenness of the soil or the scarcity of water, this missionary system nowhere reached the development, and therefore never produced the remarkable results, materially and spiritually, which it attained in the twenty-one missions of Upper California.

In obedience to the provincial, Father Juan Ugarte and Brother Jayme Bravo set out from Loreto on November 26th, 1706, with forty Yaqui warriors, some California Indians, the captain, and ten soldiers, to search for a safe port on the western coast. No suitable harbor was discovered. Another journey which Ugarte and Bravo made to find good places for new missions had a similar result.[10]

In September, 1706, Father Provincial Salvatierra at last received from Superior-General Miguel Angel Tamburini the letter which informed him that his resignation had been accepted, and that the Rev. Bernardo Rolandegui would take his place. After procuring the goods which the soldiers at Loreto were to receive in payment for their services, the happy Salvatierra hastened to Sonora and Sinaloa for more alms and provisions, and then embarked at Ahome, Sinaloa, on January 30th, 1707, with five California Indians whom he had brought to Mexico to have them educated. All were in ill-health, and one of them died aboard the vessel. On account of heavy storms, the ship did not reach San Dionisio Bay until February 3d. A few months later, Rev. Julian de Mayorga, who had come from Spain with the new provincial,

[10] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 192-198; Clavijero, lib. ii, 59-60; Alegre, tom. iii, 147.

arrived with more supplies for both soldiers and colonists. At the beginning of 1708 Mayorga was sent out to start a new mission in the midst of a number of Indian rancherías at a place called Comundú, twenty[11] leagues to the northwest of Loreto, and about midway between the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of California. The new establishment was dedicated in honor of St. Joseph, and is known as San José de Comundú. It was one of those endowed by the Marques de Villa-Puente. In the course of time a substantial church replaced the first structure. Following the example of Ugarte, Mayorga conducted a school for boys in his own house, erected a school for girls and a hospital for the sick. He converted most of the natives of that region, and had them settle down at the mission and the two mission stations, San Ignacio and San Juan. As the soil proved unsuitable for agriculture, very little land could be cultivated, save at San Ignacio; but the vineyards produced abundant grapes. The missionary's efforts were so successful that many of the natives received holy Communion even outside of Easter time. Father Mayorga died at his post on November 10th, 1736. His place was filled by Rev. Francisco Xavier Wagner, who passed away at San José on October 14th, 1744.[12]

The scarcity of priests as well as the disasters which befell California at this period prevented the opening of new missions for a long time. The little vessel *San Xavier*, which had served the Fathers as a transport ship from the year 1697, and which had sailed in August, 1709, was driven out of her course and wrecked sixty leagues north of the Yaqui. After burying the three thousand dollars which they had taken along for the purpose of purchasing supplies, the crew succeeded in reaching the Yaqui in a small boat, and then sent word to Loreto. Father Salvatierra hastened over to Guaymas and sent the *Rosario* after the *San Xavier*, whilst he, with fourteen Yaqui Indians, made his way by land to the Seris country where the shipwreck had occurred. He passed

[11] Clavijero has thirty.

[12] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 199-204; Clavijero, lib. ii, 60-61; Alegre, tom. iii, 148.

two months among these savage Indians, whilst the ship was undergoing repairs, and induced them to cease warring with the Christian Pimas. He moreover baptized many of their children and instructed the grown people, who became so fond of him that they begged the Father to stay with them. Much as he wished to benefit them by spreading Christianity among a tribe that promised so well, Salvatierra could not forsake his Californians, among whom his presence was now more than ever necessary.

An epidemic of smallpox broke out on the peninsula, where it had never been known before, and raged so fiercely that many of the adults and nearly all the children were carried away. Other diseases, resulting from food to which they had not been accustomed, appeared among the Spaniards and demanded victims at the presidio. Overwork, anxiety, and want of proper nourishment brought Father Piccolo to death's door three times; the Rev. Rector himself almost succumbed twice; and strong Father Juan de Ugarte was once thought to be on the point of expiring. Fathers Pedro de Ugarte and Basaldúa, on the other hand, were obliged to leave California on account of the low state of their health. In the midst of these calamities another formidable enemy arose to destroy the work of the devoted religious. Instigated by the medicine-men and sorcerers, who had long watched the progress of Christianity with jealous anxiety, many of the neophytes appeared willing to rise in open revolt. As the Christians had first been attacked by the epidemic, the sorcerers declared that the little ones died from the effect of the baptismal water, and that the grown people were killed by the oil of extreme unction. Had the Fathers not endeared themselves to the natives, it is probable that not one of them would have been spared. Fortunately the smallpox did not carry off neophytes only, and thus the charge of the sorcerers soon lost its force. To add to the misery of the missionaries, a famine prevailed in New Spain which made it almost impossible to procure supplies. Had it not been for Father Ugarte's farm at San Xavier, there is little doubt that all the missions would have been destroyed.

These afflictions arising from natural causes were rendered more painful through other reverses brought about by the malice of men. Rev. Francisco de Peralta, who had come to California in 1709, in order to take the place of Pedro de Ugarte at San Juan de Liguí, was sent to Matanchél in 1711 to have the *Rosario* repaired, and, if this were impossible, to have another ship constructed. As the poor religious knew nothing about ship-building, the shipwrights and marines wasted several thousand dollars and left the vessel in worse condition than it was before, so that it was soon completely wrecked in a light wind. A new ship was built by the same men. They spent eighteen months and used up $22,000 in constructing an unmanageable coffin, as Venegas calls it, in which to bury passengers and goods at sea. Nevertheless, Fathers Clemente Guillén and Benito Guisi, destined for California, and Father Santiago Doye, who was bound for Sinaloa, embarked with the supplies in the new vessel. The wind drove them down to Cape San Lucas, and then back again to the isles of Mazatlán, near Matanchél. Setting sail once more, the ship came in sight of Loreto several times, but in the night of December 8th a tempest carried her to the opposite coast, where she was wrecked. Father Benito Guisi and six of the crew were drowned; the survivors, two priests and twenty men, managed to reach land. They made their way, amid indescribable sufferings and subsisting on roots and herbs, to the Indian village of Tamazúla, where they found kind treatment. Nothing daunted, Guillén wandered to the Yaqui, which he reached towards the end of January, 1714; from there the *San Xavier* brought the heroic religious to Loreto. He was placed in charge of Mission San Juan Bautista de Liguí, which he administered for several years until it was reduced to a pueblo de visíta, or mission station.

Despite such disheartening difficulties and anxieties, the missionaries continued their activity for the spread and firm grounding of Christianity. One great obstacle to systematic instruction was the large number of small rancherías [13] scat-

[13] Rancheria—Indian settlement.

tered all over the country. The Indians were induced to settle closer together in pueblos, or towns, where they were taught and controlled until the scarcity of food obliged them to separate and to look for food in the mountains, or to fish on the coast.

In 1872 Father Piccolo, who had scarcely recovered from a severe illness, paid a visit to the rancherías of Cadegomó, which were situated southwest of Mulegé and thirty leagues from the ocean. He was accompanied by the captain, some soldiers, and a few Christian Indians. After conversing with them, the natives begged the missionary to remain among them, naively promising to furnish him with the best pitahayas which they should find. He promised a missionary and induced them to unite and settle in a region eight leagues from the sea, where five years later Mission Purisima Concepcion was founded. He baptized all the little ones presented by their mothers, and at once appealed to the provincial for another religious who could take up the work of conversion among these people.

At an earlier date the Cochimí Indians about Kada-Kaaman, or Arroyo Carrizal, forty leagues to the northwest of Mulegé, had applied for a missionary. To comply with their request, Father Piccolo set out on November 13th, 1706, with only three soldiers and a few Christian Indians. When he arrived on the 19th, the natives arranged a great feast in his honor. He remained among them until December, offering up holy Mass in an enramada, or brushwood structure, and baptizing fifty children. Mission San Ignacio was established here, but not until the year 1728. The delay was caused by the scarcity of priests.

A year before his death, Father Juan Maria Salvatierra made an attempt to conciliate the warlike Guaycuro Indians about La Paz, who, ever since the days of Otondo, had manifested a hostile spirit which was intensified by the constant depredations of the greedy pearl-fishers. Leaving Loretó in the *Guadalupe*, he took along three Guaycuro prisoners whom he had ransomed from the pearl-fishers, in order to restore them to their tribe, so that they might bear testimony to the

kind treatment which Indians received at the hands of the missionaries. Unfortunately, when the captain and soldiers landed, the Guaycuros took alarm, and fled to the mountains, under the impression that they were to be subjected to the brutalities perpetrated by the pearl-fishers. The Loreto Indians, who had come along, made matters worse by running after the fugitives for the purpose of undeceiving them. The Guaycuro warriors escaped, but the women, seeing themselves overtaken, turned and attacked the supposed enemies with stones. The enraged Loretans now rushed upon the furious women and would probably have killed them all had not the captain and some fleet soldiers come up and with difficulty separated the unequal combatants. Nor would the frenzied women listen to reason, but at once resumed the flight. The venerable Salvatierra felt sorely grieved at the unexpected result of his kind endeavors; but, as there was no hope of pacifying the savages when they considered themselves wronged anew, he asked the prisoners to explain the misunderstanding to their people, and then returned to Loreto.[14]

Lower California was now called upon to part forever with the venerable founder and director of its missions. In March, 1717, Father Nicolás Tamarál, destined for Cadegomó, or Mission Purisima, arrived at Loreto with a letter from the provincial informing Father Salvatiera that the new viceroy, Marques de Valero, wished to confer with him as soon as possible about the execution of certain royal orders which the king had issued in behalf of California. Leaving the superintendence of the temporal and spiritual affairs of the missions to Father Juan de Ugarte, the venerable man, in spite of his age and grave infirmities, in company with Brother Jayme Bravo, sailed from Loreto on March 31st. After nine days he landed at Matanchél, and proceeded on horseback as far as Tepic. This last journey aggravated the pain of his malady, the stone, to such a degree that he was unable to continue. He was, therefore, borne on a stretcher to Guad-

[14] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 204-229; Clavijero, 61-64; Alegre, tom. iii, 154, 161-162, 174.

alajara, by some Indians. For two months the poor Father suffered a veritable martyrdom. Realizing that his life was to terminate, he entrusted the business which he was to transact with the viceroy to Brother Bravo, and prepared himself for the journey into eternity. As soon as the critical condition of the old missionary, whom all venerated as a saint, became known in the city, public prayers were offered for him in the churches; but the Lord had decided to grant His faithful servant the rest which he so richly merited. The apostle of Lower California received the last sacraments with all the fervor of a true Christian. Just before passing away, Salvatierra began the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*, and tranquilly breathed his last at the words *Monstra Te Esse Matrem*,[15] on Saturday, July 17th, 1717, in the seventieth year of his age. The highest government officials, the bishop, the secular and the regular clergy, the nobility, and an immense multitude of people took part in the funeral services. The body was buried in the chapel of Our Lady of Loreto, which the deceased himself, before entering upon his apostolic career across the gulf, had erected in honor of the heavenly Queen. Later on the remains were placed in a casket and deposited near the altar of the Blessed Virgin.[16]

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[15] Alegre, tom. iii, 175.

[16] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 283-286; Clavijero, lib. iii, 64-65; Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. ii; Alegre, tom. iii, 174-176. The latter gives Saturday, June 18, as the date of Salvatierra's death, which is an error, inasmuch as June 18th of that year was a Friday. According to the "Cartas Edificantes," tom. iii, p. 3, Salvatierra was a native of Milan, Italy.

CHAPTER VI.

The Missions Not Maintained by the Government.—The Pious Fund.—Allowance of the Missionaries.—King Philip's Orders.—State of the Missions.—Their Organization.—The Military.—Daily Routine.—The Jesuits.—Need for Soldiers.—Their Pay.—Drawbacks.—Unselfishness of the Missionaries.

"IT may be fairly stated that the missions of California were from first to last founded and supported by private persons, whose combined gifts formed what has been known as the Pious Fund."[1] At first the benefactors and founders retained the capital and paid only the annual interest to the Jesuit Fathers; but the business failure of the founder of San Juan de Ligui, and the consequent loss of the capital of ten thousand dollars, caused Father Salvatierra to think of a plan which would put the funds beyond the risk of commercial reverses. While still provincial, he decided to invest the money in real estate or haciendas,[2] where he could raise the stock and provisions which must otherwise be purchased from dealers.

As it was a matter of importance, he laid it before the consultors of the Society of Jesus in Mexico, who approved the proposition. Only one of the Fathers objected on the ground that it was not conformable to the aims of the Society to have missions which possessed property yielding an assured income. The question was therefore referred to the Father General, who declared that the foundations in California must be considered in the same light as the colleges; that, although

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[1] Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 441. The reader will do well to remember this confession of the California historian. "Todas las misiones de la California son fundaciones de personas particulares hasta ahora, y ninguna corre de cuenta de las Reales Caxas." Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 223. Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. iii, expresses himself in like manner: "Demnach seynd alle Missionarien in Californien von 1697 bis 1768 nicht von dem katholischen Koenig, sondern von Privatpersonen unterhalten worden."

[2] Haciendas are equivalent to our southern plantations before the Civil War, except that the laborers were not slaves.

the Jesuits could exact no stipend, compensation, or alms for their ministrations, it was incumbent upon the Society to provide each one with food and clothing, and for this there should be income and funds in such places where there would be no opportunity to maintain themselves by means of alms.[3]

This letter reached Salvatierra in 1716, a year before his death. He accordingly directed Father Alexandro Romano, the procurator of the missions, to collect all the donations so far made for the founding of seven missionary establishments, besides the five thousand dollars bequeathed by Viceroy Linares, the four thousand dollars contributed by a gentleman of Guadalajara, and smaller amounts; and to invest the money in haciendas. The real estate thus purchased was known as the Pious Fund Property or Estate.[4]

From the first, Salvatierra saw the necessity of having a representative at the capital, who might act as attorney, purchasing agent, and collector of stipends and alms for the California missions. Father Juan Ugarte was the first to serve as procurator until he joined the missionary force in 1701. Father Alexandro Romano was then appointed, and by order of the Father General devoted his whole time and ability to the welfare of California until he was made provincial in 1719. Father Joseph de Echeverría held the office of procurator until 1729, when he became visitor for the peninsula missions. He was succeeded by Brother Francisco Tompes, who served until his death in May, 1750. In other

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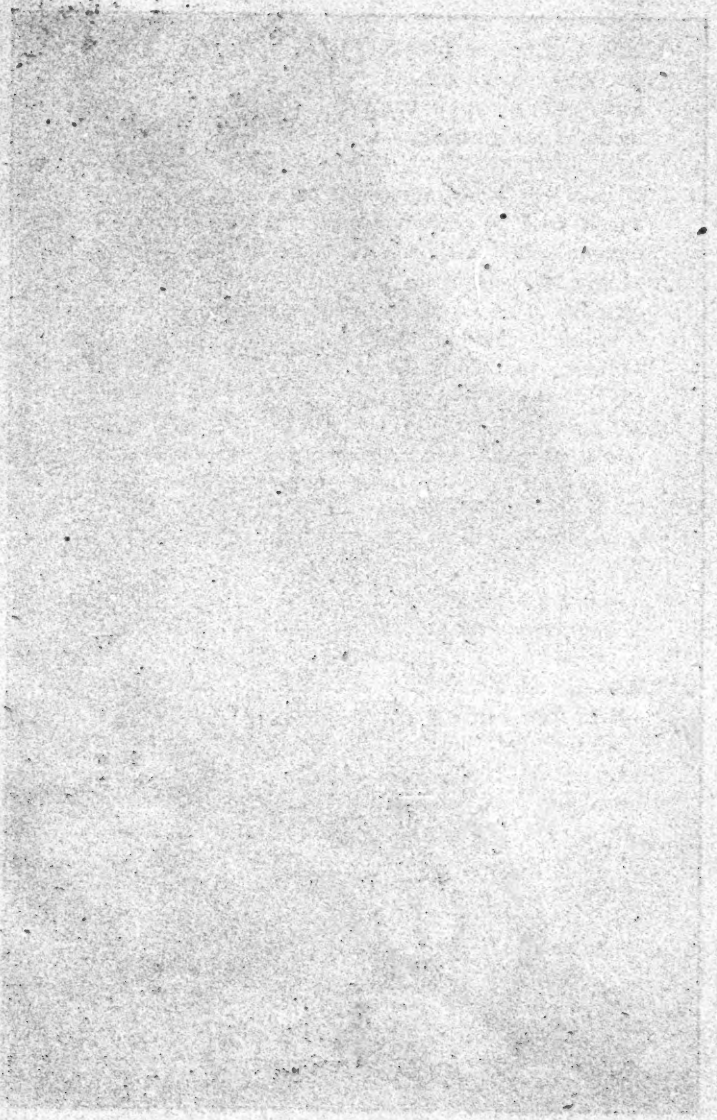
[3] "Respondió éste, que no era contra el Instituto de la Compañia tener misiones dotadas ó con haciendas, ó de otra manera . . .; que estas fundaciones debian mirarse del mismo modo, que las de los Colegios; pues, aunque los Jesuitas ningun estipéndio, recompensa, ó limosna pueden llevar por sus ministerios, por eso mismo es forzoso, que la Compañia cuide de proveerlos de alimento y de vestido; y que para esto haya fincas y dotaciones, donde no hubiere lugar á pedir mantenerse de limosnas, como lo hace la parte mas noble y principal de la Compañia, que son las Casas Profesas, en las quales ni aun para las iglesias puede haber dotation." Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 235.

[4] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 233-235; Clavijero, lib. iv, 112; Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. iii.



EXPENSIVE FREIGHT TRANSPORTATION
(From an ancient print.)

parts of Mexico, but especially at Guadalajara and at several ports on the Pacific coast, there were other agents, generally called procuradores; but these acted only in special cases when they assisted in collecting alms, or in facilitating the purchase or transportation of supplies.[5]

The annual allowance or stipend granted by the king to each missionary laboring among the Indians of New Spain, except California, was three hundred dollars. This amount was not paid in cash to the individual missionary, but with it, according to his directions, various articles of food, clothing, and church goods were purchased and forwarded. The transportation by land, especially to distances of four and five hundred leagues, was expensive, often consuming one-half the value of the goods. As to California, the passage across the gulf had to be taken into consideration. Moreover, the peninsula, except a few districts, was so barren that little or no provisions could be hoped for, so that the stipend fixed for the maintenance of missionaries in other parts under Spanish rule proved entirely insufficient for California. Hence it was that those who desired to found a mission on the peninsula, assigned a capital of ten thousand dollars, whose revenues, at five per cent, produced the amount required.[6]

King Philip V. had, indeed, given orders that the missions of California should, at his expense, be provided with everything necessary for divine worship, such as bells, images, vestments, lamps, olive oil, and altar wine, and that some missions should be established and maintained from the royal treasury; but neither of these commands was carried out, owing to the indifference or ill-will of those that held office in Mexico. All these articles, besides clothing, tools, provisions, medicines, furniture, implements, which he ordered for himself or the Indians, were charged to the respective missionary and paid for from his meager allowance. At the expense of the missionary, the bales and packages were carried by pack-mules to Matanchél and there shipped across the gulf.[7]

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[5] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 230-232; Clavijero, lib. iv, 112.

[6] Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. iii. See Appendix D.

[7] This makes the anti-Catholic historian Theodore Hittell ex-

In the beginning, the Indians who applied for instruction and settled down at the missions were supported by means of the contributions received from Mexico, on condition that they refrained from roaming about the mountains and attended the instructions. In time the converts grew so numerous that it was impossible to feed them all at the missions. As the barrenness of the soil, the scarcity of water, and the invincible indolence of the natives precluded the introduction of agriculture, except in a few places, on a small scale, the following method or system, the only feasible one under the circumstances, was adopted:

All pagan Indians, who offered themselves for instructions, received their food from the missionary until some months after baptism, which was not administered until the candidates had given proof of their sincerity and sufficient knowledge of Christian doctrine. During this period breakfast and supper consisted of *atole*,[8] a porridge made of ground corn and used by the Mexican Indians. The midday meal was called *posole;* it consisted of boiled corn mixed with fresh or jerked meat, vegetables and fruits, according to the contents of the storehouse. In like manner food was furnished to the gobernadór, or chief, of the Indian village, to the fiscal, the sick, the aged, and all the children from six to twelve years of age that were brought from the rancherías and educated at the principal mission village, or mission proper. The same rations were given to the Indians of the distant rancherías during the week when it was their turn to visit the mission to repeat the Doctrina and receive instructions.

It was at the principal mission village, the center of a number of Indian settlements, and commonly known as La Cabezera (chief town), that the missionary resided, and where the church, the storehouse, the soldiers' quarters, the schools,

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claim: "It is therefore clear that the Jesuit Fathers did not engage in their California work with any purpose of acquiring earthly riches." "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 206. See Venegas, tom. ii, 232-233, 240-241; Clavijero, lib. iv, 112.

[8] Corn was boiled, ground or mashed, diluted with water and again placed over a fire; when ready it was called atole. The Indians were very fond of it.

and a number of neophyte huts were located. The other places, more or less distant, where the converts lived, commonly had no houses, because these Indians preferred to dwell in the open air as they had been accustomed to do from time immemorial. In time, however, there were as many as twenty regular pueblos, or towns, all built at great cost by the missionaries.

The churches at the missions at first were generally poor, but kept as clean and neat as possible. The building at Loreto in later times was very large and well decorated; the one at San José de Comundú, erected by Father Francisco Inama, had three naves; and that of San Francisco Xavier, built by Father Miguel del Barco, had an arched ceiling. Every church could boast of a band of musicians; and at each mission there was in later years a school in which some of the boys learned to play upon the harp, violin, viola, and other instruments. The feasts and ecclesiastical functions were celebrated with as much pomp as possible, and the neophytes generally assisted in silence, with modesty and devotion. Every Sunday the natives of the surrounding rancherías, which were not too far distant from the chief town, assembled at the mission to attend holy Mass, to say the Rosary, and to sing the litany with the missionary. All that assisted received the usual meals. This practice was also observed during the days of Holy Week.

As it was not in keeping with Christian modesty for the Indians to go naked, after the custom of the pagans, the missionaries had to provide the clothing. For this purpose, where the soil permitted, the Fathers kept sheep and a few also raised a little cotton. They taught the neophytes to spin, weave, and to make their own clothes; but, owing to the sterility of the country, most of the cloth and blankets had to be imported from Mexico at the expense of the missionary.

Where the soil was good, which was the case at only a few missions, the missionary taught the natives to cultivate and irrigate the land. The product was stored in the granary and distributed to the members of the mission. Where grapes could be grown, wine was manufactured. Some of this was

used for holy Masses; the rest, as the Fathers consumed very little, was exchanged in Mexico for other goods. The sick were treated gently, and the necessary medicines procured from New Spain out of the allowance of the missionary. Thus the Fathers not only performed the duties of pastors, but each one acted the part of father and provider for a large family, of teacher, mechanic, ordinary laborer, cook, physician, surgeon, infirmarian, and governor, without the least compensation, but wearing out his health, deprived of comforts and often of the very necessaries of life, in order that his wards might suffer no want.

The government established by Father Salvatierra to preserve order at the several missions is described by Venegas as follows: At each newly-founded mission the missionary had an assistant or representative in temporal affairs in the person of a soldier, who acted as guard and to a certain extent shared the authority of the captain or commander of the Loreto presidio. When the missionary had converted a number of Indian rancherías, he appointed one of their own people chief, or head, with the title of gobernadór. Another Indian was given the office of fiscal, and for each rancheria a maéstro de la Doctrina, or rezadór[9] was named. The gobernadór's duty was to preserve peace and good order in his district, and to inform the missionary or the soldier if anything occurred which he himself could not remedy. The fiscal had to see to the cleanliness in the church, to report those that absented themselves from holy Mass and other religious exercises, misbehaved in church, caused disturbances at the devotions, or fell back into their old superstitions. The rezadór, or maestro de la Doctrina, every morning had to assemble all the families of his hamlet for the ordinary prayers, to lead in the recitation of the Doctrina, the Rosary, and the litany, before the Indians left for the mountains in quest of food. If anything extraordinary happened among his subjects, it was his duty to report it to the missionary at his next visit.

[9] Rezadór, one who leads at the devotional exercises in the absence of the priest. The office continues to this day in Southern California.

This method, the only one possible under the unfavorable conditions prevailing on the peninsula, worked well enough while the converts were in their first fervor, but was powerless to control their propensities for a great length of time. Hence we find Father Baegert describing the results as follows:[10] "With regard to the Christianity (of the Indians), I, who have lived among them for seventeen years, can say nothing praiseworthy. The seed of the word and other means produces little fruit among them. Temptations, bad example, want of shame, are the causes. In a certain matter they carry on in such a way that it is better, according to Ephesians v, 3, to be silent about it altogether. The women surpass the men in shamelessness, contrary to the custom of women all over the rest of the world."

"As to hearing confessions," Baegert says,[11] "it generally was a very disagreeable, most tedious and melancholy task (after one had thoroughly learned to know them, and had detected their malice, hypocrisy, and atrocious manner of living), as well on account of the constraint or feigned piety, which with very many is the only motive for confessing, as on account of the amazing ignorance after so many instructions; on account of their stupidity and want of reasoning; on account of the many sinful occasions which they do not easily avoid, and which the director cannot remove; on account of the want of every kind of preparation; and finally, on account of the daily, everlasting relapses of all or of most of them. I once asked a California woman (it must have been at the season of the pitahayas) who understood Spanish, why she did not perform the penance imposed at the last confession, which consisted in the recital of several rosaries? I received this reply in good Spanish: *"de puro comer,"* which is to say, merely on account of eating. Another, who least of all lacked sense, I asked what she had been doing and thinking before my arrival in the church? She replied *"Nothing."* Besides other reasons, one is this, that preparing for confession means labor, and labor of the head, heart, and mind, of

[10] "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. viii.
[11] "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. iii.

which the Californians are even greater enemies than of that which is performed with the hands."

The soldier's duty was to guard the life of the missionary, to protect the mission, and to quell disturbances. He had to stand ready at the missionary's order to go whither necessity demanded. He could arrest offenders and chastise them with discretion, unless the offense constituted a capital crime; in this case he had to refer the matter to the captain of the Loreto presidio, who alone possessed supreme jurisdiction. Minor transgressions were punished by flogging; for greater misdeeds the penalty was imprisonment; the stocks, too, were frequently employed. As the prison had no dread for the Indian, but rather suited his indolence, Father Salvatierra introduced the lash as the most effective means to make the brutish native comprehend the wickedness of a crime or sin. Flogging was common for a similar class of people in the provinces of New Spain, and proved beneficial for the communities. Salvatierra in the early years of the Loreto mission first had the lash used upon petty thieves. Venegas relates the occasion for its introduction as follows: One day the captain caught an Indian in the very act of stealing. Salvatierra had all the Indians assemble. The captain brought the culprit into their presence, painted the wickedness of stealing in the ugliest colors, and declared that the offender must suffer for his crime. All the witnesses agreed that the offense must be punished. The missionary now interfered and persuaded the officer to let the guilty man off with a whipping. The lash was applied, but after a few blows the Father pardoned the culprit. Instead of resenting the treatment, the natives were filled with wonder that so small a punishment could satisfy the demands of justice. After this, the whip was applied for these and similar misdeeds by those Indians who held some kind of authority, but always subject to the directions or approval of the missionary.

The system employed in the spiritual and religious affairs of the missions was uniform at all the establishments. The first to receive the care of the missionaries were the children, because all hope of ultimate success centered in the proper

training and education of the little ones. From all the missions a few boys were brought to Loreto, where they were taught Spanish, reading, writing, and singing, particularly ecclesiastical chant, by a teacher imported from Mexico and paid by the Fathers. These boys felt happy at Loreto, and later on made themselves useful as fiscals at their rancherías, as teachers of the Doctrina, and as general assistants of the missionaries.

The daily routine at the missions was as follows: All assembled at church for morning prayers. The fiscal intoned the *Alabado;*[12] then holy Mass was celebrated, during which the neophytes recited the Doctrina in common in their own language. After Mass some point of the Doctrina was explained, or a sermon preached. The adult Christians of the principal mission village, or mission proper, then went to work. "This was not severe," Father Baegert, S. J., writes;[13] "and would to God that there had been opportunity to make the Californians work diligently and be solicitous all day long like the poor farm-hands and mechanics in Germany! How many deeds of malice and vice would have been omitted every day? Work always began late and ceased even before the

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[12] With slight variations the "Alabado," or Praise, is still used by the Mexicans and Indians of California. It is as follows: "Alabado sea el Santisimo Sacramento del Altar! Bendita sea la Limpia y Purisima Concepcion de Nuestra Señora Maria Santisima sin mancha de pecado original!" This is repeated three times.

[13] "Dieses Arbeiten war gar nicht streng; und wollte Gott, man haette Gelegenheit gehabt alle Californier, gleich den armen Ackersman und Handwerker in Deutschland, den ganzen Tag fleissig arbeiten und sorgen machen! Wie viele Bosheiten und Lasterthaten wuerden einen jeden Tag unterblieben sein? Die Arbeit fing allzeit spaeth an, und hoerte ehe die Sonn sich verbarg schon wieder auf. Um Mittag ruhten sie zwo Stund, und ist ganz sicher, dass sechs Tageloehner in sechs Tagen mehr in Deutschland, als zwoelf Californier arbeiten. Zudem gereichte alles, was sie arbeiteten, zu ihrem und ihrer Landsleuten einzigen Nutzen und Besten. Der Missionarius hatte von allem keinen Vortheil als Sorgen und Verdruss, und haette das Malter Weizen oder Welschkorn, so er vielleicht in einem Jahr verzehrte, wohl anderswo her koennen bringen lassen." Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. iii.

sun hid itself. At noon they rested for two hours, and it is certain that in Germany six laborers in six days do more work than twelve Californians. Moreover, all the work which they did redounded to their own advantage and to that of their countrymen. The missionary gained nothing from it except anxieties and annoyance, and he might have procured from elsewhere the bushel of wheat or corn which he perhaps consumed in a year."

In the visitas or mission stations, and where the land was too barren to be cultivated, the neophytes instead of working searched for food in the mountains. The catechumens and children remained with the Father after Mass for a longer instruction until the hour for school, when the boys went to their exercises and the catechumens performed whatever work could be given them. Dinner was taken at noon. After a rest of two hours work was resumed. In the evening all reassembled at the church to recite the Rosary and litany. Every Sunday, besides the holy Mass, there was a procession through the mission village, when the Doctrina was chanted. After returning to the church the sermon was preached. At Loreto the procession was also held on Saturdays for the Spanish people of the presidio, and was concluded with a sermon and the singing of the Salve Regina.

The feast of the titular saint was annually celebrated with special splendor; likewise the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, Corpus Christi, Easter, and Pentecost. The last two celebrations were rendered more noteworthy by the solemn administration of the sacrament of baptism to the converts. On these days, moreover, the fugitives from justice enjoyed immunity from punishment and were permitted to take part in the dances, plays, and general rejoicings. For Holy Week the chief men of all the rancherías were assembled at the respective mission, when the missionary aided by singers trained at Loreto performed the touching ceremonies of that holy season. Penitential processions were held as in the well-regulated Christian communities. On these occasions the fervor of the neophytes was such that the missionaries frequently found it necessary to moderate their zeal for bodily

mortifications. During the same period all were examined in the Doctrina, and the few that were thought capable received holy Communion on Easter Sunday, which solemnity was made as impressive as possible. Some gave proof of so much intelligence, faith, and devotion, and led such blameless lives, that they were permitted to receive holy Communion oftener.[14]

This spiritual and material progress among the Californians was, of course, under God, due to the harmony, virtue, and zeal among the Jesuit missionaries themselves. Great care was exercised to select only the most suitable religious for this most trying missionary field, men of prayer, recollection, self-denial, mortification, tried virtue, natural talent, and robust health. In the beginning Father Salvatierra was the superior of all the missions with the title of rector, though he likewise held the post of local superior at Loreto. When the Fathers had increased in number, and occupied the greater part of the peninsula, "they were formed into three rectorates known as the Rectorate of the North, the Rectorate of the South, and, situated between the two, the Rectorate of Loreto. In each district there was a missionary rector whom the others obeyed; and all the missionaries of the three rectorates were subject to the visitor of the peninsula, who was himself one of the religious and appointed every three years, during which period he was obliged to visit all the missions, to watch over the conduct of the missionaries, and to report about them to the provincial. Moreover, these missions, as well as all others belonging to the province of Mexico, were visited every three years by a visitor-general, and in this way each missionary had over him five regular superiors: the rector, the visitor on the peninsula, the visitor-general, the Father Provincial, and the Father General."[15]

The missionaries of the different rectorates assembled twice a year to report on their respective missions and to discuss the needs of their flock. Every year they made the

[14] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 242-250; Clavijero, lib. iv, 110-114.
[15] Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. xvi, 110.

"Retreat," that is to say, they held the spiritual exercises prescribed by St. Ignatius in order to renew their fervor. Probably this was done by each one alone at another mission, lest the people be without priests. Beyond these instances the missionaries probably saw one another only when they wanted to make their confessions, or when they wanted to assist one another in sickness or other trouble, because to visit a brother missionary they would have to make very long journeys over bad roads. Thus, for instance, the priest of Santa Gertrudis Mission dwelt twenty-seven leagues from his nearest neighbor; the one of San Francisco de Borja, almost thirty; and the missionary of Santa Maria de los Angeles more than thirty-three leagues. "These men," Clavijero remarks, "generally reared in large cities, and accustomed to associate with persons of culture, thus found themselves confined to vast Californian solitudes and compelled to associate with people but lately delivered from a wild life, or at most to have the company of ignorant and rude soldiers." [16]

In addition to the Rules and Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, these religious, Father Venegas informs us, as much as possible observed the *Ordenanzas* of Father Cavero, which pointed out the ways and means of complying with the duties of curates without ceasing to be religious; "and so, through the mercy of God," the Jesuit historian with excusable pride declares, "in this most remote corner of the world, missionaries labored who were thoroughly devoted to the glory of the Divine Majesty, and whose virtue could not be tarnished even in the midst of such a rude people as the Californians." [17]

The military government in the missionary field of the peninsula resulted from the necessity of having guards for the protection of the missionaries, and from the order of the kings to secure the country for the Spanish Crown. The kings, indeed, desired the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, and frequently declared this to be the chief aim of

[16] Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. xvi, 110; Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 250-252.
[17] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 252.

the conquest; nevertheless, the object for which alone expenses were incurred was political. The Jesuits had obtained leave to enter the territory and to enlist soldiers only on condition that they take possession of the country for the King of Spain. It is superfluous to demonstrate the need or advisability of having soldiers accompany the missionaries to a people so brutal and savage as the primitive Californians proved to be. This question was debated for many years by the councilors of the Spanish kings and by other men of experience. After mature deliberation the system was adopted and put into practice not only in California, but in all Spanish frontier territories. Other methods had been followed with disastrous results to a large number of Franciscans, Dominicans, Jesuits, and other religious,[18] who had gone forth without guards to preach among unappreciative savages. These pioneers of religion gained the crown of martyrdom, it is true, but left the natives more benighted and unwilling than they were before. From a human point of view, it was all a waste of most precious lives. In Lower California, too, as we shall see later on, for want of sufficient protection the work of forty years was almost destroyed.

The soldiers had nothing to do with the conversion of the Indians, except that they preserved the missionaries from bodily harm. No one was forced to embrace the faith; all that received baptism submitted to Christianity voluntarily, and not through fear of temporal loss in case of refusal. Converts were admitted to baptism only after a period of probation, more or less long, until sufficient knowledge of religion was acquired and the evidences of sincerity and the prospects of perseverance were satisfactory. The soldiers checked the savage desire to attack the missionaries; but as long as the laws and regulations of the Spanish government were carried out, and while the Fathers reigned supreme, the natives suffered neither offense nor persecution.

[18] The Franciscans in the missions of Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California lost sixty-eight religious who were killed by Indians; the Jesuits, seventeen; and the Dominicans in Florida, two.

When, at last, a garrison was considered indispensable for the reduction of the country, and for the protection of those that undertook to Christianize and civilize the savages, it was established on the peninsula in 1697. The number of soldiers during the first years depended upon the alms that could be collected. After Father Piccolo had succeeded in obtaining from King Philip V. an annual appropriation of $6000 for the guards, the force became stationary. Each soldier, annually, received three hundred dollars; the captain, five hundred dollars. This, like the stipends of the missionaries, was paid with goods purchased in Mexico. The salary proved too small in a country so remote, wherefore the king in 1719 raised the appropriation to $18,000, so that the pay of soldiers and captain could be increased. In 1736 the king added twelve thousand dollars to the appropriation for the military, because the missions had increased in number and demanded a larger force of guards. With these $30,000 from the royal treasury one captain at a salary of nine hundred dollars, two lieutenants, sixty soldiers, ten sailors, and a few marine officials were maintained; but, as the mission vessels required forty sailors, the Jesuits were obliged to provide for thirty men out of their own meager allowance.

Though the captain and the soldiers were now paid by the government, the missionaries retained the right to select or remove them, except that in the case of the captain they had to render an account to the viceroy. The officers and soldiers were subject to the missionaries in everything that did not pertain to military and disciplinary matters. The captain of the Loreto garrison also held the office of judge and governor-general of the peninsula and the adjacent sea, and as such possessed jurisdiction over the soldiers, sailors, servants, and Indians. He, moreover, acted as custom officer for the pearl-fisheries. Most of the soldiers remained at the presidio; but one soldier was stationed at each mission and acted for the missionary in the latter's absence, for which service he received extra pay. This was a drawback which could be remedied only by placing two Fathers at a mission, as the Jesuits desired; but the scarcity of priests compelled the mis-

sionaries to utilize the soldier at the respective mission, instead of having an Indian distribute the supplies to the neophytes.

It may seem strange that the military continued subordinate to the priests even after the government had consented to pay for their maintenance. The politicians and other enemies of the missions, indeed, exerted themselves to the utmost to have this order of things reversed, in which case they would have obtained control of the pearl-fisheries, and the poor Indians would have been made available as divers. To cover their plans, adventurers and their political friends accused the Jesuits of greed, and claimed that their apparent zeal for the conversion of the natives was only a pretext for enriching themselves, and that their demand for absolute control of the peninsula proceeded from ambition and a love of domination which brooked no subjection. Color was sometimes given to such calumnies by discontented soldiers. The kings, however, wisely refused to make any change that would place Indians and missionaries at the mercy of unscrupulous politicians and greedy fortune-hunters. After all "it cannot be doubted," one of the most virulent enemies of Catholic missionaries, Theodore Hittell,[19] acknowledges, "that, so far as the good of the country was concerned, the subordination of the military to the Fathers was beneficial." "And nothing," Forbes declares,[20] "can show more strongly the pure and disinterested motives of the Jesuits than the law which they obtained, after much trouble, from the Mexican government that all inhabitants of California, including soldiers, sailors, and others under their command, should be prohibited not only from diving for pearls, but from trafficking in them." "Had the soldiers been allowed to employ or compel the Indians to fish for pearls, as they sometimes did by stealth," says Hittell, "the result would have been very disastrous, so much so probably as to involve the missions in absolute destruction."[21] Hence Father Salvatierra from the beginning

[19] "History of California," vol. i, 209.
[20] "California," 24.
[21] Loco citato.

was so determined that he discharged every soldier detected in a single act of disobedience in this respect. The Indians might dive for pearls on their own account, but few rarely availed themselves of the privilege. The Jesuits on general principles refrained from having anything to do with these fisheries; and lest any one of the religious forget himself, the superiors forbade them under obedience to fish for pearls, to order any one to do so in their name, or to purchase the pearls obtained by others.[22]

The missionaries would have felt relieved could they have dispensed with the presence of the soldiers at the missions. There were, indeed, some whose exemplary conduct proved of great assistance to the spread of Christianity. To this class belonged Captain Estévan Rodríguez Lorenzo and the soldier Mugazábal. There were others, however, who came from the scum of society, but whom the Jesuits could not always exclude. The great distance, the climate, the soil, and the inability of making a fortune, induced but a few of the better classes to serve in California. Hence it was that the garrison, the sailors, and the mission guards were sources of much pain and anxiety to the missionaries.[23] Father Salvatierra himself declared that some of the men were the most perverse creatures he had ever seen; and Father Ugarte would sarcastically apply to his guards the words of Martialis, "Nec tecum possum vivere, nec sine te."[24] As his mission lay comparatively near the presidio, and the Indians had learned to respect and love him, Ugarte resolved to get along without soldiers.

As a rule, Venegas writes, the military men were a great evil to the missionaries, but an evil without which it would have been impossible to exist among these treacherous savages. It is not difficult to understand what an insufferable burden a coarse, malicious, passionate, haughty, and indolent

[22] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 253-283; Clavijero, lib. iv, 112-113.

[23] "Por esto el presidio, los barcos, y la escolta han sido el mayor tormento y amargura de quantas had pasado y passan los misioneros," Venegas affirms.

[24] "I can neither live with thee, nor without thee."

man must be, when he knows himself necessary to a poor missionary, who is a man of sincerity, culture, gentleness, activity, and zeal. If such could be the situation when the soldiers were by law subordinate to the missionaries, what must be the conditions where the guard is independent and finds himself alone with his priestly victim at a new mission among savages? The Jesuits might have abandoned the work and withdrawn from the field rather than suffer calumnies, opposition, and insults from their enemies; but what would have become of the natives in temporal as well as spiritual matters? Subsequent history will show how the poor neophytes fared when, after the departure of the Jesuits, the spiritual guides of the natives were made subordinate to the soldiery. It was for the sake of their neophytes that these religious continued at their post, laboring in the spirit of their Divine Master, according to the Gospel and their Rule suffering injuries and affront, treated as fools, not giving occasion therefor to any one, and sharing the poverty of their people.[25]

We may form an idea of the privations to which the Fathers voluntarily subjected themselves from Father Baegert's description of the contents of a missionary's habitation. According to him a crucifix, a few paper pictures, two or three chairs, a library, a copper frying-pan, a small copper vessel for preparing the chocolate, two or three earthen pots, a spit, not often used, for roasting meat over a fire, several cow-bladders for keeping lard, a hard bed, or a mere hide on the bare ground constituted the whole outfit.[26] Baegert re-

[25] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 281-283; Clavijero, lib. iv, 113.

[26] "Ein kupferne Pfann und ein ander kupfernes Geschirrlein den chocolat zu sieden, welche fuer's erste und letztemal in Mexico, als sie gekauft wurden, verzinnt waren; zwey oder drey aus Erd und Geismist formirte auf Kohlen in freier Luft halbgebrannte und unglasirte Toepf oder Haeflein; ein Bratspieslein, das oft in einem halben Jahr keine Dienste that; etliche Kueh-Blasen voll Schmals; ein Crucifix; einige papierne Bilder an der Wand; eine anstaendige Bibliothek; zwey oder drey ungefuellte Sessel; ein hartes Bett ohne Vorhaeng, oder eine Rindshaut auf blosser Erd, dieses waren durchgehends ihre Mobilien, alles Haus- Kuchen- und Bettgeraeth." Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. iv.

marks that "those living in Europe would not enjoy such a life, unless they were perfectly indifferent to possess much or little, something or nothing, in this world, and were absolutely conformed to the will of God in every emergency of this life." [27] Despite the poverty of their dwellings and the scantiness of their fare, the missionaries contrived to furnish the churches with a certain degree of splendor in order to impress the natives with "the one thing necessary." Nowhere, says Baegert, were the destitution and misery of California less apparent than in the houses of worship, because the Fathers, before they thought of anything else, endeavored to supply the sacred edifices with everything that was necessary, or might contribute to give the savages an exalted idea of the Majesty of God. [28]

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[27] Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. i, sec. ix, 88.
[28] Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. iv.

CHAPTER VII.

The Country Unfavorable for Missions.—The Natives and Their Customs.—Diseases and Their Cure.—Indian Religion.—Indian Language.—Indian Character.

BEFORE proceeding with the history of the soldiers of the Cross and their warfare against the rude habits of the California natives, and against the still ruder soil until at length they triumphed over the former and as much over the latter as was possible, it will be in order to notice briefly the nature and extent of the obstacles with which the missionaries had to contend. "The country inhabited by these people," says Forbes, who lived on the peninsula in the forepart of the last century, "was and is one of the most barren and unattractive to be found in the temperate or hotter regions of the earth. The peninsula of California is seven or eight hundred miles in length, and varies in breadth from thirty to one hundred miles, the medium breadth being from fifty to sixty miles. It consists of an irregular chain or broken groups of bare rocks and hills interspersed with tracts of sandy soil nearly as unproductive. The greatest height of this mountain ridge is rather less than five thousand feet. In some sheltered spots, where the soil has been left safe from the torrents, there is a fertile mould; but such spots are very rare and of small extent. Water is also very scarce. There are only two or three small streams in the whole country, and springs of good water are extremely infrequent. It would seem as if the action of the heavy rains from the central ridge of rocky hills and the encroachments of the ocean on both its shores, had gradually washed away the mould and soil from the surface, except where it was of such ponderous quality as sand, or where it was penned up by a barrier of rocks on all sides. In some places of this last kind, the soil was found remarkably fertile, and when they chanced to be in the vicinity of water, which was but seldom the case, the produce extracted from them by the industry of the newcomers was sometimes marvelously great. Such oases were

of no especial use to the natives, except in as far as they furnished the chief localities for the growth of the trees and plants which supplied them with nuts and berries. The extreme barrenness of the soil prevented the growth of trees of any magnitude, except in a very few spots of insignificant extent, insomuch that the missionaries were obliged, as we shall see hereafter, to send to the opposite coast of Sinaloa for the materials for constructing houses."[1]

When the Jesuits first visited the peninsula, the whole Indian population from Cape San Lucas to the head of the Gulf of California, according to Rev. Jacob Baegert, S. J.,[2] did not exceed fifty thousand souls. Although there were several different tribes and numerous distinct languages and dialects, the natives differed very little in their habits. The best informed among the missionaries, like Father Taravál, believed that there existed only three languages decidedly differing from one another, though there were many dialects spoken, some of which differed so greatly that the inexperienced held them to be distinct languages. The three fundamental tongues were the Pericú, the Monquí, and the Cochimí. The Pericú Indians occupied the southern portion of the peninsula as far north as the bay of La Paz, about the twenty-fifth degree of latitude; the Monquís, to which belonged the Guaicuros and the Uchities, roamed in the region extending from La Paz to a little north of Loreto, about the twenty-sixth degree; and the Cochimís or Laymones owned the territory to the north as far as explored. Each of these tribes was subdivided into clans composed of rancherías with distinct appellations and somewhat different speech, and they were wont to demonstrate their differences by incessant petty wars.[3] Browne,

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[1] Forbes, "California," 17, 22-23.

[2] "Nachrichten von der Amerikanischen Halbinsel Californien," pte. ii, sec. i, p. 89. "Man reist oft vier und mehr Tag ohne einen Californier zu sehen. Ich glaub nicht, dass sie vor Ankunft der Spanier ueber vierzig oder fuenfzig Tausend Koepf vom Vorgebirge San Lucas bis Rio Colorado betragen haben."

[3] Venegas, tom. i, pte. i, sec. v, 63-66; sec. vi, 97-98; Clavijero, lib. i, 22-23; Forbes, "California," 20-22; Baegert ut supra.

the author of *Lower California,*[4] writes that "all the Indian tribes of the peninsula seem to be affiliated with the Yumas on the Colorado and with the Coras below La Paz . . . ; in no case do they differ in intellect, habits, customs, dress, implements of war, or hunting, traditions, or appearances from the well-known Digger Indians of Alta California, and undoubtedly belong to the same race or family."

It seems that when Fathers Kino and Salvatierra arrived, the natives lived in precisely the same manner as when Cortés appeared on the coast one hundred and sixty years before. Physically these Indians, as a rule, were tall and robust. Their color was a dark chestnut approaching black. The men had no beards, but their hair was straight and black. Besmearing the face with grease and paint was a common practice. Their features were somewhat heavy, the forehead was low and narrow, the nose thick, the inner corners of the eyes were round instead of pointed, and the teeth were white and regular.

Of their origin the Californians knew nothing. Some thought they had descended from a bird; others claimed a stone as ancestor or entertained even sillier notions. Baegert,[5] unwilling to believe that any people could have freely chosen such a country, concluded that they had been driven down from the north by more powerful races.

As a rule the Lower Californians lived in the open air, and slept on the bare ground wherever they happened to find themselves after the day's wanderings. If they wanted shelter at night, they would resort to caverns and holes in the ground. During colder weather they would raise a semi-

[4] See Bancroft, "Native Races," vol. i, 558.

[5] "Wie seind diese Voelklein hergekommen? Es hat geschehen koennen aus Willkuer, durch Zufall oder durch Noth. Willkuer hat sie nicht in ein so unfruchtbares Land gebracht; wenn durch Zufall, waeren sie wieder zurueckgegangen; demnach ist meine Meinung, dass die ersten Californier von ihren Feinden verfolgt vom Norden in diese Halbinsel zu Fuss gekommen seind . . . Keiner kuemmert sich darum woher er ist. Einige von den Meinen glauben sie kaemen von einem Vogel her; andere von einem Stein; andere traeumten etwas anders." "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. i.

circular pile of stones or brushwood, about two feet high, behind which, with the sky for a roof, they waited till the cold wind had spent itself. They seldom remained in the same spot two or three nights in succession, but rambled from place to place wherever they found food and water. For the sick they would sometimes build a wretched hut by sticking a few short poles into the ground, tying them at the top, and covering the whole with grass and reeds. Into this low and narrow structure the sufferers would crawl on hands and feet.

A Spaniard and Californian Indians.

From necessity and indifference their clothing was scanty. The men and boys went entirely naked. The women and girls usually wore a girdle around the waist from which, in front and behind, dangled a great number of strings made of the fibre of the aloe plant, or of palm-leaves beaten soft and flexible between two stones. From deer-skins they would make a kind of sandal which they tied to their feet with aloe fibres passed between the toes. By degrees, and after much trouble, the missionaries induced the neophytes to wear clothing. The Indians would assist at the instructions and at holy Mass in the garments given them, but as soon as dismissed they would put the clothes aside as troublesome, and also in order to escape the ridicule of other Indians. Both sexes were, nevertheless, very fond of ornaments, and would wear necklaces and bracelets of pearls, shells, seeds, or fruit-

kernels; they would also decorate their hair with shells, berries, and feathers.[6]

The natives of the whole peninsula cultivated absolutely nothing, but depended for subsistence upon the spontaneous product of the land. Day after day, year after year, their only occupation was to look for food, devour it, sit, talk, sleep, and idle away the time. They ate anything and everything, roots, wild fruits, especially the pitahayas or prickly-pear when in season, seeds, flesh of whatever kind, from that of deer, wild cats, rats, mice, owls, and bats down to that of snakes, lizards, locusts, grasshoppers, and worms or caterpillars, even hides and entrails. Nothing, says Father Baegert, was thrown to the hogs in Europe which the Californians would not have gladly eaten. They did not dress their food, but threw the game, fish, birds, snakes, rats, etc., upon the fire, and then ate the mass, entrails and all. Only the aloe or maguey plant went through a long process of roasting or baking. They also roasted seeds and ground them between stones. They used no salt. They made the fire by rapidly twirling between the hands a dry stick, the point of which was placed upon a large piece of wood, so that the friction soon produced a flame. They had no regular time for their meals, but would eat whenever there was anything to devour. Though they could endure hunger better than other people, they could gorge fuller. Baegert says that twenty-four pounds of meat in as many hours was not too much for one person. He relates an instance where sixty persons consumed three steers in one night. A loathsome custom prevailed among the Cochimís of swallowing the same piece of meat several times in order to multiply their gluttonous pleasure.[7] As the Indians never washed, it is needless to add that in their

[6] Baegert, pte. ii, sec. iii; Venegas, tom. i, pte. i, 68-90; Clavijero, lib. i, 22-25.

[7] "Sie binden einen Bissen Fleisch an ein Schnuerlein und lassen es zwoelf und mehrmal in den Magen hinunter, und ziehen es wie ein Perlenfischer wieder hinauf, um den Geschmack und Genuss laenger davon zu haben." "Nachrichten," pte. ii, secs. iv, v. Other filthy habits will be found in Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 271.

filthiness they surpassed the brutes. "In a word," Venegas[8] writes, "these unfortunate people may be likened to children who have not as yet acquired the full use of reason; and it will be no exaggeration to say that they are people who never emerge from their childhood."

Their property consisted of a bow, arrows, a shark's tooth, or a sharp flint stone, a bone or pointed stick to dig up roots, a tortoise shell which served both as basket and cradle, the bladder of an animal for carrying water, and nets made of the fibre of the aloe for carrying provisions. In their frequent wars they not only used bows and arrows, but also javelins of hardened wood, clubs, and slings for throwing stones. Their boats were mere rafts of reeds, bundles of which were bound tightly together; these were propelled by means of short paddles, and were seldom capable of carrying more than one person. Where trees grew a serviceable canoe was made of bark, and sometimes two or more logs were laid side by side and fastened with cords of aloe fibres.[9]

In their savage state neither government nor law existed among the Lower Californians; every man was his own judge and administered justice in the form of revenge as well as he could. In time of war one or more chiefs were elected from among those that excelled in bodily strength or in cunning. To use Father Baegert's description, "The different tribes by no means represented communities of rational beings, who submit to laws and regulations and obey their superiors, but resembled nothing less than a herd of swine, each of which runs about grunting as it likes, together to-day and scattered to-morrow, till they meet again by accident at some future time. In a word, the Californians lived as though they were freethinkers and, *salva venia*, materialists."[10]

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[8] "En una palabra, estos infelices hombres pueden igualarse á los niños, á quienes no ha acabado de desplegarse del todo el uso de la razon; y nada se pondera en decir, que son gentes, que nunca salen de la niñez." Venegas, tom. i, pte. i, 78.

[9] Baegert, pte. ii, sec. iv.

[10] "Jeder that was er wollte. . . . Es stellten ihre Voelkerschaften nichts weniger vor als eine Truppe Schweine, deren ein

As there was no government, so there was no family life, properly speaking, among the primitive inhabitants of the peninsula. Girls became marriageable about the age of twelve years, but marriage contracts and marriage ceremonies were unknown. Polygamy was practised, especially among the Pericúes. The Pericúes took as many wives as they pleased, made them work like slaves, and, when tired of any one of them, turned her away. Among the Guaicuros and Cochimís polygamy was difficult, as the men outnumbered the women. To speak more correctly, the intercourse among the natives was promiscuous. It was not uncommon for the different tribes to run together like sheep. At their feasts the wildest license prevailed. As a rule, the women were not blessed with fecundity; but delivery was easy. Frequently the mother herself would bring the infant for baptism a few hours after birth. As soon as the child was a few months old, it was placed on its mother's neck, with its legs over her shoulders, and thus it learned to ride before it could walk.[11]

There was nothing that could be called education. "The whole training of the child," says Baegert, "consists in this that the mothers show their young how to dig up roots, catch mice, and kill snakes. When he has learned this much, it is all the same to the young Californian whether he has parents or not. The mothers care little for the lives of the children. There is neither command nor prohibition, neither anxiety nor reproof, neither frown nor good example; the children may just do as they please. Nevertheless, the mother will conduct herself like a fury when the missionary punishes the boy or girl."[12]

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jedes hinlaeuft und grunzet wohin, wann und wie es will . . . Mit einem Wort, sie lebten als wenn sie Freidenker und, mit Ehren zu melden, Materialisten waeren." "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. ix.

[11] Venegas, tom. i, pte. i, 89-92, 96-98; Baegert, pte. ii, secs. vi, ix; Clavijero, lib. i, 25-28.

[12] "Die Mutter bruellt gleich einer Hoellen-Furie, wenn Sohn oder Tochter von den Missionarii abgestraft werden; sie raufen sich die Haare aus, zerschlagen sich die blosse Brust, zerstechen sich den Kopf mit einem spitzigen Bein bis das Blut davon rinnt, wie ich dessen mehr als einmal bin Zeug gewesen." "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. vi.

This condition of things moves Father Baegert to remark, "The California system of training the children partly agrees with that which the disreputable J. J. Rousseau developed in his *Emile*, and also with the moral doctrines of a few other modern philosophers from the dog-clan, who would have the inclinations and desires to go unchecked, and the education of the children, as far as faith, religion, and fear of God is concerned, not begun before their eighteenth or twentieth year, which then, if we judge it properly, means as much as to say, that they should be allowed to become a nature-people like the Californians." [13]

Despite their filthy mode of living, the Californians seldom fell sick. They had no word in their language for sickness, but expressed the condition by a word which signified lying on the ground face downward. Their patience was remarkable; rarely was a sigh heard even in the greatest pain. The treatment, no matter what ailed the patient, consisted of binding with a rope or cord the part affected, whether breast, abdomen, arm or leg. They also practiced blood-letting by cutting the afflicted part with a sharp stone; but they knew no remedies for sores, snake-bites, or wounds, much less for internal diseases. They despised the medicines given by the missionaries, but had recourse to their healers or medicine-men and sorcerers; for there always existed individuals of both sexes playing the part of sorcerers or conjurers, who pretended to possess the power of expelling evil spirits and of inflicting harm and death upon those that refused to supply them with provisions. One of the most common remedies, which they applied with all manner of grimaces and cere-

[13] "Der Plan der Californier Kinderzucht stimmt mit dem zum Teil ueberein, welchen der ehrvergessene J. J. Rousseau in seiner "Emile" entworfen hat, wie auch mit der Sittenlehr einiger anderen neuen Philosophen aus der Hunds-Zunft; als welche wollen, man solle den Anmutungen und Begierden den Lauf lassen, die Kinderzucht aber, was den Glaub, die Religion und Gottesfurcht angeht, vor dem 18 oder 20 Jahr nicht fuer die Hand nehmen. Welches dann, wenn man es wohl betrachtet, so viel sagen will, als, man solle sie so ein Naturvoelklein wie die Californier werden lassen." "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. vi.

monies, greatly heightened the reputation of these guamas, because of the good effects it sometimes produced. They would apply to the suffering part of the patient's body the chacuaco, which was a tube formed out of a very hard black stone. Through this by turns they sucked and blew as hard as they could, pretending that thus the disease was either drawn out or dispersed. Sometimes the tube was filled with cimarron or wild tobacco; this was lighted and the smoke either blown at the sufferer, or inhaled, according to the healer's directions.

Many diseases to which the white people are subject, such as gout, apoplexy, dropsy, chills, fevers, and small-pox, were unknown among these Indians before the arrival of the Spaniards. Syphilis, according to Clavijero,[14] had not as yet appeared during the latter part of the Jesuit period. This was doubtless due to the care of the missionaries, who as much as possible kept from the soldiery such disreputable characters as later on afflicted both Upper and Lower California, and introduced the disease which more than decimated the native population. Ordinarily the sick, as may be readily supposed, had little chance of recovery. Death was followed by a mournful chant and the howling of friends and relatives, who would beat their heads with sharp stones until blood flowed freely. The dead were buried without ceremony; oftentimes the sick were buried alive, as the Indians took no pains to ascertain whether death had set in or not. It seemed tedious to them to spend much time near an old, dying person, who was looked upon as a burden. Baegert mentions the case of a girl who was wrapped in a deerskin ready for burial. She was revived with a drink of chocolate, and lived many years after. On another occasion a blind and sick old woman was borne to the mission for treatment. After a while the bearers grew tired of their burden, and relieved themselves by breaking her neck. Indeed, "their love for their offspring was not so great," says Venegas, "as to prevent them from killing their

[14] Lib. i, 22. "El gálico, que se creia enfermedad endémica de la America, no ha sido visto hasta ahora en la California porque ningun extranjero le ha llevado."

children when support was wanting." They did not appear to have any dread for death, when once they realized their hopeless condition, but passed away like the irrational beasts around them.[15]

As they had no religion, little can be said on this point. They had no conception of God as the Creator and Father of all; nor had they any idols, nor places of worship, and they practised no religious ceremonies. Baegert tried hard to find among the Californians some knowledge of a Supreme Being, but was unable to discover as much as a trace. They were equally ignorant of the existence of an immortal soul or of a future state. The very words to express these ideas were wanting.[16] Venegas and Clavijero[17] give currency to some reports that the Pericúes had a confused notion of the Incarnation and the Most Holy Trinity; but Baegert justly remarks that such notions could not have reached them except through missionaries. He declared that such stories were mere fabrications of lying neophytes, who wished to flatter their too credulous teachers. It is evident that the very language must be deficient which is spoken by a people without religion, without government or laws, without honor or shame, without clothing or dwellings, who busied themselves about nothing, spoke of nothing, thought of nothing, cared for nothing, but how to fill their stomachs and gratify their appetites. They had words for scarcely anything that could not be seen, heard.

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[15] Baegert, pte. ii, sec. vii, ix; Venegas, tom. i, pte. i, 94, 109-111; Clavijero, lib. i, 30-31.

[16] "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. ix. "Sie beteten weder den wahren Gott noch falsche Goetter an. Jeder that was er wollte. . . . Ich hab mich bei denen, unter welchen ich wohnte, fleissig erkundiget und nachgeforschet, um zu erfahren ob sie eine Erkanntnuss Gottes, eines zukenftigen Lebens und ihrer Seele gehabt haetten; hab aber auf keine Spur solcher Erkanntnuss kommen koennen. So haben sie auch in ihrer Sprach kein Wort, welches eins oder das andere bedeutet, deren Abgang das spanische Wort 'Dios' und 'alma' im Predigen und Christenlehren ersetzen muss."

[17] Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 99-124; Clavijero, lib. i, 28-30. Neither the one nor the other ever visited California, whereas Father Baegert labored seventeen years on the peninsula, and was one of the sixteen Jesuits expelled from the missions in 1768.

touched, tasted, or smelled. They knew of no such words, for example, as understanding, will, memory, truth, honor, honesty, shame, peace, love, hope, patience, diligence, beauty, doubt, judgment, prudence, modesty, virgin, obedience, happiness, salute, thank, imagine, nor in fact of any words that expressed abstract ideas. Baegert well explains the dearth of the language when he says that they had no such words, because they had no occasion to speak of such things.[18]

"Their arithmetic," Baegert tells us, "extends as far as three, at most to six, because they have nothing to count. They care little how many fingers they have, whether the year consists of six or twelve months, or whether the month counts three or thirty days, because with them there is perpetual holiday, or blue Monday."[19] "They have an inarticulate meaningless song, which consists of alternate whispering and shouting. It is always accompanied with dancing. This dance is an absurd gesticulating, jumping, and hopping, a silly going forward, backward, and in a circle, at which amusement the nights for them are too short."[20]

From all this we can conclude that the description of early explorers and travelers, which places the Californians on the lowest plane of humanity, is not unjust. Venegas himself, who to a certain degree seems to share the enthusiasm of the less experienced missionaries, nevertheless writes that the peninsular Indians were stupid, insensible, unreasoning, inconstant, and utterly unreliable; that their appetites were illimitable, indiscriminate, and insatiable; that they abhorred all labor and fatigue, and were given to all kinds of pleasure and amusement, however puerile and brutish; that they were pusillanimous and feeble-minded; and that in fine they were wanting in everything that makes men worthy of the name

[18] "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. ix, x. "Die Ursach, warum die Californier alle obgedachte Wort, und so viele andere in ihrem Woerterbuch nicht haben, ist diese, weil sie von solchen Dingen nimmer unter sich redeten, auch ihre Lebensart, in welcher sie mit dem Vieh ganz ueberein kamen, nicht mit sich brachte von solchen Sachen zu reden."

[19] Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. i, sec. viii.

[20] Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. i, sec. ix.

of rational beings, useful to themselves and to society. Baegert styles them "stupid, awkward, coarse, uncleanly, shameless, ungrateful, untruthful, thievish, lazy, idle babblers, and down to the grave like children, as far as intelligence and their occupations are concerned; people who deny themselves nothing, but, like cattle in everything, yield to their animal instincts." [21] Venegas, finally, gives it as his opinion, which is based on the reports of the missionaries, that "it is not easy for Europeans, who have never gone away from Europe, to form a just and clear idea of these tribes; for in the wildest mountain districts, and in the least frequented corners of this part of the globe, there is no race so little cultivated, so wanting in good manners, and so weak in the forces of soul and body, as these unfortunate Californians." [22] These were the people among whom the missionaries volunteered to pass their lives in the hope of instilling into them the knowledge and love of their Creator, along with a love for virtue and civilization.

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[21] "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. viii. "Ueberhaupt mag von den Californiern gesagt werden, dass sie dumm, ungeschickt, grob, unsaeuberlich, unverschaemt, undankbar, verlogen, verstohlen, stinkfaul, grosse Schwaetzer, und bis ins Grab, was den Verstand und ihre Beschaeftigungen angeht, gleichsam Kinder seind. . . . Leute, die sich in nichts Gewalt anthun, und in allem ihrem natuerlichen Trieb, gleich dem Viehe, folgen."

[22] Venegas, tom. i, pte. ii, 74-75. "No es fácil á los Europeos, que no hayan salido de Europa, concebir una idea justa y cabál de estas gentes; porque en las montañas mas ásperas, y en los rincones menos frequentados de esta parte del orbe, no hay gente tan poco cultivada, tan falta de especies, y tan endeble enfuerzas de alma y cuerpo, como los infelices Californios." See also Clavijero, lib. i, 21-22. Compare Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 257-279; Bancroft, "Native Races," vol. i, 556-570; Forbes, "California," 17-23.

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

CHAPTER VIII.

King Philip's Orders.—The Prime Minister and California.—Viceroy Valero.—Brother Bravo's Pleading Before the Council.—Decision.—Another Order from the King.—Changes Among the Missionaries.—Floods.—Mission Purísima Concepcion.—Ugarte's Bold Undertaking.—First Ship.—Brother Bravo Made Priest.—First Novice in California.—Mission La Paz.

WHEN the remains of the Ven. Father Juan Maria Salvatierra had been laid to rest,[1] Brother Jayme Bravo, in obedience to his instructions, proceeded on his way in order to deliver to the viceroy the papers which he had received from his late superior, and to give the explanation which, as an eye-witness, he was fully competent to furnish. The new viceroy, Don Gaspar de Zuñiga, Marqués de Valero, under date of January 29th, 1716, had received from King Philip V. clear and positive directions regarding California. After recapitulating all the decrees issued down to the last one of July 27th, 1708, the king concluded as follows: "With regard to not having had information in my Council of the Indies[2] as to what was done in virtue of the last-mentioned decrees, nor as to the state of the California missions; and having in mind the great importance of promoting, assisting, and advancing them by every means possible, it has appeared necessary to communicate this information to you, in order that, when you have acquainted yourself with it, you devote yourself with special care (as I charge you) to facilitating the performance, execution, and observance of said despatches of July 26th, 1708, by attending very particularly to the advancement of the conquest, and giving me an account of its condition and of everything else that occurs to you on the subject, without making innovations in the form of government which until now has existed in that territory. Meanwhile, in view

[1] See close of Chapter V, this work.

[2] Established by Emperor Charles V. on August 1, 1524. Its principal duty was to see to the propagation of the faith in the Spanish dependencies. "Gobierno de Los Regulares," tom. i, cap. 2, no. 12.

of the reports which you will send to me, the proper measures may be taken; for such is my will."[3]

This action, so favorable to California, was caused by the prime minister of Spain, Abbé Julio Alberoni, who later on became cardinal. On his accession to the office, the energetic and far-seeing minister informed himself of all the affairs pending before the Council of the Indies, and thus discovered that nothing had been done for the last eight years to execute the royal decrees concerning the western peninsula. His suspicion was aroused when a wealthy Mexican speculator offered to pay $80,000 in advance for the absolute control of California and the alcaldía mayor[4] of Acaponeta and Santipac on the mainland. Though pressed for money to accomplish some vast undertaking, Alberoni shrewdly concluded that either the resources of the territory must be much greater than supposed, or the Mexican's management would ruin the province materially, not to speak of the damage to the religion and morals of the neophytes. The speculator was, therefore, told that he must first present assurances from the bishops of the respective dioceses that his projects were not injurious to the welfare of the missions. The scheme was then dropped and incalculable harm averted.[5]

Viceroy Valero convened a council of his ministers soon after his arrival in Mexico, and invited the provincial of the Jesuits, Rev. Gaspar Rodero, and the procurator for California, Rev. Alexandro Romano, to attend the deliberations. After his instructions had been read, Valero announced that, as a first step, he intended to found a colony of Spaniards on the western coast of California at an early date. The plan was approved by all the ministers; but Father Romano,[6]

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[3] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xiii, p. 287.

[4] The official, who in the name of the king ruled a pueblo which was not the capital of a province, was called alcalde mayor. Hence the mayor of a city and judge combined.

[5] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 288-290.

[6] Romano was a Jesuit, hence opponents of the Jesuits, like Bancroft, manage to discover a sinister motive in the wise proposition of the procurator. "These measures," Bancroft asserts, "were approved by all except Father Romano, the procurator of Cali-

better informed about California affairs, explained that, though the Jesuits liked nothing better, and for that purpose had made many expensive explorations and fruitless experiments, the undertaking was more difficult than it seemed; for no suitable port with sufficient fresh water, timber, and arable land had as yet been discovered, and, even if one should be found, the king would be obliged not only to bear the expenses of erecting the buildings, but also to maintain the colony for some years, inasmuch as the barren soil had thus far not produced enough to support a few missionaries and soldiers. He suggested that the viceroy request Father Salvatierra to come, in order to give a full description of the peninsula and his opinion on the practicability of establishing a Spanish settlement. Valero agreed to the proposition. For this reason action was postponed until the founder and superior of the missions could be heard. It was in obedience to this call that the late Father Rector, notwithstanding his grave infirmities and old age, had undertaken the journey which resulted in his death at Guadalajara. Brother Bravo, however, was graciously received by the viceroy as the representative and agent of both Salvatierra and the missions.

The council was again called for September 25th, 1717. When all the decrees issued in behalf of California, from September 26th, 1703, down to the date of the meeting, had been read, Brother Bravo presented two memorials: the one gave minute information about the land, its inhabitants, the coast, the founding of the missions, and their actual condition; the other proposed measures for the improvement and advancement of the conquest, and suggestions for executing the decrees and wishes of the king. The Brother then pleaded eloquently for the granting of the following petitions: the pay for fifty soldiers; the establishment of a military post at La Paz or at Cape San Lucas; the founding of a general school[7] for the California children; and the right to work the salt

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fornia, whose opposition showed how averse were the Jesuits to all interference with their monopoly." Bancroft's man misstates the case. See note 8.

[7] "Seminario." Ugarte already had a private school.

mines of Cármen Island opposite Loreto, for which the late Father Salvatierra had several times applied in vain.[8]

After arguing every point and considering the means on hand, the council and the viceroy decided as follows: "That, in conformity with the decrees of His Majesty, the missions of California should be given all that is necessary for the payment of the wages of twenty-five soldiers, the captain, the marines, and other officials of the ship; that this vessel should be made serviceable, besides a smaller one for the transport of supplies; that if the $13,000 assigned be insufficient to cover the expenses, all that is necessary shall be supplied from the royal treasury for the time being; that there should be no delay or hesitation, lest the labor be lost which this reduction[9] has exacted from the ardent zeal for religion on the part of the Society of Jesus, without considerable expense to the royal treasury, but aided by means of alms from the devout and charitable, which exceeded the sum of $500,000 expended by the same Fathers on a work so pleasing to God and His Majesty; for it is the will of His Majesty, which has repeatedly been made known, that the missions should not only be preserved, but also advanced as far as possible; and that every effort should be made to discover some harbors, to fortify them, and to establish a presidio for the relief of the Philippine ship, so that she might enter with security, take in provisions, refresh her men, leave the sick to be cared for at the port, and then continue her voyage to Acapulco without encountering the risks from pirates or from the many deaths among her crew while sailing along the coast. . . . As to the salinas or salt-pits, which the mission of Loreto desires, that being properly a privilege of his excellency (viceroy), it is left to his discretion to grant the favor temporarily or perpetually, if the decrees warrant this."

It seems that the royal regulations did not favor such a

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[8] "There was nothing that appeared unreasonable in these demands," even Hittell concedes, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 215; but see Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 444-445.

[9] Reduction, Conquest, Conversion, Missions, Christianidad, are used promiscuously by Spanish authorities and writers.

grant, or that other considerations swayed the viceroy; for the salinas were refused, as well as the request for a school and for a military post among the hostile natives in the lower part of the peninsula. The outcome of it all was that the council resolved to pay annually the sum of $18,275 for the maintenance of the soldiers and sailors; to pay the debts and expenses which Father Salvatierra had incurred on account of the missions, and which at the time of his death amounted to $3,023; and, finally, to set aside $4,000 for the purchase of another ship, which was to be placed at the service of the missions. Everything else commanded by the king remained unexecuted. The viceroy professed himself in favor of promoting the interests of California, but without cost to the royal treasury in Mexico. The king dwelt too far away, and his ministers, after Cardinal Alberoni had left the cabinet in 1719, were too indifferent, or too much occupied, to make the representatives in New Spain fear the consequences.[10]

The Mexican officials were once more aroused from their habitual apathy concerning California. Whilst Brother Bravo was explaining the needs of the peninsula before the viceroyal court, Father Piccolo wrote a familiar letter to his former companion in the missions, Rev. Juan Basaldúa, then rector of the college of Guadalupe. He described the expeditions to the north of Mulegé, the good disposition of the Indians on the western coast, and their willingness to embrace Christianity if priests could only be sent among them, and finally the poverty, helplessness, and danger in which the Fathers lived for want of ships to fetch provisions, clothing, and funds. This letter fell into the hands of Don Pedro Tapis, the bishop of Durango, to whose diocese California was considered to belong. The narrative so moved the heart of the prelate that on February 18th, 1718, he sent the letter with a report of his own to the king, urging him to follow the dictates of his own piety, and to prevent the eternal loss of numerous souls by sending more missionaries. On receiving the bishop's appeal, the king at once ordered the Council of the Indies to

[10] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 294-304; Clavijero, lib. iii, 65; Alegre, tom. iii, 176-177.

investigate. By the advice of the Council and of Cardinal Alberoni, His Majesty, on January 29th, 1719, signed a decree and sent it to Viceroy Valero. The viceroy was ordered in the most positive terms to carry out the royal mandates and to report whether they were executed, inasmuch as the Council of the Indies had so far received no information whatsoever. When the royal orders reached Mexico, the viceroy hastened to ascertain what had become of the reports formulated by the officials of the late Mexican council. Strange to say, they were not on file, and only after a long search the documents were discovered in a private house.[11]

As soon as Brother Bravo had transacted his business at the capital, he departed for California and took passage in the new vessel granted by the viceroy. With the money and the provisions obtained, and accompanied by a new recruit in the person of Rev. Sebastian de Sistiaga, he arrived at Loreto in June, 1718. Father Ugarte was appointed rector of all the missions, but remained in charge of S. Francisco Xavier. Father Piccolo became the missionary of Loreto and the mission station of San Juan de Londó; Sistiaga took Piccolo's place at Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, and for many years cultivated that part of the Lord's vineyard. Father Guillén went to Liguí, or Malibát, Father Mayorga was stationed at San José de Comundú, and Father Tamarál was transferred to the pueblo of San Miguél, from which place he was to found the mission of Purisima Concepcion. This mission would have been established before, had the country not been devastated by frightful hurricanes and extraordinary rainfalls, which for three days swept over the peninsula in the autumn of 1717. At San Xavier, for example, the church and the dwelling of Father Juan Ugarte were destroyed, and the missionary himself barely escaped to a rock, where for twenty-four hours he was exposed to the rains. All the adobe churches and houses at the other missions were likewise washed away. At San Xavier the dam and the ditch were broken down, and here as at Mulegé the floods carried off the soil and left only a rocky surface. At Loreto the storms raged

[11] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 304-307; Clavijero, lib. iii, 65.

so violently that they carried away a Spanish boy; nor did the closest search ever disclose a trace of him. Two ships engaged in pearl-fishing on the eastern coast were wrecked and four of the crew lost their lives. Many hurricanes visited the peninsula during the seventy years of Jesuit missionary labor, but none ever proved so disastrous. If in past ages the country was subjected to similar tempests, we may easily account for the barren and rocky surface.[12]

Father Tamarál proceeded with better prospects to the pueblo of San Miguél. His heart was soon gladdened by Indian visitors from two rancherías, who applied for baptism. He placed them under instruction and, according to the usual custom, maintained them whilst they were catechumens. When they were sufficiently prepared, he baptized them all. Thereupon by dint of much labor and hardship he cleared a road through the sierra from San Miguél to the rancherías of Cadegomó, which had been visited by Piccolo some years before. Here the zealous missionary stayed a long time, instructing the Indians of the neighborhood and others of the Sierra de Vajademin, until they could be baptized. At this place, too, Tamarál had a ditch and a dam constructed, but both were destroyed by floods. From Cadegomó he continued the road to the spot where Mission Purisima Concepcion was to be located. Though the surface land was rendered useless by the torrents, he went to work with a will, and succeeded, after some years of toil, in erecting a church and dwelling, and in reclaiming sufficient land to raise corn for himself and the neophytes. With similar difficulties he built a road to Santa Rosalía, the nearest place from which provisions could be obtained. Despite all obstacles from the elements, the country, and the medicine-men, the zealous religious widened his missionary field until it extended over a rough mountain territory for a distance of thirty leagues. This district embraced forty Indian rancherías, of which Tamarál had Christianized and somewhat civilized thirty-three, so that the visitor, Rev. Echeverría, in a letter dated Loreto, February 10th, 1730, de-

[12] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 307-311; Clavijero, lib. iii, 66; Alegre, tom. iii, 182; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 445-446.

clared that this was not only the most populous but also the best organized mission. While stationed at Purisima Concepcion, Tamarál baptized two thousand souls, a success, Venegas says, that no one can appreciate sufficiently who has not seen the country and its people.[13]

Filled with like zeal for heroic deeds, Father Juan de Ugarte, when he had become superior of the missions after Salvatierra's death, resolved upon an undertaking which only he could think of achieving. He had long desired, like his venerable predecessor, to ascertain by water whether or not California was a part of the mainland of New Spain. Much doubt still existed on this point, although Father Kino, as a result of personal investigation, had declared that only the Rio Colorado separated California from Sonora. Ugarte, moreover, to please the king and the viceroy, intended to search the western, or outside coast, for a harbor where a military post might be erected, and where the Philippine trading ships could take refuge. For such an expedition the old launch *San Xavier* and the bark obtained from the viceroy were unsuitable; a boat could not be purchased in Mexico without the danger of deception, from which the missions had suffered before; nor could a ship be built on the other side of the gulf with better success than had been experienced with the *San Fermin*, *San José*, and the *Rosário*. Ugarte, therefore, undertook the remarkable feat of building a ship on the rocky, timberless peninsula of California. The plan seemed impossible, but the Father was determined to succeed. He was about to order lumber from the other coast, as he had done for his churches, when some Indians informed him that about seventy leagues north of Loreto he could find trees of the size that he wanted. He accordingly set out for Mulegé in September, 1718, with a shipwright from Mexico and some Indians. From Mulegé they were accompanied into the sierras by Father Sistiaga. About thirty leagues from Santa Rosalia they discovered a grove of large trees, but in such a deep and craggy locality, that the shipwright declared it would be impossible to transport the timber to the shore. "That is my

[13] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 311-313; Clavijero, lib. iii, 66.

affair," the missionary replied. All then returned to Loreto, where everybody ridiculed the Father's project.

Nothing daunted, Ugarte, with three experts from the other coast, again set out for the sierras, where he lived in a shanty for four months. He directed the cutting and sawing of the timber, and constructed a road over which to haul the lumber to Mulegé, which, as we have stated, was thirty leagues distant. Only the three mechanics, five other white men, and the Indians of the neighboring rancherías, were employed at this herculean task. In the meantime the wonderful missionary also instructed the natives, and thus laid the foundation for Mission Guadalupe, which was soon after established. No man, says Venegas, can describe the hardships endured and the patience Ugarte exercised in order to attract, teach, entertain, and keep at work a number of savages, who were born and reared in absolute idleness; but, according to the Philippine sailors and others, he built a sloop which was larger, stronger, and better arranged than any that had ever been seen on that coast. On July 16th, 1719, when the Spanish Church celebrates the feast of the Triumph of the Cross, Father Ugarte had the satisfaction of blessing the new ship and of naming her *Triunfo de la Crus*. The vessel was launched on September 14th, the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross. Though he had used all available funds, even the donations of his friends and relatives, the new ship had cost less than would have been required on the mainland.[14]

While the first California ship was building, the peninsula acquired another new bark and a new missionary. In August, 1719, when the bark granted by the viceroy had already been lost, and the missionaries were at a loss to know how to meet the extraordinary as well as ordinary demands of the colony and the neophytes, Brother Jayme Bravo passed over to Sinaloa for the purpose of soliciting alms. He met the new provincial, Very Rev. Alexander Romano, with a letter from Father Tamburini, the Superior-General, directing him to proceed to Guadalajara to have himself ordained priest,

[14] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 314-318; Clavijero, lib. iii, 66-67; Alegre, tom. iii, 183.

and to act thereafter, not as procurator, but as missionary in California. Though amazed, the humble Brother submitted and received the higher Orders on three successive days from Don Manuel de Mimbela, bishop of Guadalajara. The newly-ordained priest then went to the capital to petition the viceroy for another ship. On March 15th, 1720, after the matter had been laid before the council, a Peruvian bark was granted, equipped as Bravo had desired. Moreover, the Marques de Villapuente donated the necessary funds for founding a mission at La Paz, requesting only that Father Bravo be assigned to this establishment among the savage Guaicuros. The request was granted the more readily as Bravo himself offered to undertake the task for the reason that it appeared fraught with danger. He sailed from Acapulco in July, in the vessel obtained from the government, with supplies, vestments, implements, and other goods for the missions and the presidio, and in August re-entered San Dionisio Bay, to the joy of all, especially of Father Ugarte, who had already brought his own ship to this harbor.

A new procurator in place of Brother, now Father, Bravo was found in the person of a soldier, Ensign Juan Bautista Mugazábal, a man of piety, prudence, and talent for management. He had come to California as a soldier, and had for several years been a guard at Mission Santa Rosalia. Piccolo declared that much of the success was due to Mugazábal. The latter, on the other hand, felt so moved by the virtues and example of the missionary, that he applied for admission into the Society of Jesus as a lay-brother. He begged so earnestly that he was accepted; and, owing to the necessity, but contrary to custom, he was permitted to pass his novitiate in California under the eyes of Father Ugarte. He developed into a most exemplary religious. Don Juan B. Mugazábal must, therefore, be considered the first religious novice, and the first to pronounce the simple religious vows on California soil. His reception took place at Loreto in 1720.[15]

The same year was signalized by the founding of two new

[15] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 318-321; Clavijero, lib. iii, 67; Alegre, tom. iii, 184-185.

missions, one south and the other north of Loreto. The first arose among the untamed Guaicuro[16] Indians about La Paz, eighty leagues south of the principal mission. Since the arrival of Admiral Otondo, forty years before, these savages had remained distrustful of the missionaries, and openly hostile to all other white men, especially to the pearl-fishers. Much bloodshed resulted from their continual warfare with the latter. It was feared that the Guaicuros might sow disorder among the Christianized natives and eventually cause them to rise in rebellion. This consideration had moved the venerable Salvatierra to visit their country with a small force, in order to obtain their good will. He had failed to accomplish his purpose, but Fathers Ugarte and Bravo at length overcame their obstinate animosity. Two expeditions set out for the Guaicuro territory, one by land to open a road from Loreto to La Paz, and the other by sea to provide the new mission with supplies. The land expedition was headed by Father Clemente Guillén of Mission San Juan Bautista de Liguí, whilst Fathers Ugarte and Bravo made the voyage in the *Triunfo de la Cruz*. The vessel reached La Paz on All Saints' Day, 1720. All landed well armed, expecting an attack from the savages; but, though some of the natives appeared with their weapons, no hostilities were shown; on the contrary, as soon as they recognized the Fathers, who approached with an interpreter, they all sat down in token of satisfaction. The missionaries treated the Indians kindly, and distributed presents consisting of cloth, knives, other useful articles, and some trinkets, which they prized highly. The Guaicuros were well pleased, but for some time they would have no intercourse with the soldiers. Much of this friendly disposition towards the missionaries was due to the report of the prisoners set free by Father Salvatierra. They had made it plain to their

[16] Guaicuros, or Guaycuros, is not the proper name of the tribe, but Pericúes. According to Venegas, they were so termed, because in the early expeditions some soldiers on landing claimed to have heard these Indians shout "Guaxoro! Guaxoro!" which in their idiom signified "friend," whence the appellation. Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 322.

countrymen that the Fathers were not like the pearl-fishers. Ugarte's fame had also reached the savage haunts, and thus it was that the fierce Guaicuros even assisted in erecting the temporary brushwood buildings thatched with straw. A spot for the church and the village was cleared, the provisions and animals brought from the sloop, and thus the new mission was inaugurated.

The party under Father Guillén did not arrive in time, owing to the circumstance that they were compelled to cut their way through the sierras, thickets and ravines. After twenty-six days of hardship and want, when they were on the point of abandoning their efforts to reach La Paz, they at last came in sight of the bay where the ship lay at anchor. They had covered one hundred leagues. Ugarte stayed three months at La Paz, and so endeared himself to the natives that they asked for a missionary who could make them Christians and keep away the wicked pearl-fishers. Bravo, therefore, remained among the Guaicuros with a few soldiers; but Ugarte, at the end of January, 1721, embarked for Loreto. Guillén returned to Liguí over a road pointed out by the Indians and ten leagues shorter than the other.

Whilst the Guaicuros assisted the soldiers in erecting the necessary buildings, Father Bravo thought it his principal duty to get acquainted with the language of his wards. When he had become familiar with their idiom, he began to instruct them in the tenets and practice of religion, and tried to introduce civilized manners with truly apostolic zeal; but in 1728 he was obliged to remove to Loreto in order to assist the aged and infirm Father Piccolo. During his eight years of service at La Paz, Bravo baptized six hundred children and adults, gathered eight hundred catechumens at the mission, and gained the good will of many savages. With his Christians he organized three pueblos or towns, of which *Nuestra Señora del Pilár* at La Paz was the chief settlement; the other two were *Todos Santos* and *Angel de la Guarda*. About twenty leagues west of La Paz he discovered some land suitable for corn-planting; this was cultivated by the Indians under his direction. In his zeal he also visited the interior, going as far as the west-

ern coast, in order to gain the savages for the faith. In every way, indeed, Father Bravo proved himself worthy of his elevation to the priesthood.[17]

[17] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 321-326; Clavijero, lib. iii, 67-68; Alegre, tom. iii, 186-187.

CHAPTER IX.

Founding of Mission Guadalupe.—Father Helén's Efforts.—Locust Plague.—Helén's Success.—Search for a Port.—Ugarte's Expedition in the Triunfo de la Cruz.—Incidents.—Expedition to the Pacific Coast by Land.—Indian Troubles.—Founding of Mission Dolores del Sur.—Founding of Mission San Luis Gonzaga.—Founding of Mission Santiago.

WHILE Father Juan Ugarte was engaged in the Guaicuro country, the founding of another mission took place in the north. The famous ship-builder had so fascinated the Cochimis of the sierras, where he had obtained the timber for his vessel, that they importuned him to visit them again. This he did in the company of Father Everardo Helén, who had arrived shortly before in the month of April, 1719. On this occasion the natives professed so much anxiety to be instructed that Ugarte promised to station his companion among them as soon as possible. In the following year Helén set out from Loreto with the captain and a few soldiers to comply with the wishes of the Indians. On the feast of St. Stephen, December 26th, 1720, after marching seventy leagues, they reached a place in twenty-seven degrees north latitude, called Huasinapi by the natives. It was a cold and unhealthy region twenty-seven leagues to the northwest of San Ignacio, and thirty leagues from Purisima Concepcion. Aided by the Indians they built a church in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe[1] and dwellings for the missionary, the guards, and three mission Indians.

As Helén, with the assistance of a native, had already learned the Indian language, he immediately began to teach the Doctrina. The Indians were so eager to learn that the Father could attend to nothing else. What they heard they repeated continually. Before daybreak some would rise and recite the lessons among themselves. Before long they said the Doctrina in common at a given time, with no other guide or prompter than their own fervor. Many times, when the

[1] Under this title the Blessed Virgin is invoked especially by the natives of Mexico. See Appendix E.

missionary arose in the morning to say his prayers and prepare for holy Mass, he was edified by the prayers and recitations that resounded throughout the neighborhood. The desire for Christianity was not confined to Huasinapi, but spread to distant villages. At the invitation of messengers, he visited many remote rancherías to instruct the aged and infirm who could not come to the mission, or to baptize the little ones who, as the parents feared, might be carried away by the epidemics which in past years had afflicted these people, and which again visited them soon after.

While Father Helén was thus occupied, the intelligent captain and his men taught various rude arts in order to accustom the savages to work, but after assisting the missionary for a month and a half the soldiers retired. Four men were left behind as guards, because the officer thought this protection necessary, inasmuch as the mission lay far away from the garrison, and no reliance could be placed on the fidelity and constancy of the natives. The fervor of the neophytes, however, continued, so that Helén on Holy Saturday, 1721, was able to celebrate the first solemn administration of baptism to adult converts. Twenty candidates received the sacrament of regeneration amid as much pomp as possible. The spectacle encouraged others, who were admitted on the vigils of Pentecost. Many others who lived at great distances desired to be received; but Father Everard declared that no one could expect this favor unless he were sufficiently instructed and gave up all the amulets, horse-hair capes, feet of animals, and other articles which were used in their superstitious practices. The decision created some difficulties; for by means of these things the more astute swayed the minds of the timid people, and compelled them to yield up what they possessed. Nevertheless, during his stay of fifteen years, Father Helén could not discover any formal idolatry, or witchcraft, or communication with demons. He knew from experience that the so-called hechiseros, or sorcerers, were nothing more than professional tricksters, who feigned to possess some secret power to harm or benefit, and generally recurred to this jugglery when they wanted food and could not easily find it in the

mountains. Yet, the prevalent dread of these frauds was one of the worst obstacles to the spread of religion. Like all missionaries, Helén, therefore, demanded that the Indians deliver up these instruments of superstition. A great many articles of this kind were collected from all the rancherías and burnt in the presence of the neophytes, who, in contempt, now threw stones at the burning objects of their former dread.

The years 1722 and 1723 were periods of much suffering on the peninsula, especially at the new mission of Guadalupe. In 1722 swarms of locusts, so dense that they darkened the sun, fell upon the unhappy country and devoured all vegetation. If corn had not been distributed at the missions, many of the people must have died from starvation; but as the quantity on hand could not maintain all, the Indians were compelled to subsist to a great extent upon their little tormentors. The natives set fire to the fields infested with locusts and killed countless numbers. With these the starving people satisfied their hunger. The unusual diet brought on an epidemic which carried off a great many of the inhabitants. Words cannot describe the hardships which the missionary endured in his efforts to aid the sick and dying, and to relieve the want of the hungry, while making the rounds through the widely scattered rancherías. In their dread of the pestilence there were those in the remote rancherías who would bury alive any one that was stricken with the malady, or they would cover the afflicted one with branches and then leave him to die alone. As far as possible, Father Helén saw to it that all those whom he could reach received the sacraments before passing away, and so during these visits many a child winged its way to heaven in its innocence, and many an adult received the grace of baptism just before death.

Scarcely had this plague disappeared when, in the following year, 1723, another visited the natives with even more disastrous results. Dysentery now decimated the population. The zealous missionary worked so hard that he suffered a dangerous rupture. In addition his eyes discharged such a copious and disagreeable liquid that he was compelled to withdraw to Loreto for a few months, whilst another Father took his place.

No sooner had he recovered his health than he returned to his flock. He was received as an angel by the afflicted neophytes, who had witnessed with what tireless zeal and charity he had administered the sacraments of penance and extreme unction to two hundred and twenty-eight Christian Indians of various rancherías. He availed himself of their good disposition to draw suitable lessons from the past afflictions, and succeeded so well that at the visitation of 1726 Rev. Juan de Gandulain counted, exclusive of the catechumens, no fewer than seven hundred and seven Christian adults and children, distributed in thirty-two rancherías. Some of these neophytes were later on attached to Missions Santa Rosalía and San Ignacio, from which places they could be more easily attended. Twenty rancherías, scattered through the sierras wherever water was available, remained under the jurisdiction of Guadalupe. Helén organized them into five pueblos or towns, each of which had its church and a number of huts, where, according to the method already explained, the Indians were trained to lead a regular life.

For want of land suitable for cultivation it was impossible to introduce agriculture at Guadalupe, but some stock was raised. The product and the corn distributed served to maintain the neophytes to some extent, but they had to subsist principally upon wild fruits, for which they searched in squads, after they had performed their morning prayers and exercises, and had received the permission of the village governor. The spiritual success, on the other hand, was so remarkable that, as the successive missionaries testified, not one pagan could be found in the whole territory of Mission Guadalupe. The new Christians were the best behaved, the best instructed, and the most devout of all the neophytes on the peninsula. Many gave proof of such intelligence, virtue, and fervor, that they could be admitted to holy Communion even outside the paschal season.

Such happy results, against odds and drawbacks of every description, however, were attained at the expense of the missionary's health. Helén's former malady returned along with other afflictions and rendered his life exceedingly burden-

some; yet, though suffering extremely and barely able to drag himself about, the zealous Father desired nothing more than to die at his post among his dear Indians. The superiors directed otherwise; they sent him to New Spain for the rest and comfort which he needed and deserved, after he had toiled for fifteen years in California for the love of God and the poor natives. With the deepest sorrow the neophytes saw their spiritual father and guide depart at the end of the year 1735. He lived twenty-two years longer, and finally passed to his eternal reward from Tepozatlán in 1757.[2]

The need of a safe port for the Philippine ships on the oceanside of California became more apparent from year to year; but as the search for such a harbor was possible only by means of much larger vessels and with greater expense than the missionaries could afford, it was decided to send out a land expedition in order to comply with the wishes of the sovereign, although Fathers Salvatierra, Ugarte, and Piccolo had each made fruitless attempts in that way. In 1719 Father Clemente Guillén, Captain Rodríguez Lorenzo, a squad of soldiers, and three bands of armed Indians, moved towards Magdalena Bay, which, from the reports of Sebastian Vizcaino, was known to exist somewhere between the twenty-fourth and the twenty-fifth degrees of latitude. After wandering for twenty-five days over a rough and barren country, they found a harbor well protected by surrounding mountains, but lacking in fresh water and timber. The land was unfit for cultivation or grazing, so that the necessary provisions could not be raised for a colony and the trading ships. Guillén intended to examine the coast farther north, but the captain and his men objected. The expedition, therefore, returned to the starting point, Loreto, over another road, having traveled fifteen days without finding a locality suitable for a colony or a presidio.[3]

More successful was the long contemplated voyage which Father Juan de Ugarte undertook, on his own account, to ascertain whether the Pacific Ocean could be reached in the

[2] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 327-335; Clavijero, lib. iii, 68-69.
[3] Venegas tom. ii, pte. iii, 336-342; Clavijero, lib. iii, 69-70.

north from the Gulf of California, as was supposed; in other words, whether California was an island. In that case the Philippine ships could find a safe refuge by entering the gulf on the north. The restless and intrepid rector of the missions sailed from San Dionisio Bay in the *Triunfo de la Cruz* on May 15th, 1721. In her wake followed the *Santa Barbara*, an open boat whose keel measured eleven yards in length. She was intended only for service along the shore and in shallow water. The crew of the ship consisted of six Europeans and fourteen Indians. William Strafort was the pilot.[4] The open boat was manned by two natives of the Philippine Islands, one Yaqui Indian, and five Californians.

A favorable wind soon brought the explorers to the Bahía de la Concepcion and the Rio Mulegé, whence Ugarte paid a visit to Father Sistiaga at Mission Santa Rosalía. Ugarte now began to examine the coast very closely as far as the latitude of the Sal-si-puedes Islands. From here he crossed the gulf in search of the port of Santa Sabina, or Bahía de San Juan Bautista, situated near the said islands on the Tepoqui or Seri coast. He made the port after sailing five days. No Indian was visible, though one had been seen planting a cross on the shore as the vessel approached the coast. All went up to the cross and kissed and venerated the emblem of their Redemption, when suddenly a number of Indians emerged from their hiding places and welcomed the strangers. The satisfaction of the natives increased when they noticed the cross fastened to the bowsprit; for they had learned from Father Salvatierra, while he was with them a short time, that they might trust the men of a ship which bore the cross. The Seris would not wait till the missionary came to the shore; some threw themselves into the water and swam to the sloop, embraced his knees, kissed his hands and face, and showed their affection in various other ways. Ugarte in turn caressed them, and distributed presents among them as well as to those on the beach. He then sent a letter to the missionary at Mis-

[4] Venegas calls him Guillermo Estrafort; Clavijero has Strafort; Bancroft spells William Strafford, and says he was an Englishman.

sion San Ignacio through two of the natives, paying them in advance with clothing and trinkets.

After taking on board a supply of fresh water and two of the Seris, the ship, on the evening of the next day, continued her course, and on the following day the explorers found themselves in the narrow channel between Tiburón and the mainland. This waterway was filled with sandbanks, so that in spite of the pilot, who moved ahead in the launch, the sloop ran aground, but fortunately was set afloat again after great exertions. At the end of three days of anxiety and peril the ship emerged from the dangerous channel, and came in sight of an island, whose inhabitants showed signs of hostility until they were told that a missionary was on board. Owing to sickness Ugarte was unable to land. When the savages heard this, about fifty floated to the ship on thirteen balsas or rafts to urge the Father to share their hospitality. In spite of his sufferings, he had himself taken to the shore in a canoe. On landing he was borne between two files of people, the men standing on one side, the women on the other, to a brush-wood hut which had two openings. Here all visited the sick missionary. One by one they entered through one opening, inclined their head towards the Father, so that he might lay on his hand, which Ugarte did with much affection, and then passed out through the other opening, or doorway.

From here the expedition proceeded to the mouth of the Rio de Caborca, or Altár, where they cast anchor. The *Santa Barbara* continued up the coast, while three men were sent to reconnoitre. They returned on the following day, and reported that the coast was rough and that no harbor had been found; but they had discovered a pool of turbid water and a trail. Ugarte ordered two sailors to follow this trail; they did so, and on the third day reached Mission Caborca, in charge of the Rev. Luis Gallard, S. J., who had but lately arrived. From him, as well as from the missionary of San Ignacio, provisions were obtained. Ugarte's malady and pains had meanwhile increased so that he found no relief in any position except on his knees. For this reason, and because of the turbulence of the sea, it had been impossible to remove

him to the shore until twelve days after casting anchor. He had himself borne to a spring a league and a half inland, where he awaited the arrival of the missionary from San Ignacio. The change relieved the sufferer very much. Provisions were purchased and water obtained at the Pima villages in the neighborhood, so that the voyage could be resumed.

Meanwhile the sloop which lay at anchor was in constant danger from the stormy sea. The waves one day carried away one of the three cables and the bowsprit with the cross. The crew harbored a great veneration for this cross, because it had been the first thing fashioned out of the timber which was used in the construction of the *Triunfo de la Cruz*. It was later recovered by a pagan Indian and returned to the disconsolate sailors, who received it with rejoicings and with thanksgiving to God, because the recovery of the revered emblem was considered a token of His protection. Meanwhile the *Santa Barbara*, whose crew, it was thought, had perished by shipwreck or from hunger, since she had been provisioned for a cruise of only eight days, returned to the ship. The men reported that they had failed to discover a harbor along the coast for a distance of twenty leagues, that they had suffered exceedingly for want of water, and that they had found relief at an Indian settlement.

On July 2d the expedition set sail for the California coast. At the point of crossing the gulf was forty leagues wide, and the voyage lasted three days. The anchors were lowered and the canoe sent towards the shore. A multitude of savages at first opposed the landing, and even threatened the sailors if they dared to cross a line drawn on the beach. The men, however, soon allayed the fears of the Indians, and gained their confidence by kindness and presents. In return the sailors were shown where water could be procured along the coast. Following the directions for nine leagues, they discovered five springs in the neighborhood of as many rancherías. The vessels continued northward in search of a harbor where they might take refuge against the southwest winds which were then raging, but they found only a large bay with a strong current. The pilot took the canoe in order to look for a safe

port inland. The impetuous current soon carried him out of sight, and when Strafort had landed with five men to examine the shore, the sea suddenly arose and dashed the boat against a rock, splitting it in two from stem to stern. The six men spent the greater part of the night in trying to splice the two halves of the canoe. On the next day, while endeavoring to regain the ship in the damaged boat, they were rescued from drowning by the sailors of the *Triunfo*.

The *Triunfo* and the *Santa Barbara* proceeded on their errand, and after some time the change in the color of the water, which now appeared ashy, then black, but generally a muddy red, warned the navigators that they were approaching the mouth of the Colorado River. The *Santa Barbara* moved ahead, continually sounding the depth of the water. Finally, for fear of running aground, both vessels steered across the gulf to the Pimeria coast of Sonora. In the middle of the sea, already very narrow, the water became more turbulent than ever. The ships anchored near the mouth of the river, where from two outlets formed by an island, the stream was seen discharging trunks of trees, grass, and driftwood of every kind. The current was so strong that Father Ugarte refused to allow his men to enter the river. As he and others were suffering exceedingly from rheumatism and scurvy, the return voyage became imperative.

After all there was no object in exposing the frail vessels to the impetuous current of the stream, since the main purpose of the expedition had been attained. It was plainly seen that only this river separated California from Sonora, and that the territory was not an island around which ran a passage to the Pacific Ocean, as some had supposed. The two ships accordingly turned to the southward and began the return voyage on the feast of the Triumph of the Cross, July 16th, just one year after the *Triunfo de la Cruz* had been blessed by Father Juan Ugarte. She sailed down the middle of the gulf, whilst the *Santa Barbara* moved along the coast to Loreto. The storms, which had been threatening for some time, now broke loose in earnest and proved almost fatal. Several times the ship was in imminent danger. In the neighborhood of the Sal-

si-puedes Islands the scurvy-stricken men had to cast anchor to avoid being driven ashore. During the tempest the sailors drew courage from the so-called St. Elmo's Fire, which played about the masthead, and which they attributed to the favor of Heaven. Only five men were now able to work, and Ugarte's sufferings had grown so unbearable that he determined to make his way to Guaymas by land, but this resolution depressed the men so much that he promised to remain on board. At last, on Saturday, August 18th, a favorable wind brought them clear of the islands where destruction had threatened them for twenty-four days.

The worst trial occurred near the Bahía de la Concepcion, where a water-spout was rapidly approaching the ship. The *Triunfo* was enveloped in dark clouds, and noonday appeared as black as midnight. All gave themselves up as lost. Father Ugarte himself declared that this was the greatest danger so far encountered. Every one called upon the Blessed Virgin Mary and the holy Cross for protection. As though in answer to their prayer the storm changed its course, and the clouds were seen discharging their torrents upon the distant mountains of California. Finally, in the beginning of September, the worn-out explorers found refuge and rest with Father Sistiaga at Mission Santa Rosalía, where the sick were soon restored to health. About the middle of the same month all reached Loreto, where the *Santa Barbara* had arrived a few days before.[5]

Ugarte, however, was determined to find a port for the Philippine galleon. He equipped another expedition as soon as he returned to Loreto. The Pacific coast was this time to be examined as far north as possible. Captain Lorenzo and a number of soldiers set out for Mulegé, whence Father Sebastian de Sistiaga accompanied them to Guadalupe. Father Everardo Helén here joined the expedition on November 19th, 1721. They traveled up the coast as far as latitude twenty-eight degrees. After enduring many hardships in the barren country, the explorers had the satisfaction of discovering three

[5] Venegas, "Noticias," tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xv, 336-365; Clavijero, lib. iii, 70-72.

suitable harbors with sufficient timber and fresh water in the neighborhood; but the soil round about was unfit for cultivation. The largest and safest port lay closer to the Indian pueblo of San Miguél than any other, so that ocean vessels could be supplied with provisions from there. A full report of the discovery, as well as of the explorations in the Gulf of California, with maps and explanations, were prepared by Ugarte and Pilot William Strafort, and transmitted to the king and the Council of the Indies through Viceroy Valero. It is not known whether these reports and maps ever reached Madrid. At all events, no action was taken.[6]

While some of the missionaries were engaged in these explorations, the others continued to spread Christianity and civilization among the natives. Intercourse with the different Indian groups had revealed different characteristics according to the latitude in which they roved. Those in the north appeared more active, docile, peaceful, faithful, and less vicious, and, therefore, better disposed to receive the Gospel and more willing to subject themselves to the requirements of a civil and Christian life; whilst the Pericú tribes, such as the Guaicuros, Uchities, Coras, and the Islanders of the south, were especially noted for their indolence, fickleness, ingratitude, malice, duplicity, continual warfare which threatened to annihilate them, and above all, for their dissoluteness. Hence it seemed wiser to bring the light of the faith first to the savages of the north. Nevertheless, the missionaries thought it more advisable for the safety and tranquillity of the existing missions to gain the remaining southern tribes, particularly in view of the fact that they had failed to convince the viceroy of the necessity of a military post in the region of La Paz or Cape San Lucas.

The Uchities had already tried to cut off communication between Loreto and the mission at La Paz; the Guaicuros frequently molested the Coras; and, in the absence of Father Guillén, the savages of the islands of San José, Espiritu Santo,

[6] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 369-372; Clavijero, lib. iii, 70; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 450-452; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 219-227.

and Cerralvo had three times sacked Mission San Juan Bautista de Liguí. The captain with a few soldiers had come from Loreto and killed three or four of the enemies, and had captured eleven others and fourteen canoes; but this punishment only restrained them until greed exceeded their fear. There was no other way of taming the unbridled spirit of these barbarians except by bringing them under the yoke of the Gospel. Hence it was, that two new missions were established in the southern part of Lower California, at about the same time when Father Juan de Ugarte was battling with the storms on the gulf in search of a safe harbor.

After the business failure of Juan B. López, who had endowed San Juan de Liguí, or Malibát, this mission was continued under Father Guillén by dint of much privation; but the Indians dwindled away rapidly on account of the epidemics and their constant dread of the island savages. It was, therefore, deemed advisable to remove the survivors to a safer locality, and to found a new mission among the Uchities and Guaicuros, whose conversion was so important for the peace of the country. Happily the generous benefactor of California, the Marques de Villapuente, donated the funds for endowing two missions, which, as he directed, should be located between Loreto and Cape San Lucas. Guillén again accepted the task of erecting the buildings, gathering the natives, and civilizing and Christianizing them. In the month of August, 1721, he founded the establishment on the eastern shore at a place called Apate, forty leagues south of Loreto and more than sixty leagues from La Paz. He named the new mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores *del Sur*, to distinguish it from another of the same title in the north. Later the mission was removed to Tañuetía about ten [7] leagues to the west, and twenty-five leagues from the Pacific Ocean. It is impossible to describe the hardships which Father Guillén endured in cultivating this part of the Lord's vineyard; but they resulted in transforming the native population of the whole region. He would search for families on either coast and in the Sierras, and did not rest until he had them all united in six pueb-

[7] Clavijero has seven leagues.

los or towns. These settlements were Mission Dolores, and the towns of La Concepcion, La Encarnacion, La Trinidad, La Redempcion, and La Resurrecion. The Indians of Ligui or Malibát abandoned their ancient home and joined Dolores, whereupon, as we have already indicated, Mission San Juan Bautista ceased to exist.

The energetic missionary also converted and instructed other savages who were collected in three pueblos, at one of which Mission San Luis Gonzaga was founded in 1737.[8] The endowment fund of ten thousand dollars was donated by Don Luis de Velasco, Conde de Santiago, a resident of the city of Mexico. In the course of time Father Guillén won over all the savages roving between Mission San Xavier and the territory of the Coras, enlisted them as catechumens, and thus prepared the way for another mission which it was his intention to start, because the new converts could not be attended from the other missionary centers. In this manner one solitary priest wiped out paganism from a region which was forty leagues wide and extended from the gulf to the ocean. The soil in this latitude was worthless, and the inhabitants naturally poorer than elsewhere; only near Apate a little corn could be raised. These Guaicuros and Uchities, who before their conversion had been the most warlike tribes, now proved so faithful to the teachings of Father Guillén that, during the subsequent rebellion of several native tribes, Mission Dolores del Sur became a refuge for all Christian fugitives.[9]

The same consideration that gave rise to Mission Dolores, also caused the founding of another mission in the Coras territory not far from Cape San Lucas. Anxious to have it established as soon as possible, Father Rector Ugarte, before setting out on his voyage of exploration, had directed Father Ignacio Maria Nápoli, a recent arrival, to proceed by way of La Paz to the Ensenada de Palmas, the locality chosen for the new settlement. On July 21st, 1721, Nápoli embarked with Captain Rodriguez and four soldiers, and ar-

[8] Clavijero gives the year 1747, doubtless a misprint.
[9] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 372-379; Clavijero, lib. ii, 72-73.

rived at La Paz on August 2d. The neophytes received the priest with much reverence, kneeling and kissing his hands, and then conducted him and the soldiers in procession to the church, where Father Jayme Bravo awaited the visitors. After discharging her freight, the bark sailed over to Sinaloa to procure provisions for Loreto. This compelled the missionary to transfer his supplies to Ensenada de Palmas by means of small boats hired from a pearl-fisher, while he and the guards made their way by land. They reached their destination on August 24th.

When they arrived no Indians could be seen for four days; nor had any appeared along the road. On the evening of the fourth day, while Nápoli was walking alone on the beach some distance from the camp, a crowd of naked savages rushed towards him. Their leader, taller and fleshier than the rest, was painted all over his body with black and red stripes. His only clothing was a cape made of tufts of hair. He wore a girdle from which dangled a number of deer hoofs. In one hand he held a fan made of feathers, and in the other a bow and arrow. When this figure approached with threatening gestures and hideous shouts, in which he was joined by his companions, poor Nápoli, who had never seen an Indian sorcerer, and half suspected that a demon was directing the savages to slaughter him, thought his last hour had arrived. He quickly but silently asked God to pardon his sins, and made an offering of his life. Then, remembering his instructions never to exhibit fear of the Indians, he blessed himself, boldly faced the mob, and by means of signs accused them of wanting to murder him. He then offered them whatever he happened to have, and spoke in such gentle and persuasive tones that all were taken aback, and by degrees became quite friendly. He invited them to his tent, where he distributed food and trinkets for themselves and their relatives at the rancherías. Through Nápoli's interpreter they promised to return with their friends, but demanded that the mules and a dog, animals which they had never before seen, and for which they professed fear, should be removed. On the following day the savages came in groups until five hun-

dred[10] had assembled at the camp. They brought gifts of wild fruits, and in return received pozole, pieces of cloth, knives, and other articles.

The country was now examined. A suitable spot was found within reach of good water, and work was begun on the church and the huts for the missionary and his guards; but the Indians, who had commenced to visit the missionary regularly, one day remained away. Accompanied by a soldier and the interpreter, Nápoli went out to discover the cause. He learned that fear of their old enemies, the Guaicuros, had seized the people, when they found out that the missionary had come to their territory in company with some Guaicuros, whence they concluded that the Father wanted to gather the Coras in one place in order to kill them all. He managed to undeceive them for a while; but on another occasion, when Father Bravo arrived, whom the Coras considered the head of the hated Guaicuros, as he was stationed among them and spoke their language, Nápoli's flock again scattered without giving notice. He saw that it was useless to reason with the Coras. Instead of talking to them, he began a novena to the Blessed Virgin Mary on the 31st of August in preparation for the feast of her nativity. Soon the timid people began to reappear, men, women, and children, not for their customary rations, but asking that their little ones be baptized like those at La Paz. The change was so thorough, that Nápoli even succeeded in making peace between the two warring tribes. On the feast of Santa Rosalía, September 4th, baptism was administered for the first time in that region to twenty-nine children, and on the following days Indian mothers brought more little ones for the same purpose.

When he had distributed whatever he had brought along, not even sparing the linen intended for the altar, in order to quiet and attract the distrustful savages, Nápoli was forced to have recourse to La Paz for fresh supplies. Promising to return, the missionary made the long trip overland with barely enough to eat. At La Paz he was detained for two months,

[10] Clavijero has "cinquenta"—fifty.

during which time he collected provisions and endeavored to learn the Coras language.

Before the arrival of Nápoli Father Bravo once paid a visit to him, as we have said on the preceding page. While absent at Ensenada de Palmas forty savages of Cerralvo Island fell upon the ranchería of Mission Dolores at La Paz. They sacked the village and killed one man, two women, and five children, and carried off a boy. The captain with some troops from Loreto passed over to the island in order to punish the robbers; but the inhabitants had fled. Three or four Indians were, nevertheless, killed and the rest frightened so much that they ceased to molest their neighbors.

In November Father Nápoli returned to Ensenada, but decided to establish his mission temporarily at Santa Ana, halfway between La Paz and Ensenada and five leagues from the gulf. Two years later, in 1723, he removed to a site still farther from the sea. Here an unfortunate disaster nearly ruined all past endeavors and frustrated all his prospects. The walls of the new church had been erected of adobe, and the timbers for the roof were already in place, when, during the absence of the missionary on a sick-call, one of those furious hurricanes, which frequently sweep the country, visited the ranchería. The neophytes fled to the new church for shelter, but the tempest raged so violently that it brought down the whole structure upon the unfortunate people. Some were killed, others wounded, and the rest terrified. On hearing the cries of pain and terror Nápoli hastened to liberate from the ruins those catechumens that were still alive, and to baptize those mortally wounded. Although every one was a witness to the anxiety and compassion of the missionary, a conspiracy was formed among the relatives of the dead against Father Nápoli, as though he had caused the calamity. Happily, the survivors took the part of the missionary and declared that he had not urged any one to enter the building; that they had taken shelter there on their own account; and that he could not be blamed for what they had done. Thus he escaped further annoyance from the enraged and unreasoning savages. The new church arose on a more conve-

nient spot, and was dedicated in honor of St. James, the Apostle, and thereafter the settlement was known as Mission Santiago. The usual buildings were erected and some land was brought under cultivation from which fair crops were obtained.

The spiritual fruit of Father Nápoli's exertions proved less satisfactory, because the brutish, changeable, indifferent, and carnal nature of these Indians, wedded to abject idleness, would not readily adapt itself to the doctrines of the Gospel, though the poor priest toiled and prayed incessantly. By the year 1726, when the superiors sent Father Nápoli to the missions of Sonora, he had baptized four hundred children, but only about ninety grown people. The others had given little security of persevering in the faith and less hope of changing their morals. Rev. Lorenzo Carranco, S. J., succeeded Nápoli and, as we shall see later, was destined to irrigate this vice-covered field with his blood.[11]

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[11] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 379-390; Clavijero, lib. iii, 73-74. This writer always spells the missionary's name Nápoles.

CHAPTER X.

Father Luyando, S. J.—Founding Mission San Ignacio.—Incidents.—Agriculture.—Medicine-Men.—Opening Roads.—Notable Conversions.—Epidemics.—Indian War.—How It Ended.

FROM 1706, when Father Piccolo visited the Cochimí Indians, it was the desire of the Jesuits to plant a mission at Kada-Kaaman, or Arroyo del Carrizal, in the Sierra of San Vincente, forty leagues northwest of Santa Rosalía and twenty-five leagues north of Mission Guadalupe; but the scarcity of priests and funds, and the necessity of first converting the Edúes and Pericúes in the south, rendered a postponement imperative. The missionaries had to content themselves with occasional visits until the year 1728, when Rev. Juan Bautista Luyando, S. J., arrived in California. This Father belonged to a wealthy noble family. He had not only donated a part of his inheritance for the founding of a mission on the peninsula, but had entered the Society of Jesus and offered himself for the toilsome and cheerless life of a missionary. His desire was granted, and he was appointed to the new mission to be established among the Cochimís.

Early in January, 1728, he left Loreto with nine soldiers, and on the 20th of the same month he reached the place selected by Father Sistiaga. The Indians welcomed the stranger with demonstrations of great satisfaction, and a few days after as many as five hundred savages from different rancherías presented themselves for instruction. They learned the Doctrina with eagerness, and practised the exercises of a Christian life with such devotion that very soon a number of adults were deemed worthy of baptism, after they had proved their sincerity by fetching all the articles of their previous superstition to the missionary. The large number of his catechumens gave Father Luyando much consolation, but it also caused him much anxiety, inasmuch as he was expected to maintain them during the six or more months of instruction. To lessen the burden, he dismissed seven of the nine soldiers, after they had constructed the necessary

buildings with the aid of the natives. The converts who had received baptism were directed to return to their villages and continue the lessons in doctrine and morals at their homes; but others would quickly take their places, so that for some time the poor missionary obtained little relief. The new church, which had been erected on an elaborate scale, was blessed with much solemnity on the feast of the Nativity of our Lord in 1728, and like the mission was placed under the patronage of San Ignacio.

One day, only two months after his arrival, the missionary was surprised by the appearance of all the inhabitants of a distant rancheria demanding baptism. Luyando explained that this could be done only after they had learned what was necessary and had given up all the superstitious things thrust upon them by the sorcerers. They replied that an Indian boy had already told them all this; that they knew the Doctrina; and that they had brought along the tablets, false hair, etc., used by the medicine-men, because they knew that otherwise they should be refused baptism. The missionary, indeed, found them so well instructed that he baptized them three weeks later.

No less remarkable was the conversion of a young woman deaf and dumb from her birth. All noticed her persistence and devotion in joining the Christians and catechumens at holy Mass, catechism, the Rosary, litanies, processions, and other religious exercises at which she was the first to appear. Whenever any catechumens were baptized this poor creature would kneel among them, and placing her hand upon her head would mutely ask for baptism. Father Luyando himself explained the mysteries of the Christian religion to her as well as possible by means of signs; but, as he could not satisfy himself that she understood everything, he dared not baptize her. She wept bitterly whenever she saw others obtain the grace which she could not procure for herself. At last, the missionary, informed of her sinless life and convinced of her sincere desire to be a Christian, decided to give her the benefit of the doubt and to treat her as an innocent child. When the young woman presented herself the next time, he bap-

tized her along with the rest. The happiness of the poor deaf-mute cannot be described. She would leap, dance, and point to heaven, as though she wished to say that now she, too, could go to heaven. From that moment the happy neophyte would not leave the temporary brushwood chapel until the day of her death, which occurred only two months later.

Such incidents not only encouraged Luyando in his labors for the neophytes at Kada-Kaaman, but urged him to look for catechumens everywhere. On one of his visits to a Christian bitten by a poisonous reptile, he came upon a populous rancheria of pagans. They had never seen a horse and were considerably frightened to see the stranger on horseback. He quieted their fears, and made himself so agreeable that they prevented him from sleeping all night. The next day was passed in their midst with the result that they were all persuaded to become Christians and have themselves instructed at San Ignacio.

The docility of the Cochimís, together with their comparatively greater vivacity, contributed much to the spiritual and material progress of the mission. There was also more land capable of cultivation on account of the abundance of water. Had it not been for the scarcity of agricultural implements, the innate indifference and indolence of the Indians, and the necessarily frequent absence of the Father on his missionary tours to his widely scattered flock, enough grain might have been raised to maintain the whole population of the mission.

Father Sistiaga had already sowed wheat and planted corn on a piece of land. The harvest gathered by Luyando amounted to one hundred fanegas.[1] The product of the fourth year reached one thousand fanegas. The Indians worked with a will, since they noticed that all the grain, except a small quantity consumed by the missionary and two soldiers, was distributed among the neophytes. On a separate piece of land the Father raised pumpkins, vegetables, grapes, olives, figs, and sugar-cane. In the pastures cattle and sheep furnished meat and the material for clothing. For

[1] Fanega, a Spanish measure varying considerably. It is here taken as equal to one hundred-weight.

a long time two priests were stationed at San Ignacio; this explains the superior piety of the neophytes at the mission at that early period. One great drawback with which the Father had to contend was the scattered condition of the converts. Luyando, therefore, organized pueblos in each of which he built a small church. He induced the Indians to take up their abode around these chapels so that all could assemble for religious exercises, and attend holy Mass when the missionary made his regular visit. He urged the people to construct houses of adobe, but this caused much difficulty. Accustomed as they had been from time immemorial to sleep in the open air, they reluctantly consented to dwell under a roof.

Although this mission prospered from the beginning, obstacles and reverses were not wanting. One night eight pagans killed a catechumen near the house of the missionary. It was found advisable to let the matter pass, lest a revolt follow; but Heaven did not permit the crime to go unpunished; every one of the eight murderers was carried off by an epidemic in the very next year, 1729. For two years the inhabitants of a certain rancheria stubbornly refused to listen to the priest; nor would they visit the mission. When, at last, three of their number embraced Christianity, they were forced to flee for their lives to the house of the missionary. Kindness and patience overcame the animosity of the rancheria; but it was not till after seven years that the old men submitted. The old men generally were the sorcerers and medicine-men, whose morals and habits were so loose and brutal that it required greater effort on their part to conform their lives to the teachings of the Gospel. Another difficulty arose from the fact that these old men had been the guides and teachers of the people in their superstitious practises. Hence they were loth to become the pupils of strangers in the midst of children among whom they were often subjected to gibes and taunts.

In the first sermon which Father Luyando preached to the Cochimis in their own language he spoke briefly of the attributes of God, the mystery of the Holy Trinity, the Incar-

nation, the reward of the good in heaven, the punishment of the wicked in hell, the hatred of Satan towards mankind, and also remarked that the devil makes use of the guamas, or sorcerers, to deceive the people. His words caused such a commotion among the hearers that he began to fear for his life. The instigator of the trouble was a notorious guama, who through cunning had raised himself to the highest authority among the Indians of that region. When the sermon was concluded he gathered all the Indians at some secret place, and then addressed them after his own fashion on the subject of the missionary's instruction. He used every artifice to make the people disbelieve what the priest had said, and laid stress upon the point that no one had ever seen any of the things or persons that the priest had mentioned; but he, the guama, had seen and many times spoken to Fehual, the spirit who directs all human actions, as all the guamas taught; and that since the Christians had entered the country, this Fehual was very angry, as could be seen from the fact that all game had disappeared. The speech made a deep impression upon the savages, who now remembered that since the founding of the mission no game had been seen in the neighborhood. Just then some Christian Indians arrived from Mulegé who were highly respected by the natives for having been educated at Loreto. After learning what the guama had asserted, the Mulegé neophytes declared that on their ten leagues' march to the mission they had observed seven deer, from which all could infer that the medicine-man was an impostor. Thereupon the Cochimís paid no more attention to the baffled guama.

Besides opposing Christianity, the guama lived in concubinage, which was despised by the Cochimís far more than by other tribes. Luyando rebuked him many times for his dissolute life until he promised to improve and asked for baptism. The kind missionary trusted him rather too soon. Besides baptizing him, Luyando appointed the ex-guama chief or governor of the Kada-Kaaman Christians, probably on account of his superior intelligence and to oblige him to persevere. Instead of meeting the expectations of the mission-

ary, the chief soon fell back into his former vices, and heeded neither private reproof nor public denunciation. Nothing being of any avail, Father Luyando assembled the Indians, and in their presence charged the chief with all the scandals known to every one. He added that the crime was graver in the chief than in any other person, and that he should be punished no less than any other criminal, lest such disorders seem to receive approval. All were silent, and some trembled, because they still dreaded the anger and power of the former medicine-man. Only one Christian Indian, named Thomas, raised his voice in support of the missionary, and declared that the Father's demands were just. Thomas then, with the assistance of the others, seized the haughty culprit, had him publicly flogged, and deposed from office. The ex-chief suppressed his rage, and for a short while appeared to have improved; then he tried to rouse the neophytes against the missionary, and several times attempted to kill Father Luyando. The Indians, however, remained faithful, and God Himself soon relieved the mission of the priest's enemy. He was one of the first victims of an epidemic, but died repentant and with the missionary at his side.

Another guama, who had seduced a Christian woman and threatened the life of Luyando, received well-merited punishment more quickly. The Indians caught him and placed him before a court composed of the two guards and an Indian chief. The prisoner confessed his guilt, and was sentenced to be flogged. After three or four blows with the lash had been applied, Father Luyando, who had absented himself from the trial, ordered the execution of the sentence stopped, and begged the court to pardon the culprit, as he himself would give security for the good behavior of the guama. This unexpected leniency so thoroughly touched and changed the man, that after his baptism he became an exemplary Christian. Similar action in favor of another old man, who had endeavored to excite the natives against the missionary for abolishing their ancient immoral customs and superstitious practises, met with a similar result.

Father Luyando now induced the neophytes to open and

grade roads from the mission to each of the pueblos, and from these to the numerous rancherías of his district, in order to make his visits less burdensome. To encourage the Indians, he offered prizes for the party that should finish the work first. This excited emulation among the different rancherías and led to highly amusing contests, which showed that the Cochimís were by no means as stupid and wanting in ambition as the other tribes. In the contest, when the men of a certain ranchería noticed that those from another village were making greater headway on their road, and would win the prize and praises of Father Luyando, they determined to have recourse to artifice in order to stop the progress of their rivals. Having learned that letters spoke to those far away and served for giving orders, they procured some writing paper from the house of the missionary. This they covered with ink-marks in imitation of letters, and sent it to their competitors through a messenger with the verbal order from the Father that they should stop work on that road and begin to open another. The other party suspecting treachery returned the paper with the reply that the Father could not have written the letter, since he knew that they could not read. In return they were informed that the paper merely proved that the order came from the missionary. The rivals now sent some of their own men to ask the Father himself, when the deception was exposed.

The conversion of a pagan and his family from Walimea, or Hualimea, otherwise Santisima Trinidad, a ranchería on the Pacific Coast, deserves special mention. From Christians of other villages he had heard of the Christian faith and of the necessity of baptism. Convinced of these truths, though he had never seen a priest, nor visited San Ignacio, he communicated what he had learned to his tribesmen and day and night urged them to proceed to the mission for baptism, offering to be the first to submit to the new religion. The guamas, or sorcerers, opposed his plan and declared that all who should have themselves baptized would die from its effects. The Indian, however, resolved to visit the mission with his family and to receive baptism even if he should die the same

day. A few others joined him and all were kindly received by Father Luyando. For fear of the smallpox, which had appeared, the children were baptized immediately. On the next day the parents and their friends were admitted among the catechumens. Soon after the little daughter of the fervent Walimean died, and his wife and brother fell sick. Far from cooling his ardor, as Luyando had feared, these misfortunes only increased his desire for baptism. Not long after the happy convert was baptized and received the name Cristóbal. Some weeks later the new Christian returned to his native village and labored so zealously for the faith that all his tribesmen, including the guamas, became Christians. As the rancheria lay too far from San Ignacio, Cristóbal was appointed rezadór, or official instructor and reader. The conversion of this rancheria facilitated the spread of Christianity all along the coast to the north.

The smallpox epidemic of that year, 1729, materially aided instead of retarding the progress of the mission. Some of the most hostile guamas were carried off; and although the Christians lost many of their own number, they grew more attached to their faith, when they witnessed the heroic charity and patience with which the missionary attended to the spiritual and corporal welfare of the afflicted. At first the sorcerers spread the notion that all the baptized and anointed would die. This caused many to conceal their children and the sick, when the missionary made his rounds in search of the dying. The Christians soon dispelled the false impression by showing that fewer deaths occurred among the baptized than among an equal number of unbaptized and unanointed sick.

Some time after, while the mission continued successful in every way, pagan Indians from the north attacked a Christian rancheria, killing an old man and a little girl. The inhabitants hastily fled to San Ignacio. The neophytes and the catechumens of the mission at once armed themselves to punish the murderers; but Father Luyando, fearing that a general war might ensue, persuaded his people like good Christians to pardon their enemies. He believed that thereby the savages

would be attracted to the Gospel. He, moreover, sent some gifts to the guilty savages in token of good will. Both Venegas and Clavijero remark that under the circumstances this was not the right way to gain the barbarians. The savages naturally concluded that the missionary's action proceeded from cowardice. The result was, that they grew more insolent, fell upon the other rancherías, and even threatened the mission itself. Finding himself alone with only two soldiers and a number of poorly-armed and timid neophytes, Luyando went to Mission Guadalupe, where Father Sistiaga had charge in the absence of Father Helén. Sistiaga, better versed in the habits of the Indians, immediately accompanied his fearful brother missionary back to San Ignacio.

In harmony with his companion, Sistiaga directed that the whole population of the mission hold a novena, or nine days' devotion, in honor of the Most Holy Trinity, to implore the divine assistance. At the same time he planned a raid against the savages for the purpose of capturing and chastising them. Preparations were made with all the noise possible, after the manner of the natives, in order to encourage the timid neophytes and to impress the lurking enemies. The Christians of the surrounding rancherías were summoned to the mission. A large number of bows and arrows, hardwood lances and shields of leather were made, and the Indians were drilled in the use of the weapons by the two soldiers. The women were set to work sewing bags for carrying provisions, making rawhide sandals for the march through the rocky regions, roasting corn, etc. Seven hundred Indians offered their services to punish their savage persecutors; but, for want of provisions and for fear of disorder, only three hundred and fifty men were chosen to constitute the army. It had been the custom for each rancheria to appoint a leader, who acted independently of the others. This might now have caused disaster; therefore the Fathers selected one chief and induced the Indians to choose another. The neophytes, accordingly, elected their bravest and most intelligent warrior, whereas the missionaries named an intelligent young Indian, who had been reared by Father Ugarte, educated at Loreto, and had

held the office of gobernadór at the mission during that year.[2] When all arrangements had been made, the little army repaired to the church to receive the blessing of the missionaries, and then, preceded by the standard of the Cross, marched out in search of the enemy whilst the Fathers remained at the mission.[3]

The warriors were instructed to kill no one, unless compelled, but to capture their foes alive. This was faithfully carried out through the shrewdness of the young Indian commander. He had sent out spies and learned from them that the main force of the enemy was camped on the brow of a hill. During the night he divided his men and quietly surrounded the unsuspecting savages. At sunrise the Christians came forth from their hiding-places and, yelling frightfully, rushed into the camp. The surprised pagans quickly seized their weapons; but seeing themselves surrounded by superior numbers, they threw down their arms and surrendered. Not a shot had been fired. Only two men escaped to tell the story of their defeat. The prisoners, numbering thirty-four warriors, were marched to San Ignacio, where the victors celebrated their triumph by thanking God in the church for their bloodless victory. On the following day a High Mass of thanksgiving was sung in honor of the Most Holy Trinity.

Soon after the whole Indian population assembled in the open air around a tribunal, where justice was to be meted out to the prisoners. The court was composed of the two soldiers and the mission governor. The missionaries would take no part in the proceedings and remained at home. The thirty-four savages were tried and convicted of murder, robberies, and sedition; but, as only the captain of the presidio could inflict capital punishment, the court directed that the

[2] "Era gobernadór del pueblo aquel año," Venegas informs us. From this it seems clear that, as in New Mexico and other Spanish possessions, the Indian officials in California served only one year. This custom is still observed in Southern California and New Mexico.

[3] "Quedando los Padres en el pueblo," Venegas expressly affirms. Hittell would have us believe that Sistiaga led the forces to battle, which is an error. See Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 231.

prisoners should be taken to Loreto. The guilty Indians then gave way to despair, while some of the new Christians danced with delight at the prospect of seeing their enemies suffer. The missionaries rebuked them for their unseemly mirth and spirit of revenge, and assuring the savages that they should not die, they encouraged them to partake of the refreshments offered them.

At the request of the missionaries and many Christian Indians the prisoners were granted another trial on the following day. The sentence of transportation and death was then commuted to a severe flogging. The beginning was made with the chief criminal; but, after a few blows with the lash had been applied, the Fathers appeared and begged the judges to remit the rest of the punishment and to pardon the other criminals. The judges consented, and even restored the weapons except those belonging to the leaders, which were retained as evidences of the victory.[4] This moderation taught both the neophytes and the pagans the true spirit of Christianity. The liberated captives were hospitably entertained during their few days' stay at the mission, and given every opportunity to witness the love and harmony which prevailed in a Christian community. They were so impressed that they begged for baptism. When they heard that they must first be instructed and prove themselves worthy, they set out for their homes quite dejected. They soon returned and asked that their children at least be given baptism. The missionaries consented, lest the savages imagine that they were still hated, and should not be safe from the revenge of the Christians. Only the child of the leader was excepted to try the sincerity of the father, who had shown particular vindictiveness; but he returned a second time and amid tears asked the missionaries to baptize the boy or to kill the father. Thereupon the child was baptized like the others. A few months later all the former prisoners reappeared at the mis-

[4] Compare with this Spanish Catholic treatment of the natives the practice observed towards the Indians by English Protestants under British as well as American rule.

sion with their families and the old people who could barely walk, for the purpose of placing themselves under instruction.

The report of the remarkable victory and the gentle treatment experienced by the vanquished at the hands of the Christians was re-echoed throughout the sierras, and spread from the gulf to the ocean. It was the most opportune advertisement which the doctrine and the law of Christ could have received. It humbled the pride of the pagans, gave them exalted ideas of the religion taught by the strangers, and was the means of attracting great numbers of wild natives to Christianity in subsequent years. Father Luyando's health, however, gave way under the strain, so that he had to retire to Mexico. Father Sistiaga, formerly of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, was appointed in his place.[5]

According to Bancroft, Father Luyando's signature appears in the Loreto mission record in 1727-1728. The records of Mission San Ignacio begin with a baptism on October 22d, 1716. Four hundred and nineteen baptisms took place before the formal founding in 1728; one hundred and six were baptized before 1726; and two thousand two hundred and ninety-two before 1741. Luyando is named as founder, but nearly all the entries in the early years are signed by Father Sistiaga. Thirty-six marriages had occurred before the founding, the date of which may have been July 7th, instead of Christmas. The number of marriages down to 1748 were eight hundred and forty-eight. Down to 1740 two thousand and six deaths were entered in the records. The site of Mission San Ignacio, called Kadaa, according to Bancroft, is San Vincente Ferrer Valley. Father Taravál served there in 1732, and Father Fernando Consag seems to have been the missionary from 1736 to 1747. After him came Father Pedro María Nascimben, and still later Father José Gasteiger.[6]

[5] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 391-417; Clavijero, lib. iii, 74-80; Alegre, tom. iii, 232, 236-237.

[6] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 454, note 27.

CHAPTER XI.

Death of Fathers Piccolo and Ugarte.—Father Echeverría Named Visitor.—Founding of Mission San José del Cabo.—Dullness of the Indians.—Polygamy.—Father Taravál Ordered to Write the Mission History.—His Tour to the Pacific.—The Islands.—Incidents.—Founding of Mission Santa Rosa or Todos Santos.—Indian Criminals.—Need of a Presidio in the South.

AFTER a long life full of merit, Father Francisco Maria Piccolo finished his course at Loreto on February 22d, 1729, in his seventy-ninth year. He had come to California with the venerable Juan Maria Salvatierra, and labored among the natives of the peninsula for thirty-two years. He was a Sicilian by birth. He had entered the Society of Jesus as a priest, and had been stationed for six or eight years in the missions of Taraumara, Southwestern Chihuahua, where, according to Alegre, he founded Mission Carichic. When Salvatierra obtained leave to convert the Indians of California, Piccolo was selected to join him. The good Father was especially noted for his meekness and purity of conscience. It was claimed that he never committed mortal sin. He was the first missionary to die in California.[1]

On December 29th of the following year California was called upon to part with Father Juan de Ugarte, the last of the three founders of the peninsula missions. He died at the pueblo of San Pablo, a station of Mission San Francisco Xavier, in the seventieth year of his age. He spent the last thirty years of his life in California; they may be said to have been sixty years, says Venegas; for he labored not like one man, but did the work of many. He was the mainstay of the whole undertaking, which but for him would have been abandoned many times. Though of a different cast from his

[1] Nothing more is on record of his antecedents. The three Jesuit historians unfortunately paid too little attention to biographical notes and mission statistics. This is the only reason why so little is offered in this volume. See Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 418; Clavijero, lib. iii, sec. xix, 80; Alegre, tom. iii, lib. x, 236.

friend Father Piccolo, both in mind and body, Ugarte, like his late companion, lived and died a true religious.[2] "It is no disparagement to the others to add that he was the noblest, bravest, and greatest of them all."[3] "Again and again had his courage, pertinacity, and tact saved the missions from dissolution. Every crisis of distress and despair had found him ready. His heart had been strong when all others were weak; his hand active when others were listless. The natives feared, respected, and loved him, for he ever tempered the ruler's authority with the friend's affability, the gentleness of the priest with the dignity of the man. He possessed in an eminent degree the qualities indispensable to a leader of pioneers."[4]

While the northern tribes gradually accepted the Gospel and generally remained faithful, the savages of the south daily displayed more animosity towards Christianity. Father Guillén of Mission Dolores, Father Bravo of La Paz, and Father Nápoli of Mission Santiago, and their successors, had succeeded in taming the barbarity of the Uchities, Guaicuros, and Coras by leading them into the fold of Christ, but the majority of the Indians continued obstinate. Among the neophytes, too, there were not a few who would not endure the restraints imposed upon their passions by the Christian religion and by Christian civilization. These endeavored to incite others to join them in breaking the fetters that bound them to a rational and decent mode of life. As early as 1723 Captain Lorenzo Rodríguez had led an armed force into the territory of the lately established missions of Dolores and Santiago for the purpose of quieting the turbulent natives. Similar visits had to be made in 1725 and 1729. On the last occasion the captain tarried six months in the country of the Coras. The founding of more missions in that part of the peninsula seemed to be the only remedy for these periodical outbreaks of pagan hatred and licentiousness.

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[2] Venegas, tom. ii, 418; Clavijero, lib. iii, 80; Alegre, tom. iii, 240-241.

[3] Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 238.

[4] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 456.

In 1729, therefore, when the Coras again asked for missionaries, as they had done before, the Fathers determined to place two new missions in the south. Hearing of this plan, the generous benefactor of California, Marqués de Villapuente, at once offered to endow the mission which was to be established in the vicinity of Cape San Lucas; his cousin, Doña Rosa de la Peña, almost equal to him in piety and charity, asked for the privilege of endowing the other and of naming it after her patron saint. The request was granted. Her mission was to be located at Ensenada de Palmas, once occupied by Mission Santiago. At that time the procurator for California in the city of Mexico was Rev. José de Echeverría, who in October, 1729, had gone to Sinaloa to purchase another ship in place of one that had been lost at sea with its whole cargo. While thus engaged the Superior-General appointed him visitor for all the Jesuit missions. He resolved to begin the visitation in California and came to Loreto on October 27th, of the same year. After visiting the seven Jesuit establishments in the north, Echeverría gave vent to his satisfaction in a letter dated Loreto, February 10th, 1730. "I set out to visit the missions," he writes, "commencing with San Xavier and finishing at San Ignacio, which is the farthest north, and distant eighty leagues from Loreto. I passed forty-eight days on the road going and coming; the cold in January was severer than at Guapango, but it was well worth while to suffer the hardships for merely witnessing the fervor of these new and happy Christian settlements; and we could not help shedding tears of consolation on hearing so many times the praises of God from the mouths of these poor Indians, who a little while before did not know that there is a God. Through His infinite mercy, not only are there according to my count six thousand baptized persons in the seven missions, but beyond a doubt there is not one able to speak who does not know the Christian Doctrina well."

Father Echeverría now prepared to visit the religious in the south, and to assist at the founding of two missions in that district. On account of the delay in the arrival of Rev. Sigismundo Taravál, who was destined for the new mission

of Santa Rosa, only the mission proposed for the vicinity of Cape San Lucas could be established. This undertaking demanded a religious of perfect virtue, untiring zeal, great prudence, and consummate skill in dealing with the natives. Such a man was found in the person of Father Nicolás Tamarál, who had established Mission Purisima Concepcion; he was therefore appointed for the new mission of San José del Cabo. On March 10th, 1730, Echeverría and Tamarál embarked with some soldiers and a few Indians on the *Triunfo de la Crus*, and nine days later reached the Bahía de la Paz, where they were welcomed at Mission Nuestra Señora del Pilár by Father William Gordon, the successor of Jayme Bravo. After the regular visitation, the two Fathers proceeded to Mission Santiago de los Coras, where they found Father Lorenzo Carranco, who had taken Father Nápoli's place four years previous. From here the visitor and Tamarál set sail for Cape San Lucas, where the new mission was to be located. On a convenient site near a lagoon two huts were constructed of palm-leaves and roofed with reeds and dry grass; one was to serve as a chapel, the other as a dwelling for the missionary. This was the beginning of San José del Cabo, which must not be confounded with another mission situated north of Loreto and known as San José de Comundú.

The Fathers had expected to be welcomed by large numbers of Indians, because the natives had appealed so urgently for missionaries; but during the three weeks' stay of Father Echeverría only about twenty families cautiously visited the priests. With these Tamarál began the instructions, and on Holy Saturday had the satisfaction of baptizing fifteen infants and a number of other children three or four years of age. When the Indians were asked why all the people did not appear who in the preceding year had petitioned the captain for a priest, they said that the rest had died. This proved to be false; for no sooner had the Rev. Visitor and the soldiers departed, than a great many savages joined their friends at the new mission. They claimed to have feared that the soldiers had come to punish them for their hostility to the neophytes of Mission del Pilár and Mission Santiago. Tamarál early

scoured the country for more converts and for a more suitable locality, because the spot chosen was infested with swarms of mosquitoes and other insects, and withal there was little soil fit for cultivation. He accordingly removed to a place about five[5] leagues from the ocean, where he labored so successfully that the once roving Indians settled and received instruction in two pueblos, and one thousand and thirty-six natives were baptized in the first year.[6] This result is the more surprising inasmuch as these savages by reason of their vicious habits appeared the least disposed to accept the Gospel doctrines. This we learn from a letter written by Father Tamarál on June 15th, 1731, to the Marques de Villapuente, the great benefactor of the missions.

"We proceed very slowly," he says, "with these poor savages because of their remarkable dullness to learn and to make themselves capable of grasping the sublime mysteries of our holy faith. This is owing to the awful vices in which as pagan savages they are steeped, to the superstitions to which they are attached, to the wars and to murders prevailing among them, but especially to the mire of impurity into which they are plunged. It is extremely difficult to persuade them to resolve to dismiss the great number of wives that each one has; for even the poorest and lowest have two or three and more wives, because among these Indians the feminine sex is more numerous.

"This obstacle is the most difficult to overcome, partly because the men are excessively fond of women, and partly because the women that are put away by one man do not easily find another who will take them. Another reason is that the men, if reduced to one wife, according to our holy Law, would find themselves compelled to go in search of food; but, having been raised in absolute idleness, they will lie in the shade of a tree, whither the women insist on bringing an

[5] Clavijero has two leagues.

[6] "Con improbos trabajos juntó en el primer año varias rancherías vagantes, distribuyólas en dos pueblos, doctrinólas infatigablemente y en solo este año bautizó, entre parvulos y adultos, mil y treinta y seis personas." Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xvii, 428.

abundance of seeds and wild fruits, each trying to fetch more than the other wives. Hence to induce men so lazy and indifferent, and raised in such a beastly manner, to lead a rational life, to put away the women and to be content with one wife, to take the trouble of procuring food for themselves and their children, to submit to everything else that is disagreeable to a savage people, and to resolve to embrace the faith and a Christian life, requires a miracle of divine grace.

"Thanks be to God, in their rancherías they now recite the Doctrina at night before going to sleep, and after the California melody [7] sing the *Bendito* [8] three times. At daybreak they observe the same custom in common. In their rancherías they have the Cross planted upon some hill or high elevation where all may see it. In several places they have brushwood huts where they meet for instructions when I go to visit them. As the melody of the California *Bendito* is touching, so likewise is the ordinary use of the *Bendito*. When I go to the rancherías the whole community receives me with the singing of the *Bendito;* and when on the road I meet one or more going about their usual occupations, they will, even at a distance, drop on their knees, sing the *Bendito*, and then salute me." [9]

In May, 1730, two months after Visitor Echeverría had sailed for Cape San Lucas, Rev. Sigismundo Taravál, who was destined for the new mission of Santa Rosa, arrived at Loreto. Though only thirty years of age, he was well fitted, both corporally and mentally, for that critical undertaking. He was a native of Lodi in Lombardy, Italy, where his father, Don Miguel de Taravál, was lieutenant-general of the army. On October 31st, 1718, when only eighteen years old, Sigismundo entered the Society of Jesus at the college of Ocaña in the province of Toledo, Spain. While studying philosophy he was

[7] "Cantan en el tono Californico," as Venegas writes.

[8] Also called "Alabado." According to some, the words were, "Bendito y Alabado sea el Santisimo Nombre de Jesus." Others have another version. See note 12, chapter vi.

[9] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 418-432; Clavijero, lib. iii, sec. xx, 80-81; Alegre, tom. iii, 239-240.

seized with the desire of devoting his life to the conversion of the pagans. For this purpose, after receiving permission from his superiors, he passed over to Mexico, and at the conclusion of his studies, he was sent to California. He labored with much zeal at various missions, and by order of his superiors collected material for a history of all the missions of the peninsula. To his industry and research is due the greater part of the information which is embodied in the *Noticia de la Nueva California* of Venegas, the standard work on the country, the inhabitants, the products and the missions of Lower California.[10]

As the founding of Mission Santa Rosa, for want of priests, had to be postponed, Visitor Echeverría directed Father Taravál to take the place of Father Tamarál at Purisima Concepcion, who had been changed to San José del Cabo; but when Father Sistiaga of San Ignacio became visitor in 1732, he called Taravál to replace him at San Ignacio during the time of the visitation. A few months after his arrival, some Indians from an island on the Pacific Coast appeared at San Ignacio, and begged the missionary to visit their people and make them Christians. For this purpose the zealous Father left his mission on December 3d with a few Christian Indians, and, after wandering six days, reached a great bay which he named San Xavier Bay.[11] He discovered two islands at a distance of six or seven leagues from the shore. Here were the homes of his visitors. Father Taravál and his companions reached the nearest island by means of rafts, but saw no living being save a great number of birds, whence it derived the name of Afegua Island, or Island of Birds.[12] It was about half a mile long and without either water or vegetation. The other island was known as Amalgua (Hualagua), or Isle of Fogs.[13] Father Taravál says it was triangular in shape, and

[10] "A su cuidado y diligencia se debe la mayor parte de las noticias de ésta Relacion . . . á quien yo confieso deudor ante el Publico de muy buena gana." Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xviii, 434.

[11] San Sebastian Bay.

[12] Natividad Island.

[13] Cedros Island.

from cape to cape two days' travel in length. From a very high mountain in the center he saw two small islands eight or ten leagues to the westward.[14] In the center of the great bay he found three uninhabited islets to which collectively he gave the name of Dolores. Far to the north he descried a number of larger islands, which, supposing himself to be in latitude thirty-one degrees, he erroneously concluded were the islands of the Santa Barbara Channel.

The missionary easily persuaded the inhabitants, who were few in number, to remove to San Ignacio. Only an old sorcerer refused to follow them; but, when he saw his wife join their tribesmen, he would not remain alone on the island. While the raft, which carried the people, passed near a sandbank, where a number of seals were basking in the sun, the perverse sorcerer jumped into the water to kill some of the animals; but the seals disappeared before he reached land. Whilst he was swimming back to the float, a shark seized the unhappy man and drew him down to the deep. The awful fate of the guama grieved Father Taravál exceedingly, but confirmed the Indians in their resolution to become Christians. They were instructed and in due time baptized at Mission San Ignacio.

Early in 1733 Father Sistiaga returned to San Ignacio with a new assistant in the person of Rev. Fernando Consag, a native of Hungary. Taravál was sent by the new visitor, Rev. Clemente Guillén, to begin the new mission of Santa Rosa among the Coras, whose dialect differed from that spoken by the Guaicuros at Santiago Mission. The mission was to be established near Ensenada de Palmas on the spot where Father Nápoli had begun Mission Santiago.[15] These Indians had frequently been visited by Fathers Carranco and Taravál, and appeared willing to receive instructions; but, as he encountered much opposition from a few turbulent natives,

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[14] "Poniente," as Venegas says; Clavijero has "Oriente." These are the San Benito Islands.

[15] Clavijero claims that Taravál did not erect the mission at Ensenada de Palmas, but at Todos Santos. We follow Venegas's account.

the missionary deemed it wise to retain a guard of three soldiers. His prudent zeal was so successful that before the lapse of a year he was enabled to baptize the majority of the Indians of his district. At the same time he so endeared himself to the neophytes that in a subsequent revolt they stood by him against their own tribesmen.

As early as the latter part of 1733 indications of an insurrection appeared among the natives of Missions Santiago and San José del Cabo, who chafed under the restraints imposed by the missionaries. "The Indians," says Hittell,[16] "particularly those of the south, had been accustomed to live in the most beastly licentiousness; and, especially at their feasts, their conduct was entirely devoid of decency and shame. This the missionaries from the beginning of their ministrations had endeavored to reform. Father Jayme Bravo, the founder of La Paz, and Father Nápoli, the founder of Santiago, had placed themselves in uncompromising opposition to the prevailing manners; but they had managed to temper their zeal with prudence; during their time no very disastrous outbreaks occurred." Fathers Tamarál, Carranco, Gordon of La Paz, and Taravál of Santa Rosa, followed the same course adopted by their predecessors, but an additional element of disturbance had meanwhile arisen. This, and not the want of gentle moderation and prudent patience on the part of the missionaries, as Hittell would have the reader believe, was the immediate cause of the revolt and of many other difficulties encountered by the Jesuits in subsequent years.

Controlled by their unbridled passions and incited by the medicine-men, the natives frequently assumed a hostile attitude and often attacked the southern missions, so that as early as 1723 and 1725, and again in 1729, Captain Lorenzo of Loreto had to proceed against them with a military force. In the last-named year the depredations of the Coras and Guaicuros, says Venegas, were principally due to the influence of mulattoes[17] and mestizos[18] left on the peninsula by foreign

[16] "History of California," vol. i, 233.

[17] The offspring of a white person and a negro.

[18] The offspring of a white person and an Indian.

navigators or pirates. These were the leaven which corrupted the simplicity of the Indians, already inclined to every kind of wickedness.[19]

Father Carranco had appointed Boton, the son of a mulatto father and an Indian mother, chief or governor of the Indians at Mission Santiago, partly on account of his superior intelligence, partly to oblige him to lead a regular life. Boton proved unworthy of the trust, and soon gave himself up to the same vices that had controlled him before his baptism. Neither private nor public rebuke were of any avail. Finally, the poor missionary was forced to depose him and have him publicly chastised. Enraged at the disgrace, Boton sought revenge by plotting with some other malcontents for the murder of the missionary. When his scheme was detected he withdrew to pour out his grievances before Chicori, an equally guilty pagan chief of a rancheria in the missionary district of San José del Cabo.

One of Chicori's many wives, a young woman, came to the mission and applied for baptism. Father Tamarál instructed her along with other catechumens, and then baptized her. Some time after, the vicious chief had her taken by force to Yeneca, where he resided. Fearing to provoke greater disorders, Tamarál remained silent for a while to await an occasion to broach the matter. On a visit to Yeneca, he mentioned the subject with great moderation. Chicori received the missionary with contempt, and declared that he had a right to bring the woman back, as she was his wife. Tamarál replied that if she had been the only wife, she would not have been permitted to stay at the mission, nor would she have been baptized so soon; but since the chief had many wives, it was not right to take her away against her will. The Father, moreover, showed him how degrading such a shameless mode of life is even in the eyes of the pagans, and urged him in his advanced age to rise from the mire of turpitude and to embrace Christianity. Chicori was too deeply steeped in vice to be moved, and the visit of the priest made him more obstinate than ever.

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[19] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 420.

He resolved not only to kill the intrepid Tamarál, but to rouse the native tribes against all the missionaries.

At this juncture the equally furious Boton, who had already created a rebellious spirit at Mission Santiago, appeared at Yeneca. He joined Chicori in planning a general uprising. Hearing of the trouble at Santiago, Tamarál, ignorant of the machinations of the two conspirators among his own people, hastened to Father Carranco for the purpose of assisting him in checking the incipient rebellion. As the prime instigator had gone away, the two missionaries succeeded in pacifying the turbulent members of the mission, but when Tamarál was about to return to his flock, a few faithful Guaicuros gave him warning that Boton and Chicori with two bands of savages intended to waylay and murder him. The information was confirmed by other Indians who had investigated. The Father sent word to his neophytes, who at once came well armed to escort him back to San José. Thereupon the conspirators fled, but later on returned to the mission, and, feigning repentance, asked forgiveness, which was readily granted. In this manner the disaster was averted for a time.

These disturbances, and many others of less danger with which the missionaries were threatened, especially by those Indians whose brutal excesses they had to correct, might have easily been avoided, if a military post or sufficient guards had been provided for the southern part of the peninsula, as Father Bravo, doubtless by order of the dying venerable Juan Maria Salvatierra, had proposed in 1717. The restless and treacherous Pericúes needed a stronger check than the Indians north of Loreto, because the missionaries could not reduce a people so devoid of shame and justice to a rational and Christian manner of living without exposing themselves and their missions to certain destruction. Owing to the folly of the politicians in Mexico, however, the Jesuits had no better protection at their respective stations than that which the presence of a solitary soldier could afford,[20] and during the last troubles

[20] "No tenian los Padres mas Escolta, que la de un Soldado, y en el tiempo de estos alborotos ninguno." Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 449.

not even that much, because the small number of soldiers at the presidio and the need of guards at the new missions did not permit the sending of reenforcements to the south. As subsequent events will show, the presidio of Loreto, being one hundred leagues, or three hundred miles, distant, afforded little protection to the missions around the cape. The missionaries foresaw the calamity, but awaited the storm with calmness and Christian resignation. [21]

[21] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xviii, 443-450; Clavijero, lib. iii, 82-83; Alegre, tom. iii, lib. x, 252-253.

CHAPTER XII.

The Philippine Galleon Stops at Mission San José del Cabo.—Indian Conspiracy.—Murder of Soldiers.—An Intrepid Missionary.—Martyrdom of Father Carranco.—Martyrdom of Father Tamarál.—Flight of Father Taravál.—The Archbishop-Viceroy's Inactivity.—Indians in the North Restless.—Missionaries Ordered to Loreto.—Indians of the North Plead for their Return.—Philippine Sailors Murdered.—Viceroy Grows Active.—Troops from Sonora.—The King Orders Erection of a Presidio.—Father Wagner.—Indian Treachery.—Another Revolt.

IN January, 1734, the same month in which Boton and Chicori feigned submission, the Philippine galleon,[1] on her way from Manila to Acapulco, anchored in Bay San Bernabé for the first time. Lack of fresh water and a crew stricken with scurvy had forced the captain to look for relief in California. It was fortunate that Mission San José del Cabo lay near by. As soon as Father Tamarál through some Indians learned that the seamen were in distress, he sent fresh meat and some fruits to the ship, and placed himself and his neophytes at the service of the commander. Nearly all of the sick soon recovered; only three had to be left behind in the care of the missionary. The three sufferers were Francisco de Baitos, captain of infantry, Antonio de Herrera, an officer of the ship, and Very Rev. Fr. Domingo de Horbigoso, of the Order of St. Augustine, who was then procurator-general for his province in the Philippines. When the galleon had reached Acapulco, Captain Geronimo Montero, in his report to the viceroy, with much satisfaction mentioned the timely aid received at the mission; but the only result of this report was the order that all Philippine trading vessels should stop at Cape San Lucas. It had been hoped that the incident would convince the Mexican government that a military post was necessary at the cape, both for the benefit of commerce and for the protection of the missions and missionaries. Unfortunately, there were some high officials who opposed both the Philippine trade and the Cali-

[1] Name for large Spanish sailing vessels in the early days.

fornia missions. Owing to the folly and indifference of these politicians the missions continued to be without military protection. Captain Baitos and Fr. Horbigoso recovered rapidly and returned to New Spain; Herrera suffered a relapse and died, after having received the sacraments. His body was buried in the little mission church.[3]

In the meantime the missionaries in the south, Fathers Tamarál at San José, Carranco at Santiago, Taravál at Santa Rosa (Todos Santos), Gordon at Pilár (La Paz), and Guillén, the visitor, at Dolores, continued their apostolic labors. In the summer of 1734 Father Gordon, leaving the soldier Manuel Andrés Romero in charge at La Paz, made a visit to Loreto for the purpose of hastening supplies to the southern establishments. It was this circumstance which saved the missionary's life during the rebellion which soon after broke loose.

The Christians and catechumens appeared perfectly contented, and among the savages themselves no sign was observed which might have caused suspicion; nor was there any rational excuse for an uprising. Nevertheless, there existed intense hatred against the Christian law and its teachers, especially among the pagans and apostates who refused to put any restraint upon their shameless and brutal passions. Under the direction of Boton and Chicori the conspiracy originated in the rancherías situated between Mission Santiago and Mission San José del Cabo, whence, unsuspected by the Jesuit Fathers, it spread over the whole territory occupied by the five southern missions. A great many neophytes joined the conspirators, but continued to assist at the exercises and took their meals with the missionaries. Boton and Chicori determined to begin their bloody work with the murder of the guards, which seemed to be an easy matter, as there were only three soldiers at the newly-founded mission of Santa Rosa, one at La Paz, none at San José, and two weak mestizos at Santiago. The rebels dreaded the fire-arms of the soldiers, and therefore resolved to avoid an open attack and to assassinate the guards one by one. In the first days of September

[3] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xix, 451-460; Clavijero, lib. iii, sec. xxii, 83-84; Alegre, tom. iii, 253-254.

one of the three soldiers who had accompanied Father Taravál to the pueblo of Todos Santos was murdered while strolling in the mountains. The murderers sent notice to the missionary that a guard had suffered an accident and wished that the priest might come to hear his confession, or send another soldier to bring him to the pueblo. The messenger gave such a poor account of the fictitious accident, that Father Taravál, who had already been warned by the faithful Indians of Todos Santos, guessed the truth. He declined to go, nor would he send a soldier; in this way he escaped a violent death and prevented the murder of the guard which the conspirators had intended to commit.

A few days later one of the guards of Loreto, on his way to assist Father Tamarál, observed various signs of an insurrection. He informed the missionary and urged him to escape to La Paz. Tamarál refused to abandon his people, and resolved to remain at his post in the hope of suffering martyrdom if there were such an opportunity. The soldier left the intrepid priest with the declaration that he would not stay to meet certain death. On reaching La Paz he found the doors broken, the furniture scattered, and traces of blood upon the floor. Searching further he discovered the dead body of the guard, Don Manuel Andrés Romero, who had charge of the temporalities in the absence of Father Gordon. Convinced that an insurrection had commenced, the much frightened soldier fled to Mission Dolores, sixty leagues distant, and related to Father Visitor Guillén what he had seen. Guillén immediately sent orders directing the three missionaries in the endangered district to retire to Dolores. Soon after a letter from Father Carranco stated that a revolt had broken out, and that he awaited orders. Guillén repeated his command, and directed him and the other Fathers to proceed to La Paz, whence a boat would take them to Mission Dolores. At the same time he sent the boat manned by seven faithful Indians to receive the fugitive missionaries. These letters did not reach their destination, because the conspirators had blocked the roads.

When Carranco heard of the danger threatening Tamarál at San José, he despatched a band of trusty neophytes to escort

him to Santiago, as Tamarál had no military protection. The fearless missionary by letter replied that as yet he saw no danger; that he trusted in God, at whose service he was in life and death; that His Divine Majesty might dispose as seemed good to Him; that, though he had prayed all his lifetime for the grace of martyrdom, he did not deem himself worthy of the privilege; and that under these circumstances he did not feel justified to abandon the mission, especially since his Indians in the past had proved loyal. This letter, apparently the last one written by the venerable man, was discovered among the scattered effects of Father Carranco. While returning to Santiago the messengers were stopped by the rebels and questioned about their errand. They acknowledged that they had gone to bring Father Tamarál to Santiago, as Father Carranco had learned about the conspiracy from the Indian boy in his service. The conspirators, who had resolved to begin the work of destruction with the murder of Father Tamarál, now hastened to kill Father Carranco first, lest he have a chance to escape or to get reenforcements from Loreto.

The savages and their apostate friends reached Mission Santiago on Friday morning, October 1st, between six and seven o'clock, just after Father Carranco had finished holy Mass and was about to make his thanksgiving. The two mestizos had gone in search of cattle which were to be slaughtered for the catechumens, children, and old people, who made their home at the mission. The messengers, who had been sent after Father Tamarál, but who now made common cause with the rebels, entered the missionary's room, pretending to give an account of their errand. The Father rose from his knees, received them kindly, and inquired whether they had brought any message from Father Tamarál. They gave him the letter, and while he was reading attentively two of the original conspirators seized the amazed priest and carried him out of the house. Here they held him while others shot arrows into his body until he expired. While the Indians martyred the missionary he raised his eyes and mind to heaven, fervently offering his life to God for his own faults and for the sins of his Indians, and fell to the ground uttering the names of Jesus,

Mary and Joseph. The fiends then stoned him and beat him with sticks until he breathed his last.

V. P. Lorenzo Carranco martirizado en la Mision de Santiago de los Cosos Veleta 1º de octubre de 1784.

The tumult attracted all the men, women and children of the mission. Some manifested grief at the death of the missionary, with whom that very morning they had, as usual, recited the Doctrina and the prayers; but their apparent sorrow soon gave way to their native ferocity and shamelessness. Some went in search of wood to burn the body of the dead priest; others tore away his clothing, which they appropriated to themselves; and then men and women alike profaned the corpse in a manner so abominable that only a demon could have suggested the outrage. It proved, says Venegas, that the sole cause of the rabid anger of the conspirators was no other than the Christian faith and law which had been introduced by the missionaries and which forbade carnal excesses.

Meanwhile one of the brutalized crowd espied the little boy who had served Father Carranco. The child was weeping bitterly. "Why are you weeping?" he asked. "Go now and tell the Father what we are doing in the rancherías." "Well," said others, "since he loves his master so much, it is better that he go and accompany him." They then tied the boy's feet and grasping them the brutes beat the body against the wall of the house, the rocks, and the ground, until the child was dead. The remains of the murdered priest and his little

servant were cast upon a blazing heap of wood, which had been gathered for that purpose. The church and house were plundered, and everything that the mob could not use, such as crosses, pictures, statues, the altar, chalices, the missal, and other church furniture, was thrown into the fire, to give conclusive evidence of their implacable hatred for the Christian religion. By this time the two mestizo guards approached the mission with two head of cattle. As they came unarmed, save for their butcher knives, they were surrounded, forced from their horses, killed with arrows, and thrown upon the burning pile. There is little known about the antecedents of Father Lorenzo Carranco. He was born at Cholúla, near Puebla, Mexico. He passed his novitiate at Tepotzatlán, and made his studies in the colleges of San Gerónimo and of San Ignacio, Puebla. Pictures of him were preserved at Tepotzatlán and Puebla until 1767, when the Jesuits were expelled.

Having satisfied their fury at Santiago, the murderous

V. P. Nicolás Tamaral, Sacerdote, muerto y hecho en la Mision de S. Joseph del Cabo de S. Lucas dia de N.S.ª del Rosario Domingo 3. de Octubre de 1734.

crowd hastened to repeat the cruelties at San José del Cabo. They arrived at the mission on the morning of Rosary Sunday, October 3d. Father Tamarál had already celebrated holy Mass and was resting in a chair, when a number of conspirators suddenly entered his room and demanded corn, blankets, knives, cloth, etc. They expected a refusal, which they intended as an excuse for attacking the missionary. Seeing that

the intruders were all armed and unusually bold, Tamarál suspected their designs and endeavored to pacify them by saying that everything in the house was theirs. Baffled at their game, the Indians hesitated; but after a few moments the same men that had seized Father Carranco tore the defenseless priest from his chair and threw him to the floor. Taking him by the feet the savages dragged their victim out in order to shoot him dead with arrows. After they had driven a few missiles into his body, the barbarians changed their mind and resolved to behead the missionary with the large knives which he had distributed for the use of the people. During this torture Tamarál incessantly implored the Lord for himself and for his wayward flock, and breathed his last uttering the name of Jesus. The abominations perpetrated at Santiago were repeated at San José, and the martyr's remains were thrown into the fire with all the church goods which the conspirators could not utilize. Their success was then celebrated in the beastly manner practiced before the coming of the missionaries. Father Nicolás Tamarál was born at Sevilla, Spain, in 1687. He came to Mexico in 1712, and was sent to California in 1716. During his eighteen years of zealous labor he founded two missions.

The prolonged exultations of the rebels at San José gave Father Sigismundo Taravál of Santa Rosa time to escape from the mission station of Todos Santos. As soon as Father Carranco had been murdered, a boy hastened to Todos Santos to urge Taravál to save himself. "Look, Father," he anxiously exclaimed, "they will soon come to kill you; we cannot defend you; if you wish, we will take you to an island where you will be secure." A little while after some faithful Indians arrived from San José, and described the wild scenes enacted there. Convinced of the danger that now threatened him and the two guards, Taravál, though desirous of the martyr's crown already enjoyed by his two brethren, believed it imperative not to sacrifice three lives uselessly. He accordingly packed up the sacred vessels and vestments and, during the night of October 4th, he and his two guards made their way to La Paz. Father Guillén's boat, which had arrived there

two days before, brought them to Espiritu Santo Island, whence another boat took the fugitive missionary to Mission Dolores. The Father Visitor had already received notice of the glorious death of Father Carranco, but he now for the first time heard of the martyrdom of Father Tamarál.

After the conspirators had finished celebrating their triumph at San José, they went in search of Father Taravál. When they learned that he had made good his escape, they vented their fury upon the neophytes and catechumens of the mission, of whom they killed twenty-seven, whilst the rest fled in every direction. The result was that the relatives and friends of the murdered natives rose to revenge their dead, and a war ensued among the different tribes which brought the southern portion of the peninsula back to the disordered condition encountered by the first missionaries.

No sooner had Father Visitor Guillén, as superior of the Jesuits in California, gathered all the facts about the late disasters, than he reported to the Very Rev. José Barba, the provincial in Mexico, and to the viceroy, who was none other than Archbishop Juan Antonio Bizarron. Guillén informed the archbishop-viceroy that a general revolt was feared, and that Christianity would be wiped from the peninsula if the Indians in the north should follow the example of those in the south. He implored Bizarron to establish a military post near the southern missions, in order to curb the rebel spirit of the savage Pericúes and protect the lives of the missionaries and their neophytes. Guillén pleaded in vain; for, "inasmuch as His Illustrious Excellency was much displeased with the Father Provincial of the Company of Jesus," says Alegre,[8] "neither the death of the soldiers, nor the peril of the other missionaries and missions, nor of the royal presidio, nor of an entire country in which the Jesuits had already discovered and conquered

[8] "Estando en la actualidad S. E. I. mal impresionado contra el padre provincial de la Compañia," tom. iii, 256, which means that the archbishop-viceroy refused aid because of his dispute with the Jesuit provincial! "Bien se conoce el Sr. Bizarron estaba amordazado con los Jesuitas por el pleito de diezmos," Alegre's editor explains, tom. iii, 257.

for God and the king more than two hundred leagues of land, were sufficient motives for him to take prompt action in favor of California." On December 8th, 1734, Bizarron merely sent a courteous reply to Father Guillén's petition, in which he said "that he recognized the unhappy condition of the missions and their importance to God and the king; that he would gladly concur with the Fathers in making the reports which they might consider expedient, and in urging His Majesty to employ all means that would accomplish a work of such importance; and that, if any royal decree were found which gave him authority, he would see that it were executed."

Such a decree had already been directed to Viceroy Juan de Acuña, Marques de Casafuerte, the predecessor of Bizarron. It commanded the establishment of a new presidio in the south; but, as Father Venegas sarcastically remarks, the royal order did not state what a viceroy should do, when for neglecting to erect a presidio and to comply with the royal decree, the Indians had revolted, destroyed the missions, and killed the missionaries and soldiers. Whatever may have been the good disposition of the viceroy, he failed to comprehend the necessity for adequate action. Meanwhile the Indians about Dolores itself were growing restless. At the first sign of trouble the captain hastened to the south and arrived at Dolores a short time before Father Taravál. Much as the officer desired to punish the murderers, it was deemed imprudent to expose his small force to the great multitude of elated rebels, especially since he could not depend upon the Christian Indians. The captain, therefore, merely endeavored to check the spread of the insurrection until the Mexican government should send reenforcements.

The news of the successful revolt in the south spread to the north as far as Mission San Ignacio, which was more than two hundred leagues from San José del Cabo, and strengthened the discontent of those that had always remained secretly attached to their former licentious customs. They hoped that the rebellion might become general, free the peninsula of all foreign domination, and leave them to gratify their passions without restraint. The missionaries, who noticed the unfavor-

able signs, asked for more guards; but as no soldiers could be sent, Father Visitor Guillén, in the beginning of 1735, commanded all the missionaries to retire to Loreto, in order to prevent a repetition of bloody scenes. He once more represented the lamentable condition of California and the extreme peril in which the missionaries lived to the viceroy, but with as little success as before.

Father Jayme Bravo of Loreto took more effective steps. He sent the ship to the Rio Yaqui with letters for the governor and the Jesuit missionaries, asking for sixty Indian warriors and some white men with fire-arms, for the defense of the priests and colonists of the peninsula. The Indian chiefs at once offered five hundred braves; but, as the bark could not carry all the volunteers, only sixty of the best fighters were selected and shipped to Loreto, where they found the kindest welcome. As peace had already been restored in the north, the Yaquis were sent to Dolores to assist Captain Lorenzo in chastising the Pericúes.

In the meantime the faithful Cochimís had become aware of the departure of the missionaries from the several missions, and, as the altar vessels and vestments had also disappeared, they quickly comprehended the reason. The more prominent Indians, especially, felt the loss of their teachers and resolved to bring them back. Taking all the crosses from the missions of San Ignacio, Guadalupe, and Santa Rosalía, they carried them on their shoulders to distant Loreto and entered that town in procession. With many tears they begged the missionaries not to abandon them after having taught them the Christian law and doctrine and made them Christians by baptism. They protested that they wanted to live and die as Christians; that there was no reason to condemn and forsake them on account of the ill-will of a few whom they were ready to deliver to the captain for punishment; that they would care for the Fathers and defend them; and that, if the priests would not return to the missions, they themselves would stay at Loreto, as they could not live without their spiritual guides. The missionaries were moved to tears at sight of the simple piety of their neophytes; but, fearing that the demonstration might be a trap

devised by native cunning, they detained the Indians at the presidio to try their good faith. After a while the Fathers accompanied the happy delegation back to their respective northern missions, where they were received with delight. The guilty Indians received but slight punishment; only four from San Ignacio were banished for a time.

When the Yaquis arrived at Dolores, Captain Lorenzo sent them by land to La Paz, whilst he took his soldiers to the same place by water. He reached the port in advance of the allies; and it was well that the soldiers were on their guard, for they were attacked the very first night, and continually annoyed until the Yaquis arrived, when the rebels fled. A number of Indians then presented themselves, and declared that they had remained faithful, and that the savages on that account had persecuted them. They told the captain of another outrage which had been committed by the conspirators upon the sailors of the galleon, and which resulted in important changes for the whole peninsula. When Captain Montero had returned to Manila, he directed the Philippine galleon to stop at Cape San Lucas on her way to Acapulco. The vessel reached the cape, and as usual many of the crew were suffering from scurvy. The captain intended to land the afflicted men and to take in fresh water; but when the customary signal was not noticed, he sent thirteen sailors ashore in a boat to procure assistance from the missionary of the neighboring mission. The seamen observed suspicious signs, but thought that they were due to an accident; and while a few stayed in the boat, the others went in search of the mission. They had not gone far when they were suddenly attacked, overwhelmed, and massacred by savages. Those that had remained on the shore met the same fate. After waiting a long time, the commander of the ship sent another boat with an armed force, who, suspecting the truth, were on the alert. As they approached the shore, the sailors saw a crowd of Indians breaking up the first boat to take away the iron. The Spaniards at once fell upon the savages, killed one or two, wounded a number of others, and captured four, whereupon the rest took to flight. When the sailors had returned to the ship, the captain ordered the voy-

age to be resumed. At Acapulco and the city of Mexico the news of the disaster aroused the deepest feeling. It opened the eyes of the viceroy to the necessity of a military port in the southern part of the California peninsula, when all other motives had failed to convince him.

Bizarron ordered Manuel Bernardo Huidróbo, the governor of Sinaloa, to proceed with sufficient troops to quell the insurrection, but independent of the Loreto presidial commander or the missionaries. Don Huidróbo accordingly, requested Father Guillén to send the bark to Sinaloa for the troops, and at the same time he directed that all military operations at La Paz should cease. Little progress had been made in pacifying the rebel tribes, because the conspirators could not be induced to fight a battle, and the forces of Captain Lorenzo were too small to compel them. When he received the orders from the governor of Sinaloa, Lorenzo withdrew to Dolores to await further developments.

The new commander-in-chief and his troops were received at Loreto by the missionaries with all honor and respect, but he soon made the Fathers understand that he meant to carry on the warfare without their counsel. The result was that he wasted two years after his own fashion without subduing the rebels, despite his stronger forces, and only caused discontent among the colonists. It now dawned upon Huidróbo that he might take counsel from the missionaries who had dealt with the savages before. At their suggestion he forced the rebels into an open engagement and defeated them; but the two years of aimless warfare had so nourished their pride that they obstinately refused every overture for peace. In a second battle, which the savages were compelled to accept, their resistance was at last broken. They now sued for pardon, but it was not granted until the ringleaders had been delivered into the hands of the governor. They were banished to Mexico, whilst the others were set at liberty. When the chief conspirators and the murderers of the two priests had been placed on board the ship, they tried to overpower the crew and take possession of the vessel. This action compelled the soldiers to use their guns and to kill most of the rebels. Among the survivors

were the two who had first laid their sacrilegious hands upon the martyred missionaries. One of them later suffered a violent death in Mexico before he could receive the sacraments; the other within the same year fell from a palm-tree upon some rocks, and died impenitent, like his companion in crime.

The Jesuit procurators for New Spain, Fathers Pedro Ignacio Altamirano and Bernardo Lozano, meanwhile appealed to King Philip V., since the viceroy had taken no steps to relieve the distress of the California missionaries. The king immediately directed the viceroy to establish a presidio in the southern part of the peninsula, under whose protection the destroyed missions should be restored, and to do everything necessary to insure the conquest of California. The viceroy accordingly ordered the governor to found the presidio at La Paz, but for the convenience of the Philippine vessels the military post was located farther south at Cape San Lucas. Despite former royal decrees, Bizarron insisted that the captain and the soldiers of the new garrison should not be subordinate to the missionaries, nor to the captain of the Loreto presidio, but to the viceroy only. The new military post was to comprise thirty soldiers, of whom ten were to be stationed at San José del Cabo, ten at the mission of Pilár near La Paz, and ten at Mission Santiago de los Coras. Gov. Huidróbo appointed Bernardo Rodríguez Lorenzo, the son of Captain Lorenzo of Loreto, commander of the new post; but, as the young officer showed more deference to the missionaries than was agreeable to the Sinaloa governor, he was relieved of his position, and Pedro Álvarez de Acebedo placed in charge. The Father Procurator in Mexico protested against the innovation as contrary to the royal decrees and the system under which mission work had been carried on in California; but the viceroy positively declined to revoke his orders.

Viceroy Bizarron added five soldiers to the force at Loreto, which now also consisted of thirty men; but here, too, he directed the captain, soldiers, and sailors to act independently of the Jesuit Fathers, even when they escorted the missionaries or the Father Rector himself. The Fathers submitted; but in the course of the year and eight months during which

the remarkable arrangement was in force, there occurred so many disorders among the soldiers and such ill-treatment of the Indians, such greed for pearls was displayed, such insolence was suffered from the pearl-fishers who came from Mexico, and such general confusion and mismanagement prevailed on land and sea, that the whole missionary undertaking was brought to the verge of ruin. The disputes and complaints became so numerous that the archbishop-viceroy found himself obliged to change his mind and to rescind his strange commands. He, moreover, recalled the captain of the San Lucas presidio, abolished the office, had a lieutenant appointed who was to be subordinate to the old captain of the Loreto presidio, and finally he made everything and every one again subject to the directions of the Father Visitor, or superior of the missions.[4]

During the reign of disorder, on November 10th, 1736, the saintly old Father Julian de Mayorga passed to his eternal reward at Mission San José de Comundú. He had founded this mission in 1707 and had governed in peace for more than twenty-nine years. His great virtues gained for him the respect and love of the soldiers as well as the affection of the Indians. His successor was Father Francisco Xavier Wagner, a native of Germany.[5]

When the Pericúes, Uchities, Guaicuras, and Coras had been subdued, and the new presidio in the south had been established, the Jesuits endeavored to collect the scattered neophytes in order to reopen the missions, which had been irrigated not only with the sweat of the missionaries, but also with the blood of two martyrs. By degrees the missions of Our Lady of Pilár at the Bahía de la Paz, San José at Cape San Lucas, and Santiago among the Coras, resumed the work of Christianization and civilization. The last-named place was entrusted to the Rev. Antonio Tempis, S. J., a religious of most solid virtue, who labored there until his precious death.[6]

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[4] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 477-496; Clavijero, lib. iii, 86-90; Alegre, tom. iii, 256-259; 269-270; 275-276.

[5] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 490-491; Clavijero, lib. iii, 89.

[6] Venegas, tom. ii, 497-498, who gives no particulars.

The governor of Sinaloa had meanwhile concluded his task; but before his departure he left another specimen of his short-sightedness in mission and Indian affairs. He commanded the guards of all the missions to retire to Loreto, and directed that eight or ten soldiers should be stationed only at the two frontier missions, San Ignacio in the north and Dolores in the south. This arrangement left all the other missionary establishments without military protection. Experience, however, had shown that the presence at the mission of even one guard acquainted with the character of the natives insured greater safety to the missionary than a number of soldiers at a distance. Later events at San José proved that the absence of every military protection at the mission itself was a source of the gravest danger to the missionary, though there was a garrison at the cape.

Father Wagner, following in the footsteps of his predecessor, Father Mayorga, devoted himself to the work of fortifying the neophytes in Christian doctrine and morals, but he found himself much hampered by the guamas or medicine-men. Some of these had deceived the missionary and received baptism, but secretly continued the barbarous and superstitious practices forbidden by the Christian Law. It happened time and again that, after Father Wagner had administered the last sacraments and given other spiritual and corporal assistance, a guama appeared on his own account, or invited by the relatives of the dying person, and applied his fumigations and other ridiculous, superstitious remedies, meanwhile urging the sufferer to abjure the Christian faith and all that the missionary had taught him. The Father exposed the impotence and the deception of these arch-enemies of Christianity, and warned the neophytes to shun them. In return the medicine-men hated him intensely, and often sought to take his life. For fear of the people, who loved their missionary, the imposters made no open attempts, but tried to do away with him secretly.

One night, while Father Wagner stood in the doorway of his little dwelling to breathe the fresh air, a guama availed himself of the darkness to shoot an arrow at him. The missile fortunately missed its aim and struck a stone in the wall within

four or five inches of the priest's head. A few neophytes heard the arrow strike the wall; suspecting the cause they gathered around the missionary, whilst a chief at once sent notice to Loreto. Lieutenant Bernardo with a number of soldiers and some Indians hastened to San José. After searching for some time the perpetrator of the murderous deed, an Indian named Juan Bautista, was identified by means of the arrow. Juan confessed his crime and was condemned to death. A few Indians, who appeared to be implicated in the crime, were flogged. The troops returned to Loreto, but three weeks later they were called to Comundú, where a number of natives had given trouble. Three of the leaders were banished, and the rest kept the peace ever after. Such incidents moved the captain of the Loreto presidio to place one soldier at each mission for the protection of the missionary, notwithstanding the contrary orders of the Sinaloa governor.

The lesson taught at Comundú was lost on the Indians elsewhere. Four tribes of the Pericú nation, which roved between San José del Cabo and Santiago, again rebelled and committed various depredations. They began at Mission San José by crushing the head of a sleeping vaquero (cowherd) with a large stone. The next attempt at murder was made upon an Indian shepherd, who guarded the flocks belonging to the new presidio. He fortunately escaped and notified the garrison. The soldiers were greatly frightened, especially when they discovered that all the Indians of both sexes had disappeared from the pueblo of San José. It was feared that the conspiracy might be general; but the missionary ascertained that the conspirators had deceived the inhabitants into the belief that the soldiers intended to slaughter all the Indians. The people believed the story and fled to the mountains. The missionary succeeded in undeceiving the fugitives, and induced them to return to the pueblo and mission. A similar commotion was experienced at the missions of Santa Rosa and Santiago. The commander of the southern presidio now asked for reenforcements from Loreto, especially for a strong body of well-armed Guaycuro Indians, who were hostile to the Pericúes, as he could not rely upon the Christian Pericúes, who would only

help their misguided tribesmen to escape. His request was granted. When the new force arrived the rebels fled to their inaccessible haunts in the mountains. Nevertheless a great many were killed or taken prisoners. Four of the eleven captured ringleaders were put to death, and the other seven banished from the peninsula. The rest of the conspirators surrendered and submitted to a flogging, in order to escape the death which they feared and merited. This terminated the disorders among the turbulent natives in the south. The fugitives returned to their respective missions and resumed the quiet life which, under the guidance of the fatherly missionary, brought peace and contentment.[7]

[7] Clavijero, lib. iii, 90-91; Alegre, tom. iii, 288-289. Neither Clavijero, who relates the occurrences at Santiago and San José del Cabo, nor Alegre, who mentions them briefly, gives any dates.

CHAPTER XIII.

Orders from the Council of the Indies and the King.—The Jesuit Provincial's Report and Recommendations.—Father Consag's Voyage.—The Missions and Missionaries in 1745.—The Southern Missions Depopulated.—Two Missions Abandoned.—Death of Fathers Bravo, Wagner and Tempis.—Departure of Father Sistiaga.—Death of Father Guillén.—Death of the Marqués de Villapuente, Captain Rodriguez Lorenzo and Captain Bernardo.

VICEROY BIZARRON sent his reports of the insurrections in California to the King of Spain on April 23d, 1735, and April 10th, 1737.[1] The provincial of the Jesuits likewise addressed the sovereign on the same subject, and implored him to send relief to the missionaries, as extraordinary expenditures were required to re-establish the destroyed missions. The monarch not only ordered a new presidio to be speedily erected, but on April 2d, 1742,[2] directed that all expenses incurred for suppressing the rebellion should be paid from the royal treasury. He, moreover, instructed the Council of the Indies to propose efficacious means for the pacification of the whole territory and the rapid progress of Christianity among the natives.

After mature deliberation the Council of the Indies made four recommendations, which King Philip V. accepted and embodied in a decree dated November 13th, 1744, and addressed to the Conde de Fuenclara, Viceroy of New Spain. The document covers sixteen pages in Venegas's *Noticia*. Besides expressing the king's appreciation of the labors of the Jesuits among the Indians, the decree briefly goes over the whole ground covered by former royal orders concerning California, which, like the payment of stipends to the missionaries, had not been obeyed, but henceforth should be promptly carried out. The decree then states that the Council had decided (1) that, in order to insure the tranquillity of the peninsula,

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[1] Venegas, "Noticia," tom. ii, pte. iii, 502.

[2] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 499. Bancroft gives the year 1743; Clavijero, 1741.

missionary work should continue in charge of the Jesuits, who had toiled successfully among those people as well as among many others in America [3]; (2) that colonies of Spaniards should be founded near all convenient ports and protected by military posts [4]; (3) that, in order to make quicker progress in the conversion of the Californians, Jesuit missionaries should enter the peninsula from the north, establish missions as they proceeded until they united with those of the southern portion; [5] (4) and finally that, to insure the more rapid spread of Christianity in California, as well as in Sonora, the number of the missionaries should be doubled, so that two priests might be stationed at each mission, one to take care of the neophytes and catechumens, the other to go in search of the pagans and induce them to embrace the Christian faith, for which purpose the soldiers, who should always be subject to the missionaries, should escort and protect them. [6] The viceroy,

[3] "Que se debe ser la basa fundamental y sólida la conversion de aquellos naturales á nuestra Fé, por medio de los propios misioneros Jesuitas, que tanto han adelantado con ellos, y con quantas naciones infieles han tomado á su cargo en toda la America."

[4] This project, says Clavijero, would have been very beneficial to the missions on two conditions: that the sterility of the land did not prevent such colonization, and that the colonists were selected from the decent and industrious portion of society, and not from the scum, as was customary. "Si las colonias se hubieran de componer de familias morigeradas, y no como suele hacerse de malhechores, bandidos ú holgozanes sacados de la hez del pueblo."

[5] This had been the aim of Fathers Salvatierra and Kino forty years before.

[6] "Ser muy importante el que en todas Reducciones de Indios se hallen los Doctrineros duplicados, lo es mucho mas, y aun absolutamente necesario, para hacer progreso en las Reducciones fronterizas á los Indios aun no reducidos: porque en estas, además de las utilidades generales de todas, se sigue la especial, de que pueda uno de los Misioneros hacer entradas en las tierras de los Infieles, para irlos atrayendo y ganando, sin que queden los ya poblados sin la Doctrina y regimen que necesitan, y les dará el otro Religioso, y aun tambien para que no queden sin quien pueda vigilar, á fin de que no maquinen alguna trayicion ó levantamiento, de que hay tanto riesgo quedandose ellos solos. . . . Conviniendo asimismo el que en las propias Reducciones fronterizas asista

on the other hand, was directed to have a complete report and description drawn up and sent to Spain, in order that the court might obtain a better view of the situation in the California missions.[7]

These regulations prove that the king and his council were animated by a sincere desire to benefit the missions and their Indians. Had the same spirit prevailed in Mexico the progress hoped for by the sovereign might easily have been realized. In compliance with the king's orders Rev. Christóbal de Escobár y Llamas, provincial of the Society of Jesus in Mexico, under date of November 30th, 1745, forwarded a report with observations of his own concerning the provisions contained in the royal decree of November 13th, 1744. The Informe, or report, deals principally with the Jesuit missions of Sonora and the present territory of Arizona, but also touches California. As to the latter, Father Escobár explains that colonizing the peninsula with Spaniards would be impracticable on account of the sterility of the soil, as the missionaries had learned during their fifty years' stay in the country. Even now they had to maintain themselves and their neophytes by means of contributions from Mexico and the meager proceeds of the estates of the Pious Fund. Nor was it feasible to begin missionary operations in the north

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Escolta de soldados, que guarde la persona de los Misioneros, y los lugares pegados de los Indios, y que acompañe á los que hicieren entradas á los fines mismos, estando siempre á la obediencia de los Religiosos, sin emprender accion, que ellos no les manden, etc."

[7] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 505-508; Clavijero, lib. iv, 91-93. In the paper entitled "Establecimiento y progresos de las misiones de la Antigua California, dispuestos por un religioso del Santo Evangelio de Mexico," which forms the fifth volume of the "Documentos para la historia de Mexico, cuarta serie," the receipt of the foregoing cedula is mentioned as follows: "On the 3d of November, 1744 (?), a royal decree arrived which was very honorable to California, and in terms which would have been very useful, if they could have been carried out without expense to the royal treasury, for which reasons its execution was suspended." Quoted in "Appendix II, Foreign Relations of the United States, 1902, in the matter of the Pious Fund of the Californias," page 354.

from Sonora by way of the Rio Colorado until the savages occupying the district between Sonora and this river had been subdued and converted. Moreover, as the Jesuits were already in charge of one hundred missions, and had not enough priests to supply these properly, it would be impossible to proceed farther north; in order to comply with the king's wishes, however, the provincial offered to cede twenty-two Indian missions in the diocese of Durango to the bishop so that the twenty-two Fathers might go to the heathen people in the north and west.[8] Finally, Father Escobár declared that the stipend of three hundred dollars for each missionary, especially in the beginning, was too small in the missions which were located as many as six hundred leagues from the capital, because more than half the amount was consumed for transporting the goods in which form the stipends were paid.[9]

The Father Provincial's report did not reach Madrid until July 9th, 1746,[10] when King Philip V. had already died; but his son and successor, King Fernando VI., after reading Father Escobár's statement, on December 4th, 1747, reissued the decree of his predecessor and sent it with a copy of the provincial's report to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, the new viceroy. "I have determined," the king writes, "to transmit to you a copy of the aforesaid report of the Father Provincial, and to direct and command you, as in fact I do, that having become acquainted perfectly with its contents, you inform yourself about the persons who appear to you most suitable to attain the desired result, and that you consider and deliberate fully upon all the points in the Representation of the aforesaid Father Provincial; and that after

[8] This was called secularizing Indian missions, that is to say, the substituting of secular priests for priests of religious Orders in those missions whose Indians had been considered sufficiently advanced. The temporalities were managed as before without interference from white men other than the respective pastors or curates.

[9] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 518; 536-542; Clavijero, lib. iv, 92-93; Alegre, tom. iii, 287.

[10] Alegre, tom. iii, 287.

considering the possibility or impossibility of the means and expedients proposed, *you yourself shall determine,* without awaiting further orders, upon the execution of those that may be considered most practicable for the accomplishment of the object set forth in the decree, above inserted, as far as possible and as far as it may not have very serious inconveniences and dangers, *bearing in mind the condition of my royal treasury in your provinces,*[11] so that no exorbitant or superfluous expenses may be incurred; and you will report as often as opportunity may offer upon the progress that is made in this important matter, in which at the same time the propagation of the holy faith, my royal service, and the security and defense of the tribes already conquered and converted are concerned . . . and, in the same manner, I direct you to use your authority with the new bishop of Durango[12] in order that he at once accept the transfer which the same Father Provincial made to your predecessor of twenty-two missions,[13] which are ready to be given in charge

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[11] With this proviso the king himself furnished a welcome excuse to the officials in Mexico to nullify any of his decrees that required money expenditures for the missions. Hence we need not wonder to see Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 465-466, acknowledging: "I find no evidence even that a stipend was paid to any Jesuit missionary, or that any additional expense was incurred by the government for garrison or maritime services." It is but just to remark with Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 431, that "it was easy for the pious king to issue orders for the payment of large sums of money for distant missions, but it was another matter to obey, with the treasury depleted by exactions of the Spanish court. His Majesty must have money, and California must go without. The viceroy and his councillors were often at their wits' end to raise funds for more urgent demands. The king's orders could not be disobeyed; there was nothing for it but to postpone their fulfilment on every possible excuse." See also Note 7.

[12] Rt. Rev. Pedro Anselmo Sanchez de Tagle, according to Alegre, tom. iii, 289. His predecessor, who refused the missions, was Rt. Rev. Martin de Elizacoechea.

[13] The transfer of the missions took place "dos años adelante," says Alegre, without giving the year. Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 587, has 1753.

of curates of the secular clergy, as far as is expedient; for such is my will." [14]

Nevertheless, the provincial, in order to comply with the royal recommendations in every particular, commanded the missionaries in Sonora and California to draw up a full statement of the conditions at their respective missions. He also directed Father Consag to make a voyage of exploration to the Colorado River in order to survey the eastern coast of the peninsula. The expedition was undertaken and carried out at the expense of the missionaries, each contributing according to his means. Consag, the companion of Father Sistiaga at Mission San Ignacio, sailed from the port of Loreto accompanied by Captain Bernardo Lorenzo, the son of the Loreto commander, as far as San Carlos, a shallow inlet northeast of Mission San Ignacio and near the twenty-eighth degree. From here Consag with a number of soldiers, sailors, and Yaqui Indians on June 9th, 1746, set out in four open boats. They kept close to the shore and frequently landed in order to make a thorough examination. In two or three places the natives showed themselves hostile under the impression that the navigators were detested pearl-fishers; but they were soon changed by the kindness of Consag and his men. He reached the mouth of the Rio Colorado on July 14th and remained in the neighborhood until the 25th. His men made some attempts to enter the river, but after one of the boats had been upset in the violent current, the occupants barely saving their lives, they abandoned further efforts in that direction. Moreover, the dreaded scurvy now afflicted the crew. As the object of the expedition had been attained, Father Consag ordered the boats to return to San Carlos Beach. On the voyage back to the starting-point the survey was repeated, and in this manner the Jesuit explorer was enabled to prepare very accurate charts and descriptions which were of inestimable benefit to navigators. Father Consag also kept a diary of this voyage which may be seen in the third volume of Venegas's *Noticia*. [15]

[14] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 517-520; Clavijero, lib. iv, 93.

[15] Pages 140-195; also briefly in "Apostolicos Afanes de la Com-

Meanwhile the Fathers in California prepared the report on the state of their respective missions, as prescribed by the Father Provincial. From this document we learn that in 1745 the following missions, mission stations, and Jesuit missionaries existed in Lower California:

I. *Nuestra Señora de Loreto* in latitude twenty-five and one-half degrees.[16] Here the governor resided at the presidio. Near Loreto was the port of San Dionisio, where ships entered and left in the service of the missions. The missionary in charge was the Rev. Gaspar de Truxillo.

II. *San Francisco Javier* in latitude twenty-five and one-half degrees.[17] Missionary, the Rev. Miguél de Barco. Mission Stations: 1. Santa Rosalia, seven leagues to the west; 2. San Miguél, eight leagues to the north; 3. San Agustin, ten leagues to the southeast; 4. Dolores, two leagues to the eastward; 5. San Pablo, eight leagues to the northwest.

III. *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Sur,* formerly *San Juan Bautista de Malibát, or Liguí,* in latitude twenty-four and one-half degrees. Missionary, the Rev. Clemente Guillén. Mission Stations: 1. La Concepcion; 2. La Encarnacion de El Verbo; 3. La Santisima Trinidad; 4. La Redempcion; 5. La Resurreccion.

IV. *San Luis Gonzaga* in twenty-five degrees.[18] Missionary, the Rev. Lamberto Hostell. Mission Stations: 1. San Juan Nepomuceno; 2. Santa Maria Magdalena, at the bay of the same name.

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pañia de Jesus," 384-388; Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 550-552; Clavijero, lib. iv, 93; Alegre, tom. iii, 286-287. See also Villa-Señor, "Teatro Americano," lib. v, cap. 39, 276-294.

[16] Rather in twenty-six degrees latitude and one hundred and eleven degrees and twenty-one minutes longitude west of Greenwich, according to Arthur North, who traveled through Lower California and reported his observations for the "Sunset Magazine," 1906-1907.

[17] Twenty-five degrees and fifty-two minutes latitude and one hundred and eleven degrees, thirty-three minutes longitude. (A. N.)

[18] Latitude 24 degrees, 50 minutes; longitude 112 degrees, 5 minutes, about seventeen leagues east of Magdalena Bay, and thirty-five leagues northwest of La Paz. (A. N.)

V. *San José de Comundú* in twenty-six degrees.[19] The visiting missionary, after the death of the Rev. Francisco Javier Wagner, was the Rev. Jacobo Druet, who resided at La Purisima Concepcion. Mission Stations: 1. a pueblo not named, one league to the west; 2. another pueblo, ten leagues to the east on the shore (playa); 3. a third pueblo not named, seven leagues to the north.

VI. *Santa Rosalía de Mulegé*, in twenty-six degrees and fifty minutes.[20] Missionary, the Rev. Pedro Maria Nascimben. Mission Stations: 1. Santisima Trinidad, six leagues south-southeast; 2. San Márcos, eight leagues to the north.

VII. *La Purisima Concepcion* in twenty-six degrees.[21] Missionary, the Rev. Jacobo Druet. Six mission stations were attached to this mission at distances of eight leagues; but the names are not given.

VIII. *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe* in twenty-seven degrees latitude. Missionary, the Rev. Joseph Gasteiger. Mission Stations: 1. La Concepcion de Nuestra Señora, six leagues to the south; 2. San Pedro y San Pablo, six leagues to the west; 3. San Miguél, six leagues to the southwest; 4. Santa Maria, five leagues to the north.

IX. *San Ignacio* in twenty-eight degrees.[22] Missionary, the Rev. Sebastian de Sistiaga. Mission Stations: 1. San Borja, eight leagues (the direction is omitted); 2. San Joachin, three leagues; 3. San Sabás, three leagues; 4. San Athanásio, five leagues; 5. Santa Mónica, seven leagues; 6. Santa Marta, eleven leagues; 7. Santa Lucía, ten leagues; 8. Santa Ninfa, five leagues.

X. *Nuestra Señora de los Dolores del Norte* in twenty-nine degrees. This mission lay thirty leagues north of San Ignacio. It was administered by Fathers Sistiaga and Consag; the latter had already five hundred baptized Indians in his district.

XI. *Santa Maria Magdalena.* This mission was begun in

[19] Lat. 26 deg., 5 min.; long. 111 deg., 51 min. (A. N.)
[20] Lat. 26 deg., 55 min.; long. 112 deg. (A. N.)
[21] Lat. 26 deg., 10 min.; long. 112 deg., 5 min. (A. N.)
[22] Lat. 27 deg., 30 min.; long. 113 deg., 30 min. (A. N.)

the north [33] by Father Fernando Consag; but no suitable site had as yet been found, when the report was made, though the Indians thus far converted were organized like those of San Ignacio.

XII. *Santiago del Sur* in twenty-three degrees. [34] Missionary, the Rev. Antonio Tempis. Mission Stations: 1. Surgidero (anchorage, port) de Santa Maria de la Luz; 2. Surgidero de San Borja.

XIII. *Nuestra Señora del Pilár de la Paz.* Concerning this mission no reports had reached Mexico by the year 1745, when Venegas closed his history on the missions of California. The same is to be said of the three following missions. [35]

XIV. *Santa Rosa de la Ensenada de Palmas.* [36]

XV. *San José del Cabo de San Lucas.* [37] Here the southern presidio was located a short distance from the cape and near the gulf.

XVI. *San Juan Bautista.* This mission was just begun at the pueblo of the same name in the north. The Indians were prepared; but as yet there were no funds assigned; nor was there a missionary appointed. [38]

While the missions of the north prospered, and Christianity spread in the interior, the southern establishments were almost depopulated by the epidemics which visited the turbulent Pericúes during the years of 1742, 1744, and 1748. Scarcely one-sixth of the natives escaped. It is not possible to describe the hardships of the missionaries at this period; they were occupied all day long and a great part of the night in administering to the corporal and spiritual needs of the suffering and dying. The Uchities suffered even more than the Pericúes. They took up arms against the Christian In-

[33] It was situated ten leagues east of Guadalupe. (A. N., in "Sunset Magazine," December, 1906, p. 148.)

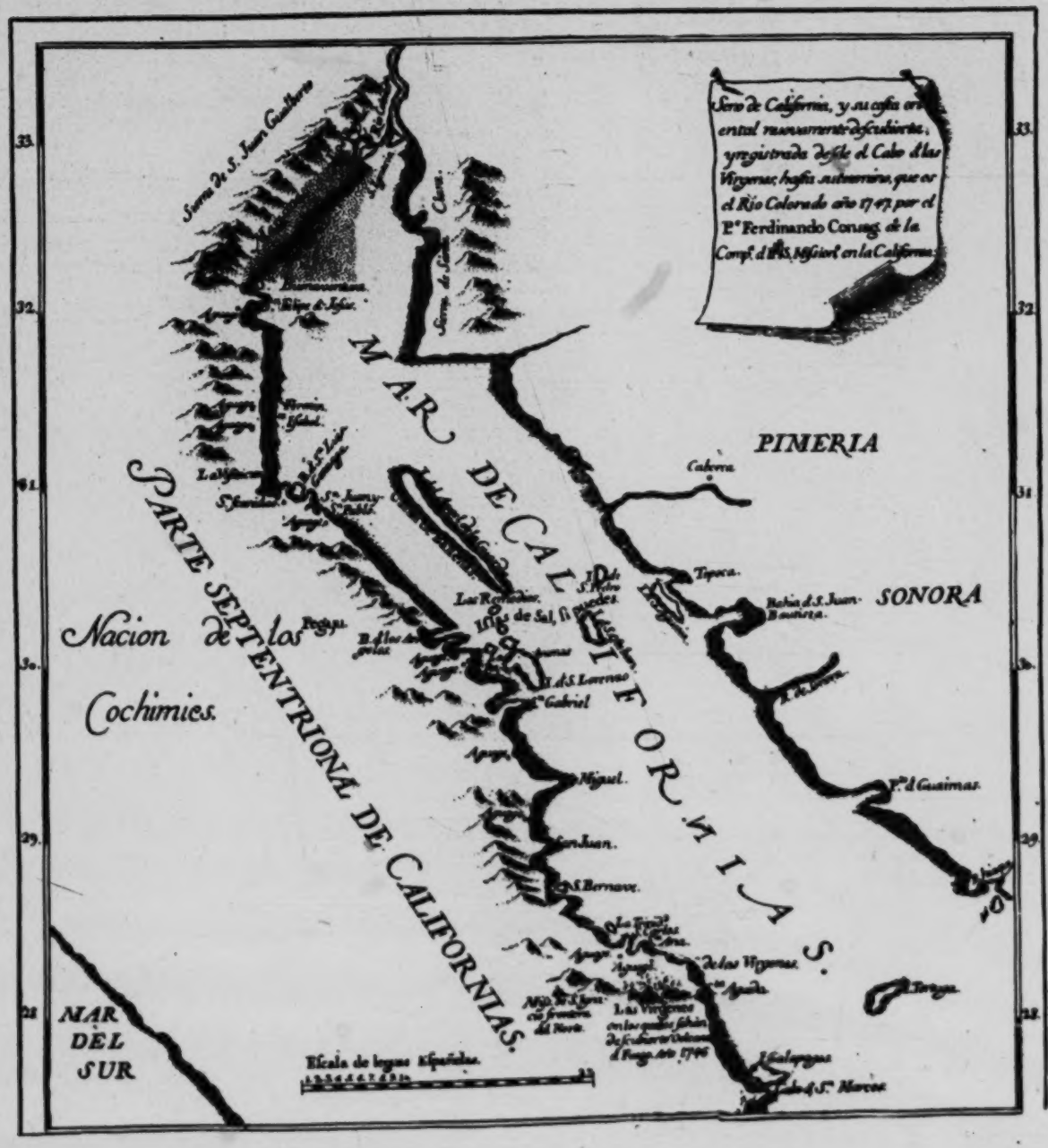
[34] Lat. 23 deg., 40 min.; long. 110 deg., 5 min. (A. N.)

[35] Mission del Pilár was situated southwest of the present La Paz, in lat. 24 deg., 10 min.; long. 110 deg. 20 min. (A. N.)

[36] It was southwest of La Paz near the Pacific Ocean, in lat. 23 deg., 24 min.; long. 110 deg., 13 min. (A. N.)

[37] Lat. 23 deg., 3 min.; long. 109 deg., 40 min. (A. N.)

[38] Venegas, "Noticia," tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xxii, 546-550.


Sierra de California, y su costa oriental nuevamente descubierta, y registrada desde el Cabo de las Virgenes hasta mas arriba, que es el Rio Colorado año 1747 por el P.e Ferdinando Consag.e de la Comp.a de Jhs. Miss.or en la California.
MAR DE CALIFORNIA S.
PARTE SEPTENTRIONAL DE CALIFORNIAS.
PIMERIA
SONORA
Nacion de los Cochimies.
MAR DEL SUR
Escala de leguas Españolas.
Caborca
Tepoca.
Bahia d.e S. Juan Bautista.
Pt.a d Guaimas
Mision
Cabo d S.t Horcas
33.
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dians, so that the lieutenant of the San José presidio found himself compelled to wage war upon the obstinate rebels. Very many of them were killed, and many others died in the subsequent epidemics. The population began to dwindle away so steadily, that in 1767 only one individual of this tribe survived. All agreed that these disasters had come upon the people in punishment for their crimes.[29]

In view of the fact that the Indians in the south had so considerably decreased, it became necessary to reduce the number of the missions. San José del Cabo was accordingly abandoned; its few Pericú survivors and those of Santa Rosa were transferred to Mission Santiago. Mission Nuestra Señora del Pilár de la Paz, where fresh water had become scarce, was closed; the missionary with the Guaycuro neophytes removed to Santa Rosa; but as the principal Indian settlement of this missionary district was Todos Santos, the newly-organized mission took the name Todos Santos, and was known as such ever after. Besides benefiting the natives, who thereby obtained better lands, the change enabled two of the missionaries to labor with more advantage in localities where the Indian population was greater, or where Christianity had not secured a strong foothold.[30]

Before the missions of Pilár and San José were suppressed, California suffered the loss of several men who deserved well of the country. The first was the Rev. Jayme Bravo, a native of Aragón, Spain, who in 1705 had been sent to the peninsula as a lay-brother, and had filled the office of procurator at Loreto. Later on he was ordained priest, and labored as missionary at La Paz, which he founded, and at Loreto. While stationed at Loreto he erected a large church and a substantial building for the procurator. He died at Mission San Francisco Javier on May 13th, 1744, as piously as he had lived, after reaching the age of sixty-one years. The body was brought to Loreto and buried in the church which

[29] Clavijero, lib. iv., sec. iii, 93-94; Alegre, tom. iii, 288.

[30] Clavijero, lib. iv., 94.

he had erected, in the center of the sanctuary, one and one-half varas[31] from the lowest step of the altar.[32]

Another Jesuit who passed to his reward in the same year was the Rev. Francisco Xavier Wagner, a native of Germany. He died at San José de Comundú on October 12th, 1744. No particulars about his life and death are given by Venegas, Clavijero, or Alegre.[33]

The next to pass away at his post was the Rev. Antonio Tempis. He was born of noble parents at Olmuetz, Moravia.[34] He made his studies at Prague, Bohemia, and distinguished himself both as a scholar and a teacher. In 1736 he came to Mexico and in the same year was sent to California, in order to reestablish Mission Santiago which had been destroyed by the savage Pericúes. His charity, extraordinary gentleness, and exemplary life soon won over the embittered Indians, so that in three or four years the mission was in better condition, materially and spiritually, than before the revolt. Knowing well that the most powerful means to improve a people is a good Christian education, Father Tempis took particular pains with the children, whom he instructed in the catechism and then exercised in manual labor agreeable to their age and strength. All classes experienced his fatherly solicitude, but none more so than the sick and the feeble. While the epidemics raged Tempis allowed himself no rest, though often so weak that he could scarcely walk. The natives regarded him as a saint, and would relate extraordinary things about their missionary which not a few deemed miraculous. On July 6th, 1745, after ten years of apostolic labor, he died a saintly death at the age of only forty-three years. In 1749 a sketch of his holy life was published in Mexico.[35]

Rev. Sebastian de Sistiaga,[36] one of the most painstaking

[31] The vara, or Spanish yard, has between thirty-three and thirty-four inches.

[32] Clavijero, lib. iv, 94; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 462.

[33] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, 547; Clavijero, lib. iv, 90.

[34] Clavijero has Bohemia.

[35] Clavijero, lib. iv, 94-95; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 462.

[36] Clavijero spells Sestiaga.

and famous of the California missionaries, was born in 1684 at Teposcolula in the Mixteca country of Oajaca, Mexico. He entered the Society of Jesus quite young, and soon gained the esteem of all by his virtue and great talents. In 1718, while professor of literature at the college of Mexico, he was selected for the California missions, which was the desire of his heart though unknown even to his superiors. During the twenty-nine years that Father Sistiaga passed in the missions of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé and of San Ignacio he succeeded in converting a considerable number of savages. Frequently, provided only with a little bag of corn and meat, he would go in search of the natives dwelling twelve or more leagues distant, and remain with them as long as necessary to preach, instruct, baptize, and hear confessions, meanwhile adopting their mode of life and exposed to all kinds of privations. He usually slept without undressing in order that he might rise so much the quicker. He rose two hours before daybreak, and then devoted himself to devotional exercises in preparation for holy Mass. His ardor for the salvation of the natives was so great that sometimes while out searching for more converts he would exclaim, "Come all! come to the faith of Christ Jesus! Oh! would that some one made Christians of you all and brought you to heaven!" Unfortunately his extreme delicacy of conscience developed into undue scrupulousness, possibly the result of overwork and want of sleep, which rendered him almost unfit for missionary duties during the last years of his stay in California. The superiors in 1747 found themselves obliged to transfer the good Father to Mexico much against his wishes. Clavijero met the venerable man at Puebla, and obtained from him much of the information embodied in the *Historia de la California*. He was also present at Sistiaga's death, which occurred at Puebla on June 22d, 1756.[37]

Rev. Clemente Guillén, the fifth Jesuit whom California lost between 1744 and 1748, was a native of Zacatécas, Mexico. He entered the Jesuit community when about nineteen years of age. While teaching philosophy at the college of Mexico,

[37] Clavijero, lib. iv, 95.

he was appointed for the California mission field, which he reached in 1714, after having suffered shipwreck in the gulf. He founded Mission Dolores among the ferocious Guaycuros, and converted the majority of that tribe during the twenty-five years of his administration. In 1746 he had become so feeble from labors, hardships, and infirmities that the superiors relieved him of the onerous mission, and sent him to rest at Loreto; but even here the zealous man endeavored to make himself useful. Clavijero relates an example of the old man's zeal. Once from a remote part of the peninsula an old Indian woman came whose language the missionaries found unintelligible. Good Father Guillén went to work to learn her language for the sole purpose of being able to instruct this one poor creature. It was while thus engaged that death overtook him at Loreto on April 8th, 1748, at the age of seventy-one years, fifty-two of which he had passed in the Society of Jesus and thirty-four in California.[38]

Besides these five Jesuits, three laymen merit special mention as benefactors of the missions and the country. The pious and wealthy Marqués de Villapuente, on account of his numerous contributions, doubtless stands at the head of the laymen who deserved well of California. Even at his death, which occurred at the royal college of Madrid in 1739, while on his way to Rome, he bequeathed the sums necessary for founding two Jesuit missions in the Pimerías, the territory comprising the northern part of Sonora and the southern part of Arizona to the Rio Gila.[39]

The loss of the veteran Captain Estévan Rodriguez Lorenzo is next to be noted. He was born at Algarve, Portugal. He came to Mexico and for some years acted as mayordomo, or steward, of a plantation belonging to the Jesuit college at Tepozatlán of which the venerable Father Salvatierra was the rector. In 1697 Lorenzo came to California with Salvatierra. The soldiers elected him as their captain and he filled the office, which also included the duties of governor of the peninsula, for nearly half a century to the satisfaction of

[38] Clavijero, lib. iv, 95; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 462.
[39] Venegas, tom. ii, pte. iii, sec. xxii, 525.

the missionaries, soldiers, and neophyte Indians. He was as brave and prudent as he was pious, and thoroughly devoted to the missionaries, who attributed to his assistance much of the progress of Christianity on the peninsula. When in 1744 Captain Lorenzo had become blind, the superior of the missions secured the office of governor for his worthy son Bernardo; but he could not obtain a pension for Captain Estévan from the king whom the octogenarian soldier had faithfully served during forty-seven years. It was well that the ex-captain did not need even that much appreciation of his services; the love of his son and the gratitude of the missionaries relieved him of all temporal anxieties, inasmuch as they provided for him until he passed away like a good Christian on the feast of All Saints, November 1st, 1746.[40]

Don Bernardo Rodriguez inherited all the Christian virtues and the military qualifications of his noble father, except robust health. Infirmities began to afflict him after the death of Governor Estévan Lorenzo to which he finally succumbed on December 10th, 1750. He was succeeded as captain of the troops and governor of California by Fernando Javier de Rivera y Moncada, who had already seen service on the peninsula, and who, as Clavijero affirms, proved himself worthy of the trust.[41]

Of the subsequent decade and more we must say with Bancroft:[42] "It is not possible to form a connected and complete narrative of mission annals from year to year for the remainder of the Jesuit period. Only a few events are preserved in the records; but they are naturally the most important, and from them and the details of the past the reader may picture to himself the monotony of peninsula happenings and progress in these years. Even the Jesuit chroniclers found nothing of interest in the dry record."

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[40] Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. iii, 95-96; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 462.

[41] Clavijero, lib. iv, 96; Bancroft, ut supra, p. 463.

[42] "History of Texas and the North Mexican States," vol. i, 468.

CHAPTER XIV.

Father Consag's Search for Mission Sites.—Founding of Mission Santa Gertrudis.—Agriculture.—Donations.—Consag's Death.—Ship-building.—Shipwrecks.—Death of Brother Mugazábal.—Founding of Mission San Francisco de Borja.—Indian War.—Incidents.—Father Link Tries to Reach the Colorado River.

THE Jesuits had long desired to establish more missions in the interior of the peninsula; but revolts, the instability of the southern tribes, successive epidemics, and above all the scarcity of priests prevented activity in that direction. Father Sebastian Sistiaga and Father Fernando Consag had, indeed, made several trips inland in order to find suitable mission sites and to dispose the savages towards the north for the reception of the Gospel, but nothing definite was accomplished. In 1747, however, when Father Sistiaga retired to Mexico, Consag devoted himself with such ardor to the conversion of the pagans, who dwelt far away from the mission centers, that by the year 1751 he had instructed and baptized four hundred and forty-eight Indians with whom he expected to organize a new mission. The only convenient place discovered lay twenty-seven leagues north of San Ignacio, and though there was not sufficient water to irrigate the land, the zealous missionary resolved to erect the mission in that locality. Fortunately the necessary funds were assured through the closing of Mission San José del Cabo. The Marqués de Villapuente, who had endowed San José, had also directed that, in case it had to be abandoned, the capital should be used for the founding of a mission in the territory of the Cochimís which should be known as Santa Gertrudis.

Early in 1751, when the Very Rev. Juan Antonio Baltasar, provincial of the Jesuits in Mexico, held the canonical visitation on the peninsula, he directed Father Consag to make another effort to find a better location for Mission Santa Gertrudis before deciding the matter. He accordingly set out from San Ignacio on May 22d, accompanied by Captain Fer-

nando Rivera, some soldiers, and one hundred neophytes, and followed by a well supplied train of pack-mules. The expedition made its way across the sierra and up the barren valleys of the Pacific Coast until it reached a point in the thirtieth degree of latitude. No suitable place with more water was discovered; nevertheless, the march proved beneficial in that it befriended the savages all along the road, and brought salvation to a number of children whom Father Consag found in a dying condition and baptized.[1]

Having returned to San Ignacio about July 8th, the missionary immediately made preparations to establish the long-desired mission on the spot selected before. He sent a number of neophytes to put up a church and necessary habitations. The superintendent of the work was Andrés Comanaji, a blind Indian, who also called himself Sistiaga, out of affection for his former teacher, the Rev. Sebastian de Sistiaga. This Indian had been a catechist at Santa Rosalía de Mulegé and at San Ignacio. His exemplary conduct, his extraordinary zeal for the conversion of his countrymen, his great talent to make the mysteries of religion comprehensible, his perseverance in teaching, his patience with the children and catechumens, made the name of Andrés Comanaji famous, and endeared him to the missionaries, soldiers, and Indians alike. He frequently received the sacraments, and passed all the time which he could spare from catechism and other duties, in the church, where he was seen to pray with remarkable devotion.

This was the man whom Father Consag selected to manage the construction of the buildings at the new mission. No one need wonder at the choice of a blind man for such a position. The structures to be erected, though an improvement over the brushwood huts with which missions usually began operations, were of the simplest and rudest make. Andrés was so clever at this kind of work by means of his touch, that the lack of sight was not noticeable in the result. The framework of the buildings was of timbers, the walls of mud and

[1] Clavijero, lib. iv, 96-97. "Apostolicos Afanes," lib. iii, 390-391. Consag's Diary of this exploring tour may be found in the "Apostolicos Afanes," lib. iii, capp. ix-xi, 391-429.

small stones, and the roof consisted of timbers across which were laid reeds and bulrushes or tules. Neither hammer nor nails were required. First, at the four corners forked tree-posts were driven into the ground at right angles. Timbers or poles were laid into the forks on the four sides and tied with thongs of leather. Across these poles timbers were placed at equal distances and fastened in the same manner. Reeds were next laid across these rafters and covered with tules or dried grass. The walls were then filled in with mud and stones or sticks, after which the structure was ready for occupation. As it hardly ever rained, these cabins afforded sufficient shelter for the missionaries and soldiers; the Indians preferred to sleep in the open air. Later on, when the natives had shaken off some of their natural indolence, and better material could be obtained, more substantial and more convenient churches replaced these rude structures.

When this preliminary work had been done, the Rev. Jorge Retz, a German Jesuit, who had spent a year at San Ignacio in learning the language, in the summer of 1752 was sent to formally open Mission Santa Gertrudis. According to custom, every missionary contributed from his mission and store whatever could be spared, such as goats, sheep, cattle, horses, mules, or a quantity of provisions. Retz began his labors in the midst of six hundred neophytes already instructed and baptized by Father Consag. Soon the pagans, hearing of the new doctrine and the kindness of the missionary, flocked to Santa Gertrudis from every quarter, sometimes in groups of thirty and more, demanding baptism, which was bestowed after the usual course of instruction, so that in a few years Father Retz, assisted by the blind catechist Andrés Comanaji, found himself at the head of fourteen hundred neophytes. When a catechumen had been baptized, he received from the missionary, in accordance with a long-established custom, a little cross, which he had always to wear as a sign of his faith and as a reminder of his redemption through Christ.

Nothing but agriculture was wanting to make the mission self-supporting and prosperous. Unfortunately, besides being rocky, the region was lacking in water, as we have already

stated. After searching for two months the missionary discovered a small spring about a mile from a piece of good land in the neighborhood of the mission. The water was conducted to this little field by means of a narrow aqueduct, which Retz had hewn out of the solid intervening rock lest any of the precious liquid be wasted. Near the little field another patch of land was formed by spreading good soil over the rocky surface; this, too, was carefully irrigated from the tiny stream. Father Retz also planted some fruit-trees and vines; the latter in due time produced good wine. Gradually the fields thus laboriously cultivated yielded all the wheat and corn needed by the people of the mission; but it was necessary to plant by rotation on the same piece of land and in the same year. The season for wheat extended from October, when it was sown, to May, when it was harvested. The soil was then immediately prepared for the planting of corn in June. The corn was ready for the reapers in September, when the field was again put in condition for the sowing of wheat in October. The manufacture and storing of grape-wine likewise called for the ingenuity of the missionary. Casks being unknown, and earthen jars used at other missions not obtainable, Father Retz had some huge rocks hollowed out after the manner of tombs. The wine was poured into these, the opening covered with large slabs, and cemented with pitch. In tanks of this kind the wine was kept in a very good condition.[2]

Bancroft[3] asserts that Father Jorge Retz was superior of the Jesuit missions from 1756 to 1762, and that he *confirmed* one thousand seven hundred and forty persons; but Clavijero[4] writes that Father Fernando Consag happened to be superior in 1758. It is strange that the Jesuit historians

[2] Clavijero, lib. iv, 97. Mission Santa Gertrudis is situated in latitude 28 degrees and 3 minutes, and longitude 113 degrees and 5 minutes, twenty-nine leagues from San Ignacio, and eleven leagues from the visita of San Pablo, according to Arthur North, in "Sunset Magazine."

[3] "History of Texas," vol. i, 469, referring to "Libros de Mision de Santa Gertrudis."

[4] Lib. iv, sec. v, 98.

nowhere make mention of any confirmations in the missions of California. If Father Retz confirmed, he would seem to have been the first ecclesiastic who bestowed that sacrament in California. Later Dominican and Franciscan superiors, though not bishops, enjoyed the privilege of giving confirmation for periods of ten years by virtue of special Papal Indults. It is more probable that Bancroft's agent, instead of *confirmed*, meant to report *baptised*.

The success of this establishment stimulated Consag to find favorable sites for more missions. His voyage to the Colorado in 1746 had not disclosed a single suitable place on the whole eastern coast. His tour of exploration inland west of the mountain range in 1751 had no better results. He, therefore, made another trip to the interior, but this time east of the sierra, in the spring of 1753. After penetrating as far as the thirty-first degree of latitude, he found that he had only succeeded in wearing out himself and his poor beasts.[5]

While the restless Consag was planning Mission Santa Gertrudis, the Duchess of Gandia, Maria de Borja, learned from a servant, who had been a soldier on the peninsula, about the apostolic labors of the missionaries and the sterility of the territory. After deliberating on the subject, she concluded that she could dispose of her wealth in no better way than by furnishing the means to found and maintain more missions in California. In her last will, which she made in 1747, the duchess accordingly directed, after providing a pension for each of her servants, that the remainder of her property should be used to endow missions in California; and that the capital, whose revenue furnished the pension for her servants, after their death should be added to the mission fund. In return she only requested that one of the new missions should be named in honor of her distinguished ancestor, San Francisco de Borja. The amount thus unexpectedly acquired by the mission fund down to the year 1767 exceeded $70,000, and as much more was to be expected after the death of the servants for whom the pious lady had provided so generously.[6]

[5] Clavijero, lib. iv, 98.

[6] Clavijero, lib. iv, 98; but Father Francisco Palou, O. F. M.,

Father Retz meanwhile learned from some neophytes that about three days' journey north of Santa Gertrudis, at a place called Adac, there was a spring with a copious flow of water which he thought might be utilized by a new mission. In 1758 he sent a few trustworthy persons to investigate. The spring was found at the edge of a hill not far from the port of Los Angeles, but the water was warm and had a disagreeable smell like sulphur. When it had cooled, however, the fetid odor disappeared and the water became quite palatable. It did not flow as plentifully as the Indians had reported, but it sufficed to irrigate the land in the neighborhood which was fit for cultivation. Father Fernando Consag, who happened to be the superior of the missions at the time,[7] wished to establish a mission at Adac, but was prevented by his death, which occurred on September 10th, 1759. He was born in Hungary in 1703 as the son of an army officer. He entered the Society of Jesus in Austria, came to Mexico in 1730, and was sent to California in 1732. During the first five years he assisted at various missions, and then for twenty-two years attended San Ignacio, whence he made frequent tours of exploration into the interior and one voyage to the Rio Colorado. It would be difficult to state the number of leagues even approximately which this indefatigable missionary, though always in ill health, traversed while in California. As superior he had to visit every mission; but, when his attendants and their beasts took needed rest, Father Consag would devote himself to prayer on his knees. On account of his exemplary virtues and apostolic labors, says Clavijero, the name of Consag deserves to be placed among those that have become illustrious in California.[8]

"Noticias de la Nueva California," tom. i, 192, says, "Año de 1747, la Exma Señora Doña María de Borja, duquesa de Gandia, dejó en su testamento por herederas las misiones de Californias, y solo consta han percibido $62,000."

[7] "Padre Consag casualmente era superior de la California cuando se descubrió este lugar (Adac)." Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. v, 98.

[8] Clavijero, lib. iv, 98. The name is also written Konsag and Konschak, according to Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 457.

For some time more seaworthy vessels were needed to ply between the peninsula and the mainland to bring supplies for the missions, as little could be raised in the country. The bark *Lauretana*, built by Father Bravo, after twenty-five years of service, had become almost useless; and the *San Jose*, purchased at the expense of the king, was not only too small, but needed frequent repairs. The Rev. Juan Armesto, who had formerly been stationed in California, but now acted at the capital as procurator for the missions, succeeded in moving the king to have a ship constructed for the Fathers. It was built at the port of Realejo, Nicaragua, for $19,000, not counting the expense of bringing it to Acapulco. From there it was taken to California at the cost of the missions; but before it reached its destination it was dashed to pieces by a storm on the rocks of Purúm, near Cape San Lucas. The crew escaped to Mission Santiago, and was maintained for two months by the Rev. Francisco de Escalante. When informed of the disaster, the king permitted another vessel to be constructed at the expense of the royal treasury. As it was to be built in California, the Rev. Lucas Ventura, procurator of the missions at Loreto, had a considerable quantity of lumber brought from Matanchél. Some of the material was prepared at Londó from mezquites and acacias. The constructor was Gaspar de Molina, a native of the Philippine Islands. He succeeded in building a large and strong vessel, which proved to be a fast sailer. The expenditures amounted to $18,000, of which the king paid $10,000. Encouraged by the success of this venture, Father Ventura had Molina construct another somewhat smaller ship, which proved as satisfactory as the first; the expenses were borne by the missions.

In 1759, when the Realejo ship was destroyed, Mission Dolores del Sur suffered the loss of a vessel which had been used in bringing supplies from Mexico directly to the mission. A quarrel had arisen among the crew, which the captain, a Sinaloa Indian, tried to allay. In reward for his good intention a sailor threw a stone at the head of the peacemaker and killed him. To conceal their crime, the sailors, composed of Guaycuro Indians, decided to report that a storm had wrecked

the vessel, and that the captain had drowned, because he was a poor swimmer. The governor, however, suspecting this to be untrue, investigated the matter closely and thus discovered what had happened. The murderer was then condemned to death, whilst the rest of the men escaped with but slight punishment. To avoid similar troubles, the Rev. Lambert Hostell, who was in charge of Mission Dolores, would have no ship; he had all supplies brought overland, though the road was bad and the distance considerable.

More grievous was the loss which California sustained in the death of Brother Juan Bautista Mugazábal, who passed away at the end of 1761. He was born in the province of Alava, Spain, and came to California as a soldier, where after a few years he was made ensign of the troops. In 1720 he pleaded for admission into the Society of Jesus, which grace he had merited by his irreproachable conduct as a soldier. He, therefore, enjoyed the distinction of having been the first novice on the northwestern coast. He learned the science of the saints under the guidance of the Rev. Juan de Ugarte, and became as perfect a religious as he had been a soldier. During the forty-one years that he spent in the missions as a lay-brother, Mugazábal had charge of the warehouse belonging to the mission and the presidio, acted as paymaster for the soldiers and sailors, purchased the supplies, and distributed the provisions. He, moreover, held the office of sacristan and occasionally taught the catechism, always conducting himself with humility, modesty, and piety. His love of prayer was remarkable, as is evidenced from the fact that the tiles upon which he usually knelt in devotion appeared worn away. Nevertheless, the constant application of his mind to things celestial, his manifold occupations, his disciplines, the wearing of hair-cloth next to his body, and the unhealthiness of the climate, did not prevent him from reaching the age of nearly eighty years,[9] of which he passed fifty-seven in California,

[9] "pasase de los ochenta años," Clavijero says, whilst Bancroft has "seventy-seven years."

and forty-one as a Jesuit. His body was buried in the church of Loreto near that of the Rev. Jayme Bravo.[10]

Meanwhile the project of opening Mission San Francisco de Borja was not forgotten. The Rev. José Rotea, who had come to California in 1759, had been destined for this post; but he was now called upon to fill the vacancy which had been caused at San Ignacio by the death of Father Consag. Father Retz, who had converted nearly all the natives in his vast territory, went to Adac to dispose the various tribes for the reception of the Christian doctrine. After opening a road from Santa Gertrudis to Adac, he erected the church, the habitations for the priest and the soldiers, the warehouse, and the hospital, and finally began to cultivate a little field for planting corn. When everything had been arranged, the new mission was entrusted to the Rev. Wenceslao Link, a native of Bohemia. Link had come to California in 1762, and, after staying at Santa Gertrudis for some months to acquire the language of the Cochimís, he went to take up his new position in the summer of the same year accompanied by a few guards. He began his missionary work with three hundred neophytes already instructed and baptized by Father Retz. Thereafter other Indians came in such numbers that the establishment, situated in an exceedingly sterile district, was unable to maintain them. Rabbits, hares, and similar wild animals abounded, but pitahayas, or prickly-pears, mezcal, and a kind of tasteless dates had to take the place of vegetables. Timber was scarce, and there was so little land for grazing that the sheep and goats would have perished had they not been led away. For want of subsistence the neophytes had to depend upon the charity of others; but the nearest mission, Santa Gertrudis, lay thirty leagues distant and scarcely had anything to spare. The next establishment, Guadalupe, eighty leagues away, sent a little dried meat. Loreto, more than one hundred leagues south, forwarded provisions, tools, agricultural implements, clothing for the priest and the soldiers, and everything necessary for divine worship. These

[10] Clavijero, lib. iv, 98-99; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 470-472.

goods were shipped by sea to the port of Los Angeles, on the gulf coast, and then transported to Adac eight leagues into the interior.[11]

Despite the difficulties, a small crop was harvested in the first year from the corn planted by Father Retz. By following the methods observed at Santa Gertrudis he obtained a much larger quantity, though not sufficient for the whole community. Father Link himself cultivated a small vegetable garden and planted various seeds procured from Mexico hoping to transplant the shoots; but all his work was made void through the indolence or simplicity of the neophytes. One day, as he was about to bring the Holy Viaticum to a dying soldier, the missionary directed the Indians to sweep the road and to strew green leaves upon the path in honor of the Blessed Sacrament after the custom observed in Mexico. While the priest was busy in church, the neophytes did as they were told; but, not finding green leaves close by, they went into the vegetable garden, tore up the plants, and scattered them over the road. On coming out with the Holy Eucharist, Father Link noticed with pain that his much cherished plants had been destroyed. There was nothing to be done but to walk on in silence.

Eighteen months after the founding of Mission San Borja no pasturage had as yet been discovered in the whole region. Link once more set out to remedy the sore need by searching the country more closely. He was fortunate enough to find on a hill eight leagues from Adac a level stretch of ground, which afforded sufficient feed for eight hundred head of cattle. As soon as the other missionaries heard of the happy discovery, they donated horses and cattle so that there was an abundance of meat ever after. When in December, 1763, the first cattle were driven to the newly-found pasture on the

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[11] Mission San Francisco de Borja was situated on a broad arroyo surrounded by forbidding mountains thirty leagues northwest of Santa Gertrudis, where the peninsula measured only twelve leagues in width, in latitude 28 degrees 52 minutes, and longitude 113 degrees 53 minutes. (Arthur North, "Sunset Magazine," December, 1906, page 152.)

hill, snow was seen to fall there, an observation which hitherto had not been made anywhere in California as far as explored.

The prosperity of Mission San Borja in temporal matters was surpassed by its progress in religious affairs. Father Link even found himself compelled to build a more spacious church in order to accommodate all the converts. Thirty neophyte families lived at the mission proper; this did not include the catechumens who were maintained during their more or less lengthy course of instruction. As all the converts for want of subsistence could not reside at the mission, the outlying rancherías presented themselves by turns for examination and further instruction. On Saturday the inhabitants of one or more rancherías would arrive and stay until the next Saturday, when another party of neophytes took their places for a week, to be in turn relieved by another company on the following Saturday.

One tribe of savages living about thirty leagues to the northwest of San Borja had not only obstinately continued their pagan ways, but even resolved to drive Christianity out of their territory, because it rebuked their licentious customs and sought to abolish them. They began to wage war against the few Christians and their friends, who then fled to San Borja. The appearance of the fugitives brought consternation to the neophytes of the mission. Father Retz of Santa Gertrudis, whom Father Link consulted, decided that the persecutors needed a lesson which would discourage all future hostilities against the Christians. He ordered a band of well-armed Indians from his own mission to join the soldiers and neophytes of San Borja, and to march against the enemies. The little army received instructions to kill no one, but to capture as many of the hostile warriors as possible and to bring them to Adac. From their spies the Christians learned where the enemy camped. They silently surrounded the place, and, falling upon the unsuspecting savages, they captured every one without firing a shot. The brushwood huts or cabins were destroyed, and the prisoners led in triumph to San Borja, where they were locked up in the soldiers' quarters. A trial was instituted at which the corporal,

who acted as judge, declared that the captives deserved death, but that he, being a Christian, would commute the sentence to a whipping. The punishment was to be executed upon a dozen of the more guilty ones; but scarcely had eight or ten blows been applied, when Father Link appeared and begged the judge to remit the remainder. The prisoners were made to understand that they owed the leniency to the missionary, and then locked up. Although Father Link visited the captives and provided them with food, they acted very disorderly, and one especially appeared beside himself with fury; this provoked another flogging. Father Link then spoke kindly to the embittered savages, and succeeded in pacifying them. After some time they were released, when they returned to their people with little desire to renew hostilities. Indeed, they reappeared at San Borja after a while with their families and friends and asked for baptism. They were baptized after they had attended the usual course of instruction, and had given proof of their sincerity.

A guama, or medicine-man, felt so aggrieved at the loss of his prestige and power with the people that he determined to frighten them back to paganism. One night he approached Mission San Borja, gathered a heap of combustibles and set them afire. While the flames were lighting up the neighborhood, the guama ran around the burning pile emitting the most unearthly yells. Some neophytes who happened to be near fled in terror to the house of the missionary. Father Link, whip in hand, at once hastened to the scene, but the guama quickly disappeared in the darkness. Reassured that no harm would befall them, the Indians lost all fear of guamas. This particular medicine-man himself reappeared at the mission, requested baptism, and after its reception proved a good Christian.

About June, 1764, the Rev. Victoriano Arnés came to assist Father Link at San Borja. He had just arrived from Mexico in company of the Rev. Francisco Javier Franco, who was to aid the infirm Father Carlos Neumayer at Todos Santos. Father Link, at liberty to leave his mission for some time, seized the opportunity to find sites for new missions. Indians

had brought the information that fires had been observed in the direction of Angel de la Guarda Island, eight leagues from the coast. Supposing the island to be inhabited, Link embarked in 1765 at the port of Los Angeles with a few soldiers and some Christian Indians. After exploring the island and finding neither water nor inhabitants, he returned to his mission.

Link was now ordered by his superiors to try to reach the Colorado River by land in order to find places suitable for new missions. The lieutenant of the presidio at Loreto insisted on going along with fifteen soldiers to protect the missionary against hostile Indians. To make the expedition a success all the missions contributed provisions and cattle according to their means. Father Link in February, 1766, set out with his military guard and a large number of Christian Indians. Going up the valleys between the mountain range and the Pacific Ocean, Link and his men for several days made their way through a desert country equally devoid of water and vegetation, where men and beasts suffered exceedingly. The following days brought the explorers through a more agreeable region, where water and grass was plentiful. One place which abounded in verdure was called San Juan de Diós, probably on account of the saint of the day, March 8th. A still better location for a mission was discovered four leagues beyond, on a mountain stream from which the land on both sides could be irrigated. Several species of timber grew near by which might furnish the lumber necessary for the buildings. This locality was called Guiricatá by the Indians, and was thought to be in latitude thirty-two degrees, about forty leagues from Adac, or Mission San Francisco de Borja. Farther north the country, which appeared to be fertile, was inhabited by savages who manifested some hostility. They were soon pacified, and Father Link believed that they could be easily converted. The march was continued until Link and his men concluded that they must have reached the latitude of the Colorado River. They then turned to the right and attempted to cross the sierra eastward, but when they failed to find a pass through the mountain range, and the

water was becoming scarce, they decided to postpone further efforts to the following year. Father Link kept a diary, which is of special interest for the fact that it records the first exploration of the northern part of the peninsula. It was forwarded to the King of Spain, who must have received it just as he was about to sign the iniquitous decree which expelled his most loyal subjects from California.[12]

[12] Clavijero, lib. iv, 99-102; 106-107.

CHAPTER XV.

Founding of a Mission at Calagnujuet.—Its Removal.—Founding of Mission Santa Maria.—Death of Father Neumayer.—The Colonists in the South.—The Jesuits Call for a Secular Priest.—Animosity of the Miners.—They Excite the Indians against the Jesuits.—Foolish Demands.—Other Causes of Dissatisfaction.—Indians Cross the Gulf to Complain.—How They Fared.

WHEN Father Wenceslao Link made his report and showed that Guiricatá was available for a mission, the Jesuits, who had long desired to reach the Indians of that region, resolved to found a mission midway between San Francisco de Borja and Guiricatá, and to settle at the latter place in the course of time. Accompanied by ten soldiers and fifty armed neophytes under their chief, the brave Juan Nepomuceno, Fathers Victoriano Arnés and Juan José Diez, who had learned the language, arrived at Calagnujuet in October, 1766. The spot selected was situated at the foot of the lofty Mount Juzai in latitude thirty degrees and forty minutes,[1] three or four leagues from the gulf. The district was barren and the water bad, but it was the only place that answered the purpose at all.

After the necessary structures had been erected, the missionaries went to work gathering and instructing the savages; but the supplies were so scant that the utmost economy had to be practised to maintain the priests, soldiers, and catechumens. The Fathers endeavored to raise at least some of the necessary provisions; wheat was accordingly sown and soon sprang up; but when it was irrigated the plants were killed by the salts contained in the water. Pastures were entirely wanting

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[1] Arthur North in "Sunset," December, 1906, p. 153, locates it on the edge of an arroyo in latitude 29 degrees, 22 minutes, and longitude 114 degrees, 22 minutes, four leagues from Bay San Luis and twenty-six leagues northwest of San Francisco de Borja. He spells it Calamyet.

for the few horses used by the missionaries and soldiers and for a few sheep which Link had donated. The savages came in considerable numbers to be instructed and baptized. The scarcity of food did not permit so long a time of probation as was observed at other missions; but the Fathers were careful to admit none that was not sufficiently instructed. As soon as a group of Indians had received baptism, they returned to their rancherías to make room for others. In this manner as many as two hundred children and adults were baptized within a few months. Good Father Diez broke down under the strain, and had to be removed to Adac and then to Guadalupe; after his recovery he was sent to Purisima Concepcion.

Besides being deprived of a companion, Father Arnés was now annoyed by some hostile savages who occupied a region called Cagnajuet, twenty leagues from the mission. When the men of this tribe noticed that many of the girls had become Christians and had abandoned their former loose conduct, they grew furious and resolved to stamp out a religion which interfered with their brutish pleasures, by killing the priest and his guards. Not believing themselves strong enough, they tried to enlist two other tribes, notably the numerous Guiricatas, in their bloody plot. The latter, however, declared that they would not raise a hand against people who were kind and did harm to no one. Thereupon the hostile savages dropped their plan, but began to persecute all of their own tribe that had become Christians. Before Arnés had even heard of the persecution and could devise means to stop it, the faithful old chief, now gobernadór of the neophyte village, unknown to the missionary took steps to put an end to the outrages of the Cagnajuets. He ordered six of his bravest warriors to the territory of the enemies. When Arnés heard of this action of Nepomuceno he was amazed at the bold scheme, and anxious about the fate of the six Indians in a multitude of enraged savages. His amazement and anxiety were turned into admiration when he heard the result. The six warriors had made the attack at night with such impetuosity that the savages were thrown into complete disorder and

fled in every direction; six families were captured and brought to Calagnujuet. Father Arnés persuaded the corporal, who acted as judge, to punish only the most guilty ones slightly, and to pardon the rest. Accordingly only eight blows were given to the first and then all were set at liberty, after receiving some advice from the missionary. The poor captives manifested such gratitude to the priest that they decided to remain and to have themselves instructed.

Father Arnés, convinced of the impossibility of subsisting at a place so sterile as Calagnujuet, began to look for a more favorable locality. This was discovered in May, 1767, near the arroyo of Cabujacaamang in latitude thirty-one degrees,[1] about sixteen leagues northwest of Calagnujuet, and thirty-five leagues to the north-northwest of Adac. Though the soil was as barren and the surroundings were as timberless as at the former place, the water at least was wholesome. Some palm-trees furnished the lumber for the buildings, and for the want of vegetables compensation was found in the abundance of fish in the gulf which was only four leagues distant. The new mission was placed under the protection of the Mother of God and named Santa Maria de los Angeles. It was endowed by the Duchess of Gandia, that is to say, the five hundred dollars interest from the capital which she bequeathed was applied to this mission in the form of goods or supplies. To omit nothing that might contribute to the success of the undertaking, Arnés planted a little field with wheat and cotton which in January, 1768, when the Jesuits had to leave the missions, promised good crops. Although Arnés was annoyed by the discontent of some of the soldiers who were tired of that dreary district, he devoted himself so earnestly and successfully to the conversion of the pagans that during his stay of a few months the mission never lacked catechumens. The church and the dwellings of the missionary and of the soldiers, however, were miserable structures of wood covered with palm-leaves. Mission Santa Maria was the last which the

[1] Latitude 29 degrees, 42 minutes; longitude 114 degrees, 35 minutes. (A. N.)

Jesuit Fathers planted in California; for, even while the Father was organizing it, the royal order went forth which put an end to the apostolic labors of the missionaries.

The last Jesuit who died on the peninsula was the Rev. Carlos Neumayer, a German by birth, who crowned a saintly life by a saintly death at Todos Santos on August 30th, 1764. He had labored in the missions about Topia, Durango, for several years, and in 1745 was transferred to California, where he endeared himself to every one by his zeal and unselfishness. Father Francisco Javier Franco succeeded him as missionary of Todos Santos.[3]

Epidemics and wars had proved great calamities for the Indians, particularly in the territory of the Pericúes; but these calamities at most destroyed life and property. A new misfortune threatened the very existence of the missions when silver mines were opened in the south after 1748. Don Manuel de Ocio, who had been a soldier at the presidio of Loreto, obtained permission from the military authorities to fish for pearls and grew wealthy. When the business became less profitable, he opened a silver mine at a place called Santa Ana, twelve leagues from Mission Santiago. The miners were procured from the mainland, and with them entered the wedge of permanent discord among the southern natives.

Ocio had not provided for the spiritual needs of his laborers, so that the missionary of Santiago for the sake of charity acted as their pastor, frequently going to the mines to celebrate holy Mass and administer the sacraments. When in 1756 the mine of San Antonio was opened at a still greater distance from the mission, the missionary had also to attend the miners at that place. Though he was already heavily burdened with the care of the Indians, he willingly agreed to visit both places for the benefit of immortal souls. He not only received no compensation, but had to provide meals for himself and his attendants and to pay his expenses both ways. Frequently he was called upon to meet the temporal wants of poor miners out of his meager allowance, or from the mis-

[3] Clavijero, lib. iv, secs. xiv-xv, 107-109; lib. iv, sec. ix, 102.

sion supplies, a condition of things which the wealthy Ocio should not have tolerated. Fearing that the numerous and unscrupulous enemies of the Jesuits in Mexico, who through the action of the missionaries were prevented from enriching themselves at the expense of the natives, might calumniate the Fathers for visiting the workmen at the silver mines, the superior of the missions at length insisted that Ocio should obtain a secular priest for his two mining settlements. A priest, whose name is not given, was procured from the bishop of Guadalajara, but after two or three years he left his charge in disgust, so that the disagreeable duty again devolved upon the missionary of Santiago.

Serious difficulties, however, arose when the miners ran short of supplies; in this case they applied to the missions of Santiago and of Todos Santos. The missionaries naturally did not wish to sell the provisions which they needed for their neophytes; but the poor men, neglected by their employer, represented their necessities in such a light that it would have been cruel to refuse them what they needed. Some, who were unable to pay anything, received the supplies free of charge; the others were expected to pay a just price, because the missionaries did not feel themselves justified to give away the property which they declared belonged to the neophytes. The Jesuits considered themselves administrators of the mission property, who could not dispose of it at will, though it was greatly the result of their own exertions and economy. The proceeds from the sales were employed in purchasing articles for divine worship or clothing for the Indians. In spite of their precaution to avoid giving occasion for criticism, the missionaries could not escape the darts of calumny. When, for instance, corn and other products were sold to the miners, who wanted them, the enemies in Mexico declared that the Society of Jesus had become a great commercial company, and was using the missionaries as agents. This accusation was actually made, when the missionary of Santiago, in compliance with the order of the king and the rules of Christian charity, furnished fresh provisions to the Philippine ship which annually entered the harbor of San Bernabé. If, on

the other hand, the goods were given free of charge to the suffering miners, the Jesuits were quickly accused of being improvident fools, who impoverished the missions and robbed the neophytes of the necessaries by giving them to worthless outsiders, or of performing the act of charity from some sinister or political motive. If the supplies had been refused to the miners, the Jesuits would have been blamed for decreasing the income of the royal treasury, inasmuch as they showed themselves hostile to the mines which paid taxes to the king.

These were not the worst evils which the missions and missionaries suffered from the proximity of the silver mines. The miners themselves were taken from the scum of human society. Generally immoral, they soon began to spread discontent and disorder among the fickle-minded Pericúes. In their hostility to the missionaries these men instilled into the minds of the childish natives new ideas which aimed at nothing less than the ruin of the missions. The Pericúes, for instance, were told that the Indians in Mexico paid taxes to the king and maintained their own parish priests, but in return they enjoyed absolute freedom so that they could go whithersoever they liked; that the parish priest allowed them to do as they pleased, provided that they did their duty to the parish church; and that each Indian had his own land, which he cultivated as he liked, and whose products he sold wherever he could get the most for them.

Such malicious tales led the foolish and restless Pericúes to make the most extravagant demands. A number of misguided natives approached the missionaries and asked that the mission lands, which formerly had never been cultivated, but were now tilled through the industry, labor, and expense of the missionaries, should be divided among the Indians; that each one should be master of his field and should be at liberty to sell the produce to whomsoever he pleased; that the missionaries should, nevertheless, continue to feed and clothe the women, children, the aged, and the sick; and that furthermore they should furnish pack-mules to all so that the Indians could sell their produce anywhere. "The absurdity of such demands is obvious enough," even Bancroft concedes. "It was only by

the most unremitting labors that these lazy natives had been induced to work for a living. Without the urging and example and authority of the padres they would soon have returned to their original savagism; but the miners would in the meantime have cheated them out of their lands and cattle, which was exactly what they desired."[4] Not content with this much, the unreasoning Indians demanded the liberty of going not only from mission to mission all over the peninsula, but also across the gulf to Sinaloa, Culiacán, and Nueva Galicia; and that for this purpose the Fathers should place at their disposal the boat belonging to Mission Santiago, which had been purchased for eight hundred dollars from the mission fund collected and deposited in Mexico!

One of the demands, the division of the land in severalty, would have been just and beneficial to the missionaries as well as to the Indians, if the latter had been industrious, provident, and economical. As it was, these poor natives, only recently rescued from a life of abject savagery, accustomed to subsist upon the spontaneous fruits of the soil, who above anything disliked agricultural labor, and who never provided for the future, would squander in a week the fruit of many months' toil. They never would shake off their natural indolence, and could effect nothing unless kindly constrained and encouraged to work; much less could they enjoy the products of the land all the year round unless these were carefully guarded and economically distributed.

Their request for liberty to wander about wherever they pleased would seem only just and due to the natural rights of man; but here they demanded more than they could boast of in their former savage state. Though but wandering vagabonds then, without houses or towns, the natives were restricted to the limits of tribal possessions or territory, so that not even these same turbulent Pericúes could enter the land of the Guaycuros; nor could the latter pass on to the region occupied by the Cochimís; and, what is more remarkable, the members of one tribe were not permitted to enter the do-

[4] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 474.

main claimed by another tribe of the same nation. After they had become Christians the natives were at liberty to go through the whole territory of the respective mission, and into the neighboring settlements. Only when they wished to travel to some distant mission, it was necessary, for the sake of good order, to obtain a permit from the missionary. Such a permit was readily granted when the reason was deemed sufficient, and nothing serious was to be feared. The guest was kindly received and treated as though he belonged to the same mission family. This was in keeping with the truly paternal character of the system which governed Catholic Indian missions.[5]

Another source of dissatisfaction was the scarcity of women among the Pericúes. It appears strange that while the women outnumbered the men in the savage state, when polygamy was common, they decreased with the advent of the white people, so that in the fifth and sixth decade of the century the females formed only one-tenth of the Indian population. The principal reason lay in the fact that the frequent epidemics, most of which were due to diseases introduced by white men, caused greater mortality among the weaker sex. In the northern missions also, where epidemics had raged less frequently, the men slightly outnumbered the women, but experienced little difficulty in finding a partner. Young men from Loreto often crossed the gulf with the permission and recommendation of the missionary to obtain wives among the

[5] Theodore Hittell calls the system a tyranny, the missionary a despot, and the neophytes slaves! It would be difficult to crowd more unhistorical and unjust statements into a like space than Hittell, on pages 207 and 288-289, vol. i, of his "History of California"; but then it would be remarkable if he observed the rules of simple justice in criticising any Catholic work, especially the work of Catholic religious. The government of the United States has adopted the regulations of the old missionaries. Tribal Indians are not permitted to leave the reservation without the permission of the agent. Is the government on that account despotic? I have reason to believe that the old man regrets writing as he did; he was personally helpful to me; but we have to deal with his statements as we find them.

Christian Yaquis, who willingly gave their daughters to the well-behaved youths of the missions; but neither the Yaquis nor the other Mexican tribes would readily allow their girls to marry the seditious Pericúes, who were universally despised for their unruly spirit. The California missionaries tried in vain to remedy this state of things in order to satisfy the importunities of their wild flock. One of the Fathers, after writing to the missionaries of Sinaloa without result, appealed to the governor of Sinaloa, and urged him to send all the Indian maidens captured in the war with the Seris to the lonesome Pericú bachelors of his mission. The governor good-naturedly agreed to the singular petition, which created much hilarity; but he never succeeded in making the desired capture.

When the Pericúes saw their foolish claims disregarded, they secretly held a council, doubtless at the instigation of the miners, and resolved to request the government of Guadalajara and Mexico to substitute a secular priest for the missionary at Santiago, promising to maintain him and to pay taxes to the king. Nothing more ridiculous could be imagined, inasmuch as the Indians who made this demand were incapable of maintaining themselves or their families. To carry out their project they broke into the store-room during the night, took out the sails, anchors, oars, and other necessary articles, and brought them to the ship. After taking in fresh water twenty Indians boarded the vessel and sailed for the opposite shore. When they landed at the Mission of Ahomé, Sinaloa, Rev. Antonio Ventura, the missionary, learning their purpose, rebuked the audacious fugitives for stealing a ship and then kept them at the mission for six months. Three of them, however, escaped to the presidio of Montesclaro, where they presented their demands to the officer in charge, who, at the advice of Father Ventura, took no steps in their behalf. Meanwhile the procurator of Loreto had sent a ship to Ahomé which brought the Pericúes back to California. The captain of the Loretan presidio, who was also governor of California, had resolved to chastise the rebel thieves, but at the intercession of the missionaries he allowed them to go unpunished; this

act of leniency, as we shall see, made the Pericúes even more insolent.

On returning to the south they presented their pretensions to the Very Rev. Ignacio Lisaxoain, at that time visitor-general of the Jesuits in California. He replied that the demands could not be granted, because the king and the viceroy had given orders not to make any changes in the government of the peninsula. The obstinate Indians seized the ship once more and sailed for Sinaloa, where they abandoned the vessel, which in consequence was destroyed. Some of them made their way to Durango and never reappeared; others went to Tepic, and three at last reached Guadalajara. One of the judges of the Audiencia, an enemy of the Jesuits, gladly gave ear to the ridiculous complaints of the runaways, and hastily forwarded them to the court of Madrid, where such charges at that time were most welcome to the unscrupulous politicians, who had managed to ingratiate themselves with the unfortunate king. The Pericúes were then dismissed, when they returned to rejoin their companions at Tepic. The latter had meanwhile separated, having learned that it was necessary to work in order to live, and that they would have fared much better had they remained under the fatherly care of the missionary. Don José Manuel de Escobár, the parish priest of Guainamota, near Matanchél, at length took pity upon the poor dupes and returned them to Loreto, where, after an absence of two years, they arrived in a very penitent mood. One of the fugitives had been devoured by some wild animal near Guainamota, and this occurrence depressed them still more. Even now, at the request of the Jesuit Fathers, the military authorities allowed the guilty runaways to go unpunished.[6]

[6] Clavijero, "Historia," lib. iv, secs. x-xi, 102-105.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Surrender of the Missions.—Jesuits Decline Grand Legacy.—Expulsion of the Jesuits from Mexico.—Cruel Treatment.—The Jesuits Expelled from California.—Jesuits not Guilty of Crime.—Their Enemies.—Reasons for the Decree.—Vindication.—List of Jesuits.

IN the meantime the Jesuits were made the victims of the most merciless calumny, especially in France, Portugal, Spain, and Mexico. They were accused of avarice, of utilizing the missions to enrich themselves, and of aiming at independent control of certain countries. To appease their enemies in Mexico, the Very Rev. Francisco Cevallos, provincial of the Society of Jesus in New Spain, in 1766, after mature deliberation, offered to surrender the one hundred and more Indian missions in their charge, and particularly those in California, in order that his religious might devote themselves to the conversion of savage tribes elsewhere, or go whithersoever they could serve the king. As the proposition was of the highest importance, Viceroy De Croix laid the matter before his council. This decided that the opinion of the bishops and governors, in whose territory the missions were situated, must first be obtained. As the bishops and the majority of the governors opposed the acceptance of the surrender, De Croix referred the whole question to the royal court at Madrid. The Jesuits of California, through their procurator at the capital, entreated the viceroy to relieve them of at least the two southern missions in the vicinity of the silver mines, in case he would not accept the surrender of all the missions. The request was not granted, or rather no action was taken, possibly in view of the dark plans then maturing in Spain.

In the following year, 1767, the Jesuits refused a legacy said to have amounted to $600,000. It had been assigned by Doña Josepha de Arguelles y Miranda, a devout Mexican lady, to the California missions and the Jesuit college at Guadalajara. Such an amount of money could have aided considerably in the spread of Christianity and the improvement of

the missions in California; but, fearful lest they should arouse the anger of their enemies, the Jesuits formally declined to accept the legacy. The adversaries of the religious were at first amazed, and not a few expressed their admiration; but ere long they attributed the action of missionaries to astute politics.[1]

This was the situation in California and Mexico, when, to the surprise of the Jesuits and the amazement of the world, King Carlos III. of Spain issued a decree expelling all the members of the Society of Jesus from his dominions, and had the brutal order carried out in a manner which would have disgraced any pagan tyrant of old. In order that the blow might descend upon the Jesuits everywhere on the same day, the maps of both Americas were spread before the enraged sovereign and his malicious councilors; distances were computed and nothing was overlooked that could interfere with the execution of the inhuman scheme. Several regiments of Spanish veterans were hurried to Mexico to quell a possible uprising; but the secrecy and the haste with which the royal will was effected, took the people as well as the victims by surprise, so that the multitude, even if it had possessed the courage, scarcely thought of interfering.

Regardless of all human rights, King Carlos, in his unreasoning fury, had the decree executed in the following manner: "Early in the evening of the 24th of June, 1767, the viceroy, Marqués de la Croix, received in the palace the Audiencia, the archbishop of Mexico, and the rest of the high officials, whom he had summoned to a meeting for the consideration of an important and confidential affair of State. Croix then produced a sealed package which he had received from the supreme government. Upon the removal of the outer envelope there was found another, upon which were written the following words: 'So pena de la vida, no abrireis este pliego hasta el 24 de Junio á la caida de la tarde.'[2] This cover being

[1] Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. xii, 105-106.

[2] "Under penalty of death, you will not open this wrapper till the 24th of June at nightfall." The same day is universally cele-

removed there were found instructions concerning the measures to be adopted in the arrest of the Jesuits, naming the men who were to do the work, and telling how they should do it. Upon the removal of the last wrapper the full order was found expressed in the following terms: 'I invest you with my whole authority and royal power that you shall forthwith repair with an armed force—á mano armada—to the houses of the Jesuits. You will seize the persons of all of them, and despatch them within twenty-four hours as prisoners to the port of Vera Cruz, where they will be embarked on vessels provided for that purpose. At the moment of such arrest you will cause to be sealed the records of said houses, and the papers of such persons, without allowing them to remove anything but their breviaries and such garments as are absolutely necessary for the journey. If after the embarkation there should be found in that district a single Jesuit, *even if ill or dying*, you shall suffer the penalty of death. *Yo el Rey.*' The last three words are the sovereign's autograph signature, and mean *I, the king.*".[3]

On the next day the viceroy, Don Francisco de Croix, published the following remarkable edict: "I make known to all the inhabitants of this country that the King, our Lord, on account of past occurrences, and in order to fulfill the first obligation, with which God has granted him the crown, of preserving intact its sovereign prerogatives, and of keeping his loyal and beloved people in subordination, peace, and justice, and for other very grave reasons which he conceals in his royal heart, has vouchsafed to command, upon the advice of his royal council and by decree issued on the 27th of last February, *that the religious of the Company* (of Jesus), *priests as well as coadjutors or lay-brothers, who have made the first vows, and the novices who desire to follow them, shall be banished from all his dominions in Spain, the Indies,*

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brated by the anti-Christian sect which now tyrannizes the Church in France, Mexico, Italy and some Central and South American States; it may be only a coincidence, however.

[3] Bancroft, "History of Mexico," vol. iii, 438-439. The unreasoning king carried absolutism and despotism to the limit, indeed.

the Philippine Islands, and the other adjoining countries, and that all the property of the Company in his dominions shall be seized. His Majesty, for the sake of uniform execution everywhere, having authorized exclusively the Condé de Aranda, President of Castilla, and having committed to me its execution in this realm with the same plenitude of power, I have assigned this day for the announcement of the Supreme Sentence to the expelled in their colleges and houses of residence in this New Spain, and likewise for the publishing of it to its people with the warning that all subjects of whatever dignity, class, or condition they may be, strictly obliged as they are to respect and obey the ever just resolutions of their sovereign, must venerate, assist, and execute this one with the greatest exactitude and fidelity, because His Majesty declares that the disobedient or the remiss in co-operating with its fulfillment incur his royal indignation, and I shall see myself compelled to use the utmost rigor and military force against those that in public or in private for this purpose may have conferences, meetings, assemblies, talks, or discussions by word or in writing; for the subjects of the great monarch, who occupies the throne of Spain, must henceforth know once for all that they are born to keep silent and to obey, but not to discuss, nor to judge the lofty affairs of government. Mexico, June 25th, 1767. El Marqués de Croix."[4]

A little before sunrise of June 25th, 1767, was the time appointed for executing the royal decree all over Mexico. At the capital the fiscal of the royal Audiencia, Don José Areche, appeared at the door of the Casa Profesa[5] and notified the Father Superior that the Jesuits must leave the king's realm.

[4] See for the original Spanish text Elliott Coues, "On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer," vol. i, 58. The italics are given in the original. If in 1821 the Mexicans remembered the arrogant assumption in the last clause, "que nacieron para callar, y obedecer, y no para discurrir, ni opinar en los altos assumptos del Gobierno," they can hardly be blamed. Compare Bancroft, "Hist. Mex.," vol. i, 440.

[5] Casa Profesa, so called, because this convent was largely occupied by the aged and infirm. The street passing it is still called "Profesa."

The superior calmly informed his community and with them recited the *Te Deum*. He was then told to empty the ciborium of the Sacred Species, in order that an inventory could be made and possession taken. Father Minister Irágori asked the members whether they wished to receive holy Communion. The whole community, priests and lay-brothers, at once knelt to receive the Holy Eucharist for the last time in their house, and some for the last time in their lives. The sublime scene touched even the heart of the commissioner. It was evidence of their innocence, purity of heart, and utter detachment of anything worldly. It was proof that they possessed the spirit of martyrs, since, at a moment's notice, and without so much as a protest, they could make such a sacrifice and leave what must have been dear to them—their convent and their country.[8]

From that hour the Jesuits were prisoners in their own colleges throughout Mexico. The very avenues to these houses of peace were occupied by military bodies. On the 28th the religious, who had been collected at the capital, were placed in coaches and guarded by soldiers as though they were dangerous criminals, whereupon began the weary journey to Vera Cruz. At Guadalupe Don José de Galvez, who had charge of the prisoners, allowed a stop to be made, so that they might for the last time pay homage to the Patroness of Mexico at her famous shrine. After they had recommended the people of the country to their heavenly Queen, the journey was resumed. Meanwhile great crowds surrounded the coaches and gave vent to their grief in various ways. As the road to Vera Cruz was not intended for vehicles, the Jesuits were compelled to make much of the way on horseback or on foot, which caused intense suffering to the aged and the sick. Their arrival at Jalapa resembled a triumphal entry, though it was attended by so much bitterness. Streets, windows, balconies, and roofs were crowded with people, who showed in their faces what they dared not express in words. The troops found it necessary to force a passage with the butt-end of their muskets.

[8] Carlos Bustamente, "Expatriacion," in Alegre, tom. iii, 302.

At Vera Cruz thirty-four of the religious died in consequence of the hardships which they had suffered. On October 24th the remainder embarked for Havana, which, owing to storms, was not reached until November 13th. The governor of the island, the pious and humane Antonio Maria Bucareli, who later became viceroy of Mexico, allowed the sufferers, who had the appearance of skeletons rather than of men, to recuperate for more than a month in the convents of the Bethlehemites. Nine of them nevertheless succumbed and were buried in the various churches of the city. On December 31st all were re-embarked and for three months suffered beyond description until they reached the port of Santa Maria on March 31st, 1768. Of the four hundred Jesuits brought together here fifteen died. The Father Provincial of Mexico, Salvador Gándara, with the bark *Bisarra*, was driven upon the rocks of the Portuguese coast. In the middle of June the exiles were again placed aboard the ships and hurried to Italy. During the voyage they were subjected to the most outrageous treatment by most of the officers. It had become the fashion to vilify the Jesuits and to treat them with relentless cruelty. On arriving at the various points designated by their persecutors, the banished religious were distributed among the different colleges of the Order until Pope Clement XIV., yielding to the threats of the Bourbon kings, dissolved the Society of Jesus in August, 1773. While in exile the Jesuits were given a small annual allowance, taken from the income of the property confiscated by the king, on condition that none of their number ever criticized the action of the Spanish sovereign.[1]

The execution of the royal decree in California was entrusted to Captain Gaspar de Portolá, a Catalán, who at the same time was appointed governor of the peninsula. He was ordered to take fifty well-armed men, and by force of arms to compel the Jesuits to leave the missions, which two years before they had voluntarily surrendered, and which they had retained only because their renunciation had not been accepted.

[1] Carlos Bustamente, "Expatriacion," in Alegre, tom. iii, 301-306; Bancroft, "Hist. of Mexico," vol. iii, 439-441.

The captain embarked with his fifty soldiers in three ships, and was accompanied by fourteen Franciscans, who, by order of the viceroy, were to succeed the Jesuits. Violent storms separated the vessels; the two ships which bore the friars were driven back to Sonora; but the third, which carried Portolá and twenty-five dragoons, managed to enter the port of San Bernabé on November 30th, 1767. The soldiers, who had come with exaggerated notions about the wealth of the Jesuit missions,[8] hastened to seize the treasures of Mission San José del Cabo; but, with the exception of the church ornaments, nothing of value was discovered. They then proceeded to Mission Santiago and encountered the same poverty. Like all the Jesuits in the missions, Father Tuersch of Santiago had not the least suspicion of what was coming, and no reason or opportunity for concealing anything. Portolá next took his men to the silver mines and convinced himself of their poverty, and the penury of those that feebly worked them. As to the great power of the Jesuits, which he was prepared to overcome by force of arms, Portolá was satisfied that a simple letter from the king or the viceroy expressing the royal will would have been sufficient to make them abandon the missions, the colleges, and all their possessions. At the pueblo and presidio of San José del Cabo Portolá met Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada of Loreto, who happened to be there, and notified him that he was relieved of his command; Rivera quietly submitted. In company with Rivera the new governor and his men, who by this time had begun to bewail the day on which they had been inveigled into such a poverty-stricken country, set out for Loreto, which was over a hundred leagues distant, and arrived there on December 17th.

Portolá immediately wrote to the Father Visitor, the Rev. Benito Ducrue, who was stationed at Guadalupe, and requested him to come to Loreto for the reason which he would learn from the accompanying letter of the viceroy which contained the decree of expulsion. He also asked Father Ducrue to

[8] "Sie meinten Californien waer mit Silber gepflastert und man fegte die Perlen darin mit Besern zusammen," Baegert ironically writes in his "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. x, 304-305.

request the other missionaries to take an inventory of the mission property, to retire to Loreto, and to bring nothing along but their clothing, their breviaries, one theological, and one historical book.[9] Portolá also asked Father Ducrue to direct the missionaries to preach to the Indians and to tell them that other Fathers would soon take their places, and that they should continue to be quiet and faithful, and obey the new missionaries as they had obeyed their present Fathers. When the Jesuits had punctually executed the commands of their superior, they set out for Loreto.

It was a heavy blow for the Indians to have to part forever with the men who had made them Christians and who had toiled for them incessantly. When Father Ducrue bade farewell to his weeping neophytes they accompanied him for leagues on the road to Loreto. Similarly the Indians of other missions showed their affection for their departing spiritual guides and fathers. From Santa Gertrudis, which lay far to the north of San Ignacio, Father Retz, who suffered from a broken leg, was carried to Loreto on the backs of his neophytes. Of the parting at another place Father Baegert writes: "I wept not only then, but throughout the journey, and even now as I write[10] tears fill my eyes." All this makes even the cynical Bancroft concede that "the padres' affection for their neophytes and desire for their well-being must have been disinterested, otherwise they had little reason to regret leaving the peninsula."[11] Baegert confesses that "contemplating the case with carnal eyes only, no greater favor could have been extended to these and many other missionaries, than to recall them from such misery to Europe, their fatherland. Yet I affirm that there was not one among them whom it did not hurt to the very soul to leave California, and

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[9] "No trayendo consigo mas de sus vestidos y otras cosas necesarias, y solo tres libros, uno de devocion, un teológico y un histórico." Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. xx, 114. The same author says Portolá had Ducrue come to Loreto, and there told him in the presence of three other Jesuits that they must leave the peninsula.

[10] His "Nachrichten" were published in 1773.

[11] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 479-480.

who half-way on the journey to his mother country, or even from there, would not joyfully have returned to California."[12] Commenting upon this the one-sided historian, Theodore Hittell[13] makes the following absurd remark: "With all its rocks and heats, its wastes and thorns, its want of water and shade, its scarcity of provisions and conveniences of all kinds, its brutish natives, its filth and vermin, it was a pleasant land to live in." How little can the mind of the materialist, who observes things through carnal eyes only, comprehend the motives of the Catholic missionary among aborigines! Yet he flippantly passes judgment upon what is a mystery to him, because he will not admit that there is such a virtue as Christian disinterestedness and apostolic zeal for the eternal welfare of immortal souls.

On February 3d, 1768, fifteen Jesuit priests and one lay-brother for the last time assembled in the mission church of Loreto. From there they went to the landing-place. The entire population, the Indians of the neighborhood and many from distant places, all weeping, accompanied the exiles to the water's edge. Before the Jesuits embarked on the *Concepcion*, the soldiers, who had come with Portolá to expel the religious, knelt with the others to kiss the feet of the missionaries. The governor himself was touched and shed tears at the sight of the general grief manifested, especially by the natives. Standing together in the ship the sixteen Jesuits chanted aloud the Litany of Our Lady of Loreto, and then bid a last farewell to the land of their toil. The vessel was a little two-masted transport without accommodations for passengers, so that the exiles had to sleep on deck. After

[12] "Mit den Augen des Fleisches allein die Sach angesehen, haette so wohl diesen als vielen anderen Missionarien kein groesseres Gefallen geschehen koennen, als aus solchem Elend nach Europa ihrem Vatterland sie berufen. Ich versichere aber, dass keiner unter ihnen gewesen, dem es nicht in her Seel wehe that Californien zu verlassen, und der nicht mitten auf der Reiss nach seiner Heimath, oder gar aus dieser, mit Freuden nach Californien zurueckgekehrt waere." Baegert, "Nachrichten," pte. iii, sec. x, 298-299.

[13] "History of California," vol. i, 290.

four days they reached Matanchél and in the king's name were despoiled of the trifling comforts which the kindness of Portolá had allowed them. Without any rest they were reshipped to San Blas, whence, after passing four days in wretched lodgings, they started out on horses and mules across the continent, closely guarded and subjected to many needless sufferings. On the way they were not permitted to converse with any one, nor to accept any relief. Vera Cruz was reached on March 27th, after forty-four days of dreadful misery, and on April 13th the exiles sailed for Europe, where they fared like their brethren who had preceded them from Mexico.[14]

We may now inquire into the reasons for the despotic proceedings of King Carlos III. of Spain against the Society of Jesus, including even the poor missionaries of California. It was not that the Jesuits were immoral or guilty of any crimes against divine or human laws. Every kind of crime which baffled cupidity and other vile passions could invent was laid at the door of the Jesuits, but true history replies: *Not proved.* Moreover, the action of the Jesuits as individuals and as a body, and the condition of their convents and colleges, particularly in the missions of California and Sonora, at the time of the expulsion, give the lie to all the charges launched against them. Bancroft himself is forced to declare, "It must be confessed that the Jesuits maintained, if not perfect purity of conduct,[15] at least a degree of virtue that made them exceptional members of a Church which had at that time, but for them and a few other honorable exceptions, almost become an exemplar of vice.[16] At all hours and seasons they

[14] Clavijero, "Historia," lib. iv, sec. xx, 114-115. Though a Jesuit himself, Clavijero treats the expulsion of his brethren very briefly and without comment, probably from fear of the consequences for his Order. Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 477-480; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 252-256.

[15] This clause shows how hard it was for the unfair historian to say anything creditable of Catholic religious. The clause is unwarranted.

[16] For this assertion Bancroft has only the authority of Voltaire and the French Encyclopedists, with whom he appears to agree perfectly as to the treatment of Catholic subjects and history.

were found performing the offices of religion and charity. The service of God in their churches was reverent and dignified. They spread education among all classes; their libraries were open to all. They incessantly taught the natives religion in its true spirit, as well as the mode of earning an honest living." [17]

To this testimony of a materialist and anti-Catholic we may add the declaration of one who was better qualified than any one else to know the truth. This was the provincial of the Jesuits, who, after just finishing the visitation of the Jesuit colleges and convents in the interior of Mexico, was so pleased with the conditions as to declare that "he found nothing to reprove or to reform." Subsequent investigations on the part of the enemies corroborated the provincial's announcement. [18] Nevertheless, "the Jesuits were arrested and violently handled, as if they had been guilty of heinous crimes, and without trial driven from their homes and country, exposed to want, and compelled to live in Italy under pain of forfeiting the pittance allowed them for their support out of the millions (?) that had been ruthlessly taken from them." [19]

The Jesuits had been expelled from Portugal by the vicious and unscrupulous Pombal as early as 1759, but the motive was the same as that which later on prompted their expulsion from other countries. The Voltairian school of infidelity and licentiousness had managed to seize the reigns of government in the Latin States; the Jesuits had combated the flood of error and vice more especially in the literary and upper classes of society, and had thus incurred the animosity of the guilty. In France the Jesuits had a powerful enemy in the person of the Duke de Choiseul, prime-minister to the immoral Louis XV. They might have preached to the lower classes without hindrance, "but," says Hittell, "it was not until they assumed

[17] Bancroft, "History of Mexico," vol. iii, 436-437.

[18] "Venia tan satisfecho del arreglo en que los habia encontrado y dejaba, que aseguraba no haber tenido en ellos que reprender ni reformar cosa alguna." Bustamente, "Expatriacion," in Alegre, tom. iii, 301.

[19] Bancroft, "History of Mexico," vol. iii, 442.

to interfere in the domestic arrangements of the king, by demanding the dismissal of Madame Pompadour, his mistress, that their fate was sealed." A Jesuit Father had refused absolution to the Pompadour woman, as was his duty, unless she withdrew from her unlawful and scandalous relations with the king.[20] Thoroughly infuriated, she joined Choiseul, and the two in 1764 succeeded in persuading Louis XV. to suppress the Society of Jesus in France. Nor did they rest there. Aranda, prime-minister of Spain and a pupil of Choiseul, by means of letters, forged, it was said, at the instigation of Choiseul, drove King Carlos III. to the verge of insane fury over the "treachery" of the Jesuits, which he would not investigate, so that he forthwith on April 2d, 1767, issued the unwarrantable Decree of Expulsion.

When, later, Pope Clement XIII. asked that the reasons for expelling the Jesuits should be regularly investigated, and truth and justice should be allowed to act, King Carlos replied, "I shall ever keep secret in my own heart the infamous plot which has made this rigor necessary. I do so to spare the world a great scandal. Your Holiness must believe me on my word. The safety of my life requires from me a profound silence on this matter."[21]

An explanation was given during his lifetime of the motives which prompted King Carlos to banish the Jesuits, and never denied. "It first appeared in 1780 in a periodical of high standing, the Journal pour l'Histoire de la Literature et

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[20] Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 251, calls this "interfering with domestic arrangements." It is the case of St. John the Baptist and King Herod repeated. According to the reasoning of Hittell, and doubtless all Voltairian libertines agree with him, St. John deserved to lose his head, because he meddled with the "domestic arrangements" of lewd King Herod. So the real cause for the expulsion of the Jesuits from France, at least, was their interference with the "domestic arrangements" of a profligate king with a disreputable woman, and that brought on the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. If examined closely, it will be found that all persecutions against the Church of Christ are prompted by similar motives.

[21] Bryan J. Clinch, "California and Its Missions," vol. i, 191.

des Arts (vol. ix, 218), published in Germany. The writer, Christopher de Murr, gave as his authority the reigning Duke of Wuertemberg, who certainly had an opportunity to learn the facts from those connected with them. According to the duke's account, Aranda, the prime-minister, privately laid before the king a forged letter from the General of the Jesuits to the superior of the central Jesuit house in Madrid. It bore the Roman postmark and had other extrinsic marks of genuineness. In it the writer was made to declare that he had in his possession convincing proofs of the illegitimacy of the Spanish King and might publish them at a fitting time. Aranda claimed this letter had been taken from the private papers of the Jesuit Provincial by one of his trusted agents. The king accepted it as genuine and was driven almost to insanity by anger, both at the insinuation against his family and the dangers of a possible claimant to the throne." [22]

The personal hatred of the Spanish king did not stop at the banishment of the Jesuits from his dominions, but he joined the other Bourbon rulers in demanding that the Pope should suppress the Society of Jesus. "His ministers hinted at a possible separation of the Church in Spain from obedience to the Pope if the king's personal wishes were not granted. One of them went so far as to remind the Pope that the refusal of one of his predecessors to sanction Henry the Eighth's petition for a divorce had caused the separation of England from the Catholic Church, and that a like refusal to meet the wishes of the Spanish Catholic king might entail a like result in Spain." [23]

King Carlos III. had surrounded himself with foreign ministers, who were imbued with the spirit of Voltaire and other French philosophers, and whose first principle was hatred for the Church of Christ. Had she betrayed her trust; had she ceased to preach the morality taught by Christ and His Apostles; or had she confined it to the lower classes; and had she allowed herself to be used in upholding the absolutism and despotism of governments, she and her Orders

[22] Clinch, "California and its Missions," vol. i, 192-193.
[23] Clinch, ut supra, 192.

would not have been molested. No change had come over the religion of the Spanish people, and no class outside the court politicians had any dislike for the Jesuits. It was from the latter that danger menaced the king, and, in the light of subsequent investigations, there can be no doubt that it was fear of the dire consequences which his unscrupulous ministers threatened that drove him to be as obdurate to the Pope as he was merciless towards his innocent victims.

"Forty-eight years after the deportation of the Spanish Jesuits, a public inquiry was instituted by the grandson of Charles III., Ferdinand VII., to discover the reasons for their exile. It was ordered in 1815, after Ferdinand's return from his captivity in France, and was in answer to numerous petitions of Spanish cities, asking for the return of the Order of St. Ignatius to Spain. The attorney-general in consequence had official search made for all documents relating to the expulsion in the archives, both of the Ministry of State and that of Justice. He could only find a single copy of the proceedings of the council of the 29th of January, and that without the portion relating either to the charges or the mode of investigating them by the council. The only record left was that of the measures advised for carrying out the expulsion. The Spanish attorney-general summed up all that the records told of the case against the Jesuits: 'Their crimes were known to their judges alone, and those judges were determined to suppress all reasons for their sentence, and forbade any statement on either side of the case. We cannot hold the Jesuits as condemned by Spain, since those who judged them feared to take the evidence or opinions of either the civil magistrate of the kingdom or its bishops, much less any protests of citizens. These were only called to believe, to be silent, and to obey, and that under pain of exile, confiscation, and even death.' "[24]

Non-Catholic historians and other writers discuss the result of Jesuit missionary work in Lower California. As usual, when going outside of the bare statement of facts, they go

[24] Clinch, ut supra, 195-196.

widely astray. The efforts of the one-sided lawyer-historian, Theodore Hittell,[25] are an instance. Anything less judicial and less in keeping with the facts can hardly be found, unless it be the same author's criticism of Franciscan missionary labors in Upper California. The success or failure of missionary efforts must be gauged by the object which the missionaries had in view. Catholic missionaries have no other aim than the conversion of souls to Christ. Everything else is secondary and regarded as merely instrumental. Every soul converted means that much success, and since the salvation of one soul is regarded as of more importance than the most brilliant wordly achievement, the missionaries in saving many thousand Indians were eminently successful, especially when they accomplished this result in the face of the most disheartening circumstances.

"Thus ended," says the fair-minded Robert Greenhow, "the rule of the Jesuits in California. That their efforts were attended with good cannot be denied; for those who were the immediate objects of their care, were certainly rendered happier, more comfortable, and more free from vice, than they would otherwise have been. Unfortunately, however, the aborigines of California are among the most indolent and brutish of the human race; with minds as sterile and unimprovable as the soil of their peninsula. By constant watchfulness, by the judicious administration of rewards as well as punishments, by the removal of all evil examples, and, above all, by studiously practising themselves what they recommended to others, the benevolent, wise, and persevering Jesuit did indeed introduce a certain degree of civilization, or apparent civilization, among these people."[26]

Fifteen Jesuit priests and one Jesuit lay-brother died and were buried in California, and fifteen Jesuit Fathers and one Jesuit lay-brother left the peninsula as exiles.[27] The names with all obtainable dates are given in the following list.[28]

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[25] "History of California," vol. 206-207; 288-289.
[26] Greenhow, "Oregon and California," 106-107.
[27] Clavijero, lib. iv, sec. xx, 115; Palou, "Noticias," tom. i, 14-15.
[28] Compare Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 482.

LIST OF JESUITS IN CALIFORNIA.

Name.	Nation	Nativity	Arrival	Death	Departure	Exile
Armesto, Juan.....	Spaniard	1713	1748	1799	1752	
Arnés, Victoriano		1736	1764			1768
Badillo, Franc. Maria.			1752			
Barco, Miguel.....			1744			1768
Baegert, Jacob.....	German	1717	1751	1772		1768
Basaldúa, Juan M.....	Mexican		1702		1709	
Bischoff, Juan Javier.	Bohemia	1710	1752			1768
Bravo, Jayme.....	Aragon	1683	1705	1744		
Carranco, Lorenzo Jos.	Mexican		1727	1734		
Consag, Fernando....	Hungary	1703	1733	1759		
Diez, Juan.....	Mexican	1735	1766			1768
Droet, Jacobo.....			1732		1750 ?	
Ducrue, Franz Benno.	German	1721	1748	1799		1768
Echeverria, José de....			1730			
Escalante, Francisco...		1724				1768
Franco, Francisco J..	Spaniard	1738	1764			1768
Garcia, Andres Jav...			1737			
Gasteiger, Jose.....	German		1745		1750 ?	
Gordon, William.....	Scotch		1730			
Guillén, Clemente.....	Mexican	1677	1714	1748		
Guisi, Benito.....				1711		
Helén, Everard	German		1719	1757	1735	
Hostell, Lambert.....	German	1706	1745			1768
Inama, Francisco	Austrian	1719	1750			1768
Link, Wenceslao.....	Austrian	1736	1762			1768
Luyando, Juan B.....	Mexican		1727		1732	
Masariegos, Franc. M.			1740			
Mayorga, Julian.....			1707	1736		
Minutili, Geronimo....	Italian		1702		1705	
Mugazábal, Julian	Spaniard	1682	1704	1761		
Nápoli, Ignacio, Mar..	Italian		1721			
Nascimben, Pedro Mar.	Venetian		1745		1750 ?	
Neumayer, Karl.....	German		1745	1764		
Osorio, Francisco.....			1725			
Peralta, Francisco....			1709		1711	
Piccolo, Franc. Maria.	Sicilian	1650	1697	1729		
Retz, Jorge.....	German	1717	1751			1768
Rotea, Jose Marianno.	Mexican	1732	1759			1768
Salvatierra, Juan Mar.	Italian	1644	1697	1717		
Sistiaga, Sebastian....	Mexican	1684	1718	1756	1747	
Sotelo, Manuel Maria.	Spaniard	1736	1761			
Tamarál, Nicolas.....	Spaniard	1687	1717	1734		
Taravál, Sigismundo...		1700	1730	1763	1750 ?	
Tempis, Antonio.....	Austrian	1703	1736	1746		
Trujillo, Gaspar.....			1744		1752	
Tuersch, Ignacio.....	Austrian	1733	1762			1768
Ugarte, Juan.....	Honduras	1660	1700	1730		
Ugarte, Pedro.....	" (?)		1704		1710	
Ventura, Lucas.....	Spaniard	1727	1757	1793		1768
Villavieja, Juan.....		1736	1766			1768
Wagner, Francisco Jav.	German		1737	1744		

PART III.

THE FRANCISCAN PERIOD.

1767-1773.

DEUS MEUS ET OMNIA!

CHAPTER I.

Viceroy de Croix Requests the College of San Fernando to Accept the California Missions.—Reluctance and Reasons Therefor.—Father Junipero Serra Heads the Volunteers.—The Fathers at Tepic.—The Viceroy Makes a Change.—Palóu and Campa Remonstrate.—Orders Countermanded.—Election of Guardian and Discretos.—Address to the Viceroy.—The Jaliscans Return from California.—Serra and Companions Reach Loreto.

WHEN the royal decree expelling the Jesuits from New Spain had been executed, Viceroy de Croix and Inspector-General José de Galvez resolved to place the California missions in charge of the Franciscan missionary College of San Fernando[1] in the city of Mexico. These Fathers, besides preaching among the Mexicans, were conducting five Indian missions in the Sierra Gorda.[2] The College could ill afford to accept the offer of the viceroy; but, as no reason had been assigned for banishing the Society of Jesus, it may have appeared unsafe to irritate the government by a refusal. "The College," Fr. Palou writes,[3] "saw itself obliged to accept the missions which the expelled Fathers administered (notwithstanding the dearth of religious in which it found itself) in order to make this sacrifice to God and the king." There were sixteen Jesuits in California, and as many friars were wanted to take their places; but as the government finally determined to station secular priests in the four most advanced

[1] Colegio Apostolico, a missionary college or seminary for the training of religious who were to labor chiefly among the Indians. San Fernando was founded on October 15th, 1734. See Appendix F.

[2] The Sierra Gorda Mountains are situated in the southern part of the State of San Luis Potosí and in the northern part of the States of Guanajuáto and Querétaro.

[3] "Se vió precisado el Colegio á admitir las misiones que los Padres expulsos administraban en la California (no obstante lo falto que se halla de Religiosos), para hacer á Dios y al rey este sacrificio." Palóu, "Vida," cap. xii, 53-54. "Se vió precisado el Reverendo Padre Guardian Fray José Garciá á admitirlas (misiones)." Palóu, "Noticias de la Nueva California," tom. i, cap. i, p. 1.

missions, the guardian, Fr. José García, and the discretos[4] were called upon to send but twelve Fathers to the peninsula. Even this many could not be spared from the College, though sixteen Fathers had promptly volunteered. The superiors, therefore, decided to select seven of the sixteen and to recall five of the ten friars in the Sierra Gorda, who had already some experience in Indian missionary work, in order to comply with the demand of De Croix.

The College authorities deemed it advisable to place a man at the head of this band of missionaries who had already proved his fitness for the responsible position. Fr. Junípero Serra was accordingly appointed presidente or superior of the California missions. He was at that time preaching a mission in the province of Mezquitál about thirty leagues from the capital. There had been no time to ask his consent, but the discretory[5] took it for granted that the former Indian missionary would gladly devote himself to the conversion of the natives in California. Nor were they disappointed. When Serra returned to the monastery on July 12th, and was informed of his destination, he declared that he felt the happier for not having been consulted at all.

This extraordinary man was born at Petra on the Island of Majorca (Mallorca) on November 24th, 1713. He entered the Franciscan Order on September 14th, 1730, and made his vows on September 15th of the following year. He finished the studies of philosophy and theology so brilliantly that he was made doctor of theology even before receiving holy Orders. The date of his elevation to the priesthood is not given by his biographer, but it probably occurred in 1738. After receiving permission to devote himself to missionary work in America, Fr. Serra sailed from Cádiz with his friend,

[4] Discretos, discreets or councilors, such as are attached to every Franciscan monastery. The discretos of an apostolic college, however, enjoyed the rights and privileges of the definidores (definitors) or councilors of a province. They were elected for a term of three years, and elected the guardian at a chapter presided over by the commissary-general.

[5] The college council composed of the guardian, vicar and four councilors.

Fr. Francisco Palóu, on August 28th, 1749, and reached the College of San Fernando on the first of January, 1750. At his own request he was sent with Fr. Palóu to the Indians in the Sierra Gorda, where the College had established five missions only six years before. After nine years of successful labors he was with Palóu assigned to the Apache missions in the San Sabá country of Texas; but the viceroy's death, which occurred just then, prevented the founding of new missions in that territory. Serra was therefore retained at the College, and for seven years employed in preaching missions among the Mexicans at the capital and other towns of the country. It was while thus engaged that he received the appointment of presidente of the California missionaries.[6]

On July 14th, 1767, two days after reaching his beloved College, Fr. Serra accompanied by eight[7] friars set out with the blessing of the Fr. Guardian. The viceroy furnished everything necessary for the journey overland by way of Querétaro and Guadalajara to San Blas, two hundred leagues distant. At Guadalajara the bishop informed the Fr. Presidente that he had no priests to spare for California; that none of the missions was in a condition to be managed except by religious; and that he had so advised his excellency, the viceroy. Fr. Serra then notified the Fr. Guardian and asked him to send the additional Fathers required. After thirty-nine days of travel the nine religious reached Tepic, and on August 21st were welcomed at the hospice[8] of Santa Cruz which belonged to the Franciscans of the Jalisco province, whose mother-house is to this day at Guadalajara.[9]

"When we arrived at this town," says Palóu, "the treasurer of the troops came to visit us, and to tell the Rev. Fr. Presi-

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[6] Palóu, "Vida," capp. i-x; xii.

[7] The college, fearing that five out of the ten Fathers could not be spared from the Sierra Gorda, sent nine friars instead of seven, two of whom were to return to the capital in case that the five arrived.

[8] A very small Franciscan convent. Residence or convent are the terms commonly used by English-speaking friars to distinguish it from monastery, which indicates a fully organized, larger community.

[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. i, 3; "Vida," cap. xii, 54-55.

dente that he had orders from his excellency, the viceroy, to provide everything necessary for the maintenance of the religious." Fr. Serra replied that they would take their meals with the religious of the hospice. The treasurer accordingly paid the síndico[10] of the hospice for the board of the friars, and this attention gave them no little satisfaction and relief. The nine religious now quartered at the hospice of Santa Cruz, Tepic, were: Fr. Junípero Serra, Fr. Francisco Palóu, Fr. Juan Moran, Fr. Antonio Martínez, Fr. Juan Ignacio Gaston, Fr. Fernando Parron, Fr. Juan Sancho de la Torre, Fr. Francisco Gómez, and Fr. Andrés Villaumbrales. The five religious who arrived a few days later from the Sierra Gorda region were: Fr. José Murguía, Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora, Fr. Juan Crespi, Fr. Miguél de la Campa y Cos, and Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuen.[11]

The viceroy had directed that the missionaries for both California and Sonora[12] should proceed to their destination by sea in two packet-boats which were in course of construction, and which could not be made ready for a long time. It was learned, however, that another small vessel was preparing to sail for California with the newly-appointed governor, Don Gaspar de Portolá, and a squadron of soldiers, accompanied by their chaplain, the Rev. Pedro Fernández, a secular priest. At the request of Fr. Serra, Don Domingo Elizondo, the commander of the Sonora troops, permitted Fathers Francisco Palóu and Juan Gaston to cross the gulf with Portolá. In the afternoon of August 24th the ship set sail in the harbor of Matanchél. The launch, which carried five dragoons and all the baggage of the soldiers, followed in her wake. Storms soon began to rage and grew so violent during the night of the 28th, that every one prepared himself for death. In this extremity Portolá, who had also made his confession, pro-

[10] Síndico or treasurer, who in the name of the Holy See accepts and disburses the alms donated to the Franciscans, as the friars can have no property, either as individuals or as communities. He is generally a layman of the parish or town.

[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. i, 1-3; cap. ii, 7.

[12] The missions of the Jesuits in Sonora had been assigned to the Franciscan college of Santa Cruz, Querétaro.

posed to Fr. Palóu that a vow be made to some saint in order that they might be delivered from the terrible danger. It was then vowed to have a High Mass celebrated in honor of the holy Cross at which all were to assist in case they reached the shore in safety. At the same time Palóu threw a little grass taken from the famous Cross at the hospice of Tepic into the raging waters, whereupon the sea grew calm.[13] Palóu makes the remark that, though the tempest ceased and the sea became calm as soon as the grass[14] touched the waves, he could not call this a miracle, but the vow was faithfully observed. After the vessel had arrived at Tepic on September 6th, Governor Portolá, many military officers, and the soldiers who had been on board the ship assisted at the High Mass to thank God for their deliverance.[15]

The launch had meanwhile been driven across the gulf into the port of Escondido, a landlocked bay about seven leagues south of Loreto. The sailors told an Indian that a new governor was on his way to California with Franciscan friars from San Fernando, and then sailed along the coast southward as far as Cape San Lucas in the hope of meeting Portolá's ship. The appearance of the launch and the story of the Indian caused the wildest rumors in the missions, and the Jesuits imagined that their surrender of the missions had been accepted. When they learned that the Fathers of the famous College of San Fernando were to take their places, they expressed much satisfaction, for they were assured that their work would be continued in the same spirit of self-sacrifice.[16]

In the meantime fourteen Franciscan friars of the missionary College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, and eleven Franciscans

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[13] "Tiré á la mar unas ebras del zacáte, y ciertamente puedo decir que en cuanto cayó á la mar dicho zacáte se aplacó de modo que se pusó en calma."

[14] Zacáte, grass. The natives held the very grass that grew around the Cross in veneration. "Que tienen y aprecian los Tepiqueños como reliquia," says Palóu.

[15] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. ii, 7; 4-5. "Vida," cap. xii, 55-56.

[16] "Al saber que iban padres misioneros de San Fernando hicieron (Jesuitas) muchas demonstraciones de alegria, como me aseguraron asi Indios como soldados." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. ii, 6.

of the Jaliscan province, who were to replace the Jesuits in the missions of Sonora, besides seven other Jaliscans, who were destined for the Nayarit country, had also arrived at Tepic and with the fourteen Fernandinos[17] awaited an opportunity to sail for their respective posts. In the beginning of October Don Elizondo, the commander of the troops, resolved to send Portolá, the soldiers and the fourteen religious of San Fernando to California in a ship and a launch belonging to the mine-owner Manuel de Osio. While the Fathers were preparing to embark, a courier arrived with despatches from the viceroy which caused much excitement and confusion among the friars. The viceroy stated that, at the request of the Franciscan commissary-general, Fr. Manuel de Nájera, he would direct that the religious of the two missionary colleges of Querétaro and San Fernando should divide the territory of Sonora between themselves, and that the Jaliscan friars should take charge of the California missions. According to a letter which arrived at the same time from the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando, the commissary-general desired the change because he thought that the religious of the two colleges, inasmuch as they had the same training, would harmonize better in the same territory, while on the other hand those from the province and those from the College, on account of their different training, might disagree. The insinuation was felt the more keenly as not the slightest disharmony had so far been noticeable at Tepic among the friars representing the three Franciscan families.

It was at length decided to send Fathers Palóu and Campa to Guanajuato in order to confer with Don José de Galvez, the inspector-general, and to ascertain whether the destination of the Fernandinos had been definitely changed, and, if so, to show by means of letters from the local superior of the Jaliscans at Tepic and from the superior of the Jaliscans originally appointed for Sonora, that the authorities were laboring under a misapprehension. The two friars left Tepic on October 19th. At noon of November 1st they arrived at Guanajuato

[17] The friars of the College of San Fernando.

and took up quarters at the monastery of San Diego.[18] Galvez granted an audience that same afternoon. He acknowledged that he was aware of the change and that it was against his will as well as against the wishes of the king; but that since they had come so far they might as well see the viceroy himself, to whom he would give them a personal letter on the following day. Fortified with this document the two Fathers resumed their journey next day and finally reached the capital on November 9th. After reporting the situation to the discretory, Palóu and Campa paid their respects to the viceroy and presented the letter of the inspector-general. On reading the communication from Galvez, and learning the cause of the delay at Tepic, he revoked his decree and on November 11th, gave orders that the Fernandinos should proceed to California, and that the Jaliscans should go to Sonora as previously ordered. Upon the advice of the viceroy the two Fathers sent the decision to Tepic by courier and then rested a while at the College.

While Palóu and Campa were at San Fernando the triennial chapter for the election of a guardian and discretos took place, at which Fr. Juan Andrés was chosen guardian of San Fernando to succeed Fr. José García. In view of the fact that the bishop of Guadalajara could send no priests to California, the chapter also yielded to the petition for two more missionaries, and from the volunteers selected Fathers Dionisio Basterra and Juan de Medina Beytia in order to make up the requisite number of sixteen religious demanded for the peninsula. The four happy Fathers departed from the capital on December 6th, and on the last day of the year 1767 arrived at the hospice with the news that delighted Fr. Serra and his brethren.[19]

That the necessity of complying with the request of the viceroy by sending sixteen friars, about one-half of the whole

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[18] Like all religious houses in Mexico, this monastery was confiscated by the anti-Christian faction which controls the government since 1768. The building was torn down and replaced by a theater dedicated to Benito Juarez.

[19] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. ii, 7-12.

number composing the College, embarrassed the Fathers exceedingly, we learn from an appeal to De Croix drawn up most probably at the chapter which was held in November, 1767, while Palóu and Campa rested at the College.[20] The address to the viceroy reads as follows:

"Most Excellent Sir, The Guardian and Discretos of this Apostolic College of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando de Mexico, comply with the supreme viceroyal kindness of Your Excellency and declare that they have most cheerfully[21] accepted the singular favor and especial grace with which your condescension was pleased to honor this poor College before other most numerous Evangelical laborers by placing in its charge the missions of the province and peninsula of California which the Jesuit Fathers have occupied; and in token of our gratitude, not being able to return it in any other manner, nor by other means, sixteen religious, who are priests, experienced in the ministry among the unbelievers, and capable of instructing the neophytes in civilization and Christian economy, have voluntarily offered themselves, although the College finds itself drained of missionary laborers. Eleven of these are at present members[22] of this College, but five others it was necessary to detach from the ten of this College who have charge of the five missions in the Sierra Gorda.

"Now, reflecting that we could not comply exactly with the royal command, nor satisfy our conscience and that of our

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[20] "Archives of the Archbishop of San Francisco," vol. i, no. 16. The copy in the Archives bears no date, but the document must have been issued about the middle of November, 1767, since up to that period Fr. José García was the guardian of San Fernando College.

[21] From these extravagant expressions the superficial reader might conclude, as Hittell charges, that the Franciscans eagerly hurried to supplant the Jesuits, whereas they looked upon the offer as demanding a heavy sacrifice. It would have been impolitic at the time to use less submissive language. See Note 3.

[22] "Moradores actuales," that is to say here, attached or belonging to the community, for seven were just then at Tepic and four others, Palóu, Campa, Basterra, and Beytia, were on the road thither.

sovereign, owing to the scarcity of religious who are priests and preachers, for there are actually only twenty-two priests who are preachers and confessors at the College, an exceedingly small number to eradicate vices and plant virtues in this very populous city by means of the many daily confessions to be heard at the request of the dangerously sick and of the multitudes that assemble morning and evening, from the city as well as from the towns, even very distant ones; and that we could not strictly and exactly comply with the regular observance of our Institute, its day and night[23] regulations; we have unanimously resolved to choose and appoint Fr. Rafael Verger, ex-lector of theology and at present one of the discretos of this College, to pass over to the Court of Madrid in order to beseech His Majesty (whom God may guard) for permission and authority to collect forty-five religious, who are priests, preachers and confessors,[24] from the colleges and provinces of Spain, whom we judge necessary for the faithful execution of the obligations of our Institute. Sixteen must necessarily be assigned to the province of California,[25] five will fill the places of those that have been withdrawn from the missions of the Sierra Gorda, and the rest are to maintain the regular observance of the Institute and in the course of time to make the accustomed apostolic journeys among the faithful in the vast territory of this Northern America.

"Inasmuch, Most Excellent Sir, as for one religious to live alone in those lively reductions, rancherías, and neophyte towns is a most perilous matter proclaimed as such with a warning by the Divine Spirit, the infallible Truth, who tells us that it is better for two to live together than for one to

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[23] Allusion is made to the custom of chanting the Divine Office at midnight in the choir, as was the practise from time immemorial.

[24] It was and is the custom with Franciscans to withhold the faculty of preaching and hearing confessions for a year or more after the ordination to the priesthood. Hence the distinction, Sacerdotes, Predicadores, Confesores which has puzzled many historians.

[25] To comply with the regulation which forbade any friar to be stationed alone at a mission. Each mission in California and the Sierra Gorda had only one missionary.

live alone; *for woe to the one that is alone! for if he happen to fall, he has no one to raise him up;* our laws by way of precaution direct that no religious should live alone in the missions; and the same is prescribed by canon law, and is the invariable practise of the Colleges of the Propagation of the Faith from the beginning of their foundation, except in the most urgent necessity like the present one.[38]

"In truth, Most Excellent Sir, for a religious priest who is alone it seems morally impossible to promote the conversion of the pagans successfully, or to stand ready faithfully and watchfully for the very frequent emergencies which arise in the pueblos of the neophytes.

"In order to carry out our object effectively, and to relieve the respective necessities of this College and the missions among believers and unbelievers, two measures above all are requisite: the one is that Your Excellency deign to bestow upon the before-mentioned Fr. Lector Rafael Verger the permission and authority to make the voyage to the Court of Madrid; and the other that your ardent Catholic zeal inform His Majesty (whom God may preserve) as to the urgent need which this College has of the said forty-five religious, along with what else you may deem conducive to the service of both Majesties, which we with firm confidence hope Your Excellency will do most graciously.

Fr. Juan Andrés, Guardian.
Fr. Jph Ortiz de Velasco.
Fr. Estéban de Basabe.
Fr. Rafael Verger.
Fr. Francisco Pangua."
Fr. José García.
Fr. Juan Antonio Pico.
Fr. José Torres.
Fr. Joseph Miguel Ojeda.

On October 19th, the same day on which Fathers Palóu and Campa set out from Tepic for Guanajuato to see Don José de Galvez, the Jaliscan Franciscans left Matanchél to embark

[38] Hence it is clear that Hittell's charge that "Long before any public intimation had been given, and before the Jesuits themselves had any idea of the impending expulsion, the Franciscans had taken measures to fill their places and administer their estates," is a mere assertion calculated to impress the thoughtless. See Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 297.

for California in obedience to the wishes of the commissary-general and the decree of the viceroy; but as they were only eleven, and thus lacked one of the required number, they persuaded the Rev. Isidro Ibarzábal, a secular priest of the diocese of Oajáca, to join them. All these took passage in the launch belonging to Don Manuel Osio, whilst Portolá with his soldiers and their chaplain, the Rev. Pedro Fernández, sailed in the barkentine. Instead of reaching Loreto directly, the two vessels were driven far to the south; the barkentine, as we have already stated in a preceding chapter, on December 2d, 1767, landed near Cape San Lucas, whence Portolá and his men marched north by land. The Jaliscan friars with their superior, Fr. Manuel Zuzaregni, arrived later in the launch. As they proceeded northward to Loreto a friar was installed at each one of the intervening missions. When Zuzaregni and the remaining Fathers reached Loreto about the 12th of March, three months after Portolá, and two months after the departure of the Jesuits, he was informed that the viceroy had changed his plans, and that the Jaliscan friars would have to go to Sonora.

Meanwhile Fr. Serra and his brethren were patiently awaiting developments and an opportunity to cross the gulf; but they were not idle. No sooner had the zealous presidente noticed that they were doomed to a lengthy stay, than he and his companions determined to preach missions not only at Tepic, but in all the towns of that region. The friars were occupied in this manner when the *Purisima Concepcion* with the sixteen exiled Jesuits arrived at San Blas. The victims of unreasoning royal fury were hastily landed and then hurried to Vera Cruz to prevent them from meeting their successors. On March 13th,[37] when all necessary preparations had been made by the government officials, Fr. Serra and his fifteen companions left Tepic, and in the evening of the next day sailed from San Blas in the *Concepcion*, the same vessel which had brought over the Jesuits. The ship crossed the gulf without a mishap, and on Good Friday, April 1st, 1768,

[37] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xiii, 56, has March 12th.

at eight in the evening, dropped her anchor in the port of Loreto. Portolá himself boarded the vessel to welcome the Fathers and to escort them to the mission. Owing to the late hour they preferred to wait till next morning; only Fathers Serra and Palóu followed the governor to the shore. At the mission they were received by Fr. Zuzaregni, who had arrived only two weeks previous. The Jaliscan presidente then recalled his brethren, some of whom had not as yet reached their destination. They had been in charge of Mission Loreto only eighteen days. Five of the Jaliscans departed on the *Concepcion* on April 10th; the rest followed soon after.[28]

Early on Holy Saturday the other Fathers landed; and all then proceeded to the church to give thanks to God and Our Lady of Loreto, the Patroness of the peninsula, for their safe arrival; a High Mass of thanksgiving was sung on Easter Sunday. On the same day Governor Portolá read to Fathers Serra and Palóu a letter from the viceroy which directed him to turn over to the friars of San Fernando all the missions of the peninsula administered by the Jesuits, with the churches, sacristies, and furniture, in such a way, however, that the management of the temporalities remained with the soldier comisionados whom the governor had appointed for that purpose after the departure of the Jesuits. Fr. Serra replied that the order of the viceroy would be observed by the religious, and that they would not meddle in the least with the temporalities.[29]

Palóu, however, viewed the viceroy's decision with less submission. "This arrangement of his excellency," he writes, "left us no power as far as the temporalities of the missions are concerned; and without them the missionaries could in nothing advance the spiritual affairs of the missions."[30] It had been taken for granted that the missions would be deliv-

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[28] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. ii, 10-11; 8; capp. iii-iv, 14-17; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 484.

[29] "Respondió el Rev. P. Presidente que asi se practicaria por los religiosos, no metiendose en lo mas mínimo en lo temporal." "Noticias," 18.

[30] Ibidem.

ered to the Franciscans as they had been managed by the Jesuits with full authority over the Indians in spiritual and temporal matters. The governor probably noticed Palóu's disappointment, and therefore, explained that he had placed the temporalities in the care of soldiers through necessity, lest the Indians made away with the property; that he reported his action to the viceroy, who approved of it; but that he did not doubt that full control of the missions and their property would be restored to the Fathers when Don José de Galvez arrived, who was daily expected.[21]

From the description of the capital of Lower California, reproduced here from Father Jacob Baegert's *Nachrichten*[22] the reader will obtain a good idea of what the missionaries encountered at the other missions. "Loreto lies only a stone's throw from the California Gulf. The dwelling of the missionary is a small quadrangle of not more than one story, of unburnt brick and having a flat roof. One wing of the quadrangle, which alone is partly built of stone and lime, constitutes the church. The other three wings contain six apartments each about twenty feet square and having each one an opening towards the beach or sea; these serve for sacristy, kitchen, and a small store-room from which the soldiers, sailors, and their wives and children, procure buckles, straps, ribbons, combs, tobacco, sugar, linen, shoes, stockings, hats, and similar goods.

"Near this quadrangle are four other walls in which are kept very lean beef, also tallow, lard, soap, unrefined sugar, chocolate, cloth, leather, wheat, corn, several millions of black bugs which are generated in the grain, and other articles. In addition to these structures one sees at about the distance of a musket-shot a kind of shed, which serves for guard-house and barracks for the unmarried soldiers. The whole garrison of the Loreto presidio, including the captain and his lieutenant, sometimes consists of six or eight, but never of more than twelve or fourteen head.

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[21] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. iv, 18-19.

[22] Part iii, sec. ii. See also Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 280-281.

"Moreover, towards the setting sun one sees two rows of huts made of mud, in which, when big and little, men and women, are all together, dwell about one hundred and twenty natives. Furthermore, one sees, here and there, scattered about the sandy waste, without any order, about two dozen or two dozen and a half cabins constructed of earth, which resemble the poorest village cow-stable rather than a house, and generally having only one apartment, which serve the married soldiers, the few sailors, and their wives and children for shelter, dwelling-room, and sleeping-quarters. Finally there is a structure made of poles and covered with brush, which constitutes the arsenal or ship-yard. All this forms Loreto, the capital of California." Baegert doubted whether there was a hamlet in Russia, Poland, or even Lapland, that could have presented such a mean and beggarly appearance. There was no foliage of any kind in the place; no shade except that formed by the buildings; no running water; and no water at all except such as was obtained from holes or wells dug in the sandy soil.

"The church," says Baegert, "is large, but consists only of the four walls without art, and only covered with a flat roof formed of nicely-worked beams of cedar wood. On the other hand, none equals it in the number of paintings and in the costliness of the vestments."

CHAPTER II.

Distribution of the Missionaries.—Unworthy Conditions.—Bancroft's Observations.—Don José de Galvez Arrives.—His Indignation.—Restores the Temporalities to the Missionaries.—The Soldier Comisionados.—The Fathers Not Anxious to Control the Temporalities.—Galvez Suppresses Two Missions.—He Transplants Indians.

AT the conclusion of the High Mass on Easter Sunday, April 3d, Fr. Junipero Serra ascended the pulpit and preached the sermon to the assembly of Indians and white people; he then announced that the Franciscans had come to labor among them, as far as possible, in the same manner as the Jesuit Fathers had done. On the following day another High Mass was celebrated in thanksgiving, and on Easter Tuesday a High Mass was offered up for the safe journey of the missionaries to their respective missions, some of which lay a hundred leagues distant from Loreto. After this last High Mass the Fr. Presidente assigned the friars to the different missions beginning at Cape San Lucas in the following order:[1]

[1] Palóu, "Noticias," cap. v, 20-21; "Vida," cap. xiii, 56-57. Fr. Junipero Serra perpetuated the event in the "Libros de Mision" of Loreto by the following entry: "Dia dos de Abril, Sábado de Gloria de este año 1768 entramos á ésta Mision y Real Presidio de Loreto, cabezera de ésta Peninsula de California diez y seis Religiosos Sacerdotes, Predicadores, Misioneros Apostolicos del Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Mexico, del Orden Seráfico, enviados de nuestros Prelados para Ministros de todas las Misiones de ésta Provincia, que en nombre de su Magestad Catolica (q. Dios gde), por decreto del Excmo Sr. Marqués de Croix, Virrey y Capitan General de ésta Nueva España, se pusieron á cargo del dicho Apostolico Colegio, expelidos de ésta Peninsula y demás Dominios del Catolico Monarca, por motivos á su Magestad reservados, los PP. de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus, y habiendo yo, el infra-escripto Presidente de dichos Religiosos, por el expresado Colegio resuelto quedarme á administrar por mi mismo ésta Mision y Real Presidio en compañia de P. Predicador Fr. Fernando Parron, uno de los de dicho numero y Colegio, asigné á las demás Misiones los Ministros en ésta forma." Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 484-485.

Mission San José del Cabo: Fr. Juan Moran. During the Jesuit period this mission was secularized. A military post was situated here.

Mission Santiago de los Córas with about three hundred and fifty Indians,[1] including those about San José del Cabo: Fr. José Murguía.

Mission Nuestra Señora del Pilár, or Todos Santos, formerly Santa Rosa, with about ninety neophytes: Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora.

Mission Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, or La Pasion, with about four hundred and fifty Indian converts: Fr. Francisco Gómez.

Mission San Luis Gonzaga, situated eight leagues west of Dolores, with three hundred and ten neophytes: Fr. Andrés Villaumbrales.

Mission San Francisco Javier, with four hundred and eighty-five Indian Christians: Fr. Francisco Palóu.

Mission San José de Comundú, with three hundred and sixty native Christians: Fr. Antonio Martinez.

Mission Purisima Concepcion de Cadegomó, with one hundred and thirty neophytes: Fr. Juan Crespi.

Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, with five hundred and thirty Indian Christians: Fr. Juan Sancho de la Torre.

Mission Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, with three hundred native Christians: Fr. Juan Ignacio Gaston.

Mission San Ignacio de Kada-Kaaman, with seven hundred and fifty native Christians: Fr. Miguél de la Campa y Cos.

Mission Santa Gertrudis, with about one thousand converts: Fr. Dionisio Basterra.

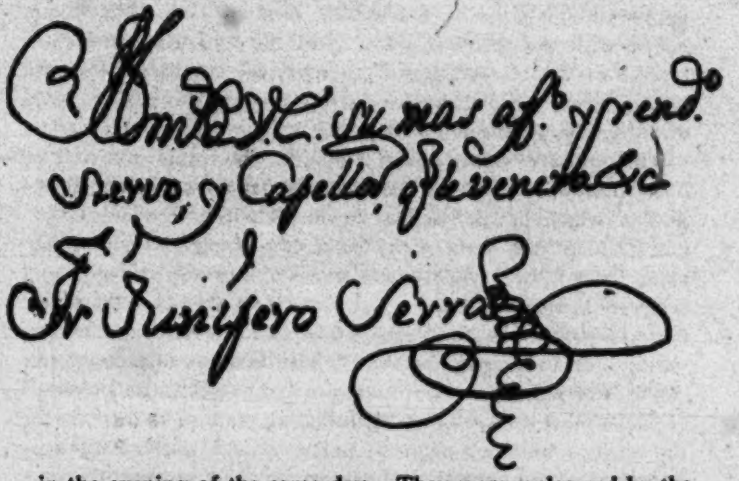
Mission San Francisco de Borja, with fifteen hundred neophytes: Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen.

Mission Santa Maria de los Angeles, with three hundred Christian Indians and thirty catechumens: Fr. Juan de Medina Beytia, or Veitia.

Mission and Presidio Nuestra Señora de Loreto, with about four hundred neophytes, soldiers, sailors, and their families: Fr. Presidente Junípero Serra and Fr. Fernando Parron.

[1] The figures are from Clavijero, "Historia," lib. iv, sec. xvi, 109.

All the Fathers expressed themselves well satisfied with the assignments, and each one thanked God for the post allotted to him. On the following day, Wednesday, April 6th, the Fr. Presidente once more fervently exhorted all to keep in mind the purpose for which they had come, and to labor in the Lord's vineyard with credit to their Apostolic College. Before separating every one agreed to offer up twenty holy Masses for the repose of the soul of any of their number who should pass out of this life.[3] Leaving the presidente and his companion at Loreto, the fourteen friars set out together for Mission San Francisco Javier, which they reached at eight



in the evening of the same day. They were welcomed by the Rev. Pedro Fernández, chaplain of the troops, who for want of a missionary had attended this mission. The next day a High Mass was sung in honor of this mission's patron saint, and on the 8th of April the eight religious, whose missions were in the north, and the five whose missions were in the south, started out for their respective stations, leaving Fr.

[3] A similar compact had been made at Tepic with the Fathers of the College of Querétaro, who took charge of northern Sonora. All agreed to celebrate nine holy Masses for any Father that died on the mission. The cut is a fac-simile of Serra's signature.

Palóu at San Javier. Rev. Pedro Fernández remained there as guest.

At each mission the soldier comisionado turned over to the new missionary, by way of inventory, the church and sacristy with all the vestments, sacred vessels, and furniture, the dwelling, and the household goods. The inventories were drawn up in duplicate; one copy remained at the mission, the other was sent to the College of San Fernando in Mexico. At Loreto only the church and sacristy were ceded to the missionaries; the dwelling was retained by the governor, who, like the comisionados at the other missions, controlled all the temporalities. Fathers Serra and Parron were obliged to board with the governor, who paid the expenses from the income of the mission and from what the comisionados sent him from the other missions. In this manner the Fathers had to subsist at all the missions.

The military comisionado provided the meals and reimbursed himself out of the mission property which he managed and of which he disposed as he liked to the wonder of the natives, who had been in the habit of looking to their priest as to their father. The missionary had not only given them religious instruction, but he had also kindly provided for their corporal necessities, and had made them presents of every variety for their extra services. The Franciscans, however, could offer nothing, either to attract or to reward the Indians. It was a most unworthy and humiliating state of things which the natives were not slow to perceive, and which naturally provoked contempt instead of respect for their spiritual guides. During the Jesuit rule the Indians saw that religion was supreme and its representative was independent; now they found religion treated as a secondary matter, and the missionary himself subject to the whims of men who cared nothing for the welfare of the neophytes. It is not strange that under such circumstances the Indians lost their exalted ideas about a religion whose teachers could be dealt with so unworthily.[4]

"The evils of such a system," even Bancroft is constrained

[4] Palou, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. v, 21-24.

to admit, "had been clearly foreseen. The comisionados could not be expected to take a very deep interest in the welfare of the country, the prosperity of the missions, or the comfort of the natives. They lacked skill, interest, and conscience for an economical administration of the temporalities. The padres could no longer attract the pagans by gifts of food and clothing; and their loss of power caused the neophytes to have less respect for them than for the Jesuits. The result justified the president's (Serra's) remonstrances.[5] The missions declined under the new régime, and it soon became clear that, unless the spiritual authority and the temporal were reunited, a few years would suffice to undo all that the Jesuits had accomplished";[6] for "it has long since been demonstrated impossible to reach the heart of the savage through abstract ideas of morality and elevation of character. A religion, in order to find favor in his eyes, must first meet some of his material requirements. If it is good, it will clothe him better and feed him better; for this to him is the chief good in life."[7]

The Franciscans submitted to the disagreeable conditions, but anxiously awaited the coming of the inspector-general,[8] Don José de Galvez, whom King Carlos III. in 1765 had sent to New Spain with almost absolute powers. Independent of the viceroy in many respects, only nominally subordinate in others, he was to all intents the highest authority in New Spain.[9] In addition, Galvez was remarkable for his business ability, untiring energy, and disregard of all routine formalities that stood in his way.[10]

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[5] From what Palóu relates (see note 29, preceding chapter) it seems improbable that Serra remonstrated concerning the temporalities. Galvez himself quickly saw the necessity of placing the property of the missions in charge of the missionaries.

[6] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 485.

[7] Bancroft, "Native Races," vol i, 33.

[8] "Visitador-General" is the title in Spanish.

[9] "El Exmo Señor, Marqués de Croix, virrey de Nueva España, me ha transferido todas sus superiores facultades," Galvez writes to Fr. Lasuen from La Paz, Nov. 23, 1768.

[10] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vi, 24; "Vida," cap. xiii, 57; Bancroft, "History of California," vol. i, 114-115.

In order to ascertain the situation on the peninsula, the inspector-general with his family embarked at San Blas on May 24th, 1768. Contrary winds kept the ship at sea until the 6th of July, when it was driven to Cerralvo Island. From there he proceeded to Santa Ana, where his family was lodged with the wealthy mine-owner, Manuel Osio. On July 12th he sent orders to every mission requesting each missionary and each comisionado to forward a true report of the conditions at each establishment, and of the number of Indians belonging to each mission. Meanwhile Galvez himself visited the missions about Cape San Lucas. When he found that Mission San José del Cabo had no church, he ordered the royal commissariat of Santa Ana to furnish $800 for the erection of a church building; but as no master-mechanic could be obtained, the work was postponed by the missionary until suitable laborers could be procured.[11]

While on his tour of inspection in the south, Galvez saw with indignation that the mission property was hastening to destruction through the extravagance, dishonesty, mismanagement and want of interest of the comisionados. He likewise observed that in consequence the spiritual and moral affairs of the missions were also suffering; that the Indians showed obedience only to those that gave them anything; that only gifts and threats could move them to attend prayers, instructions, and divine worship; and that the missionaries, not having control of any property whatsoever, could not advance the spiritual interests of their neophytes. The remedy demanded was radical, and Galvez promptly applied it. On August 12th he commanded all the comisionados to turn over the temporalities of the missions to the missionaries; to draw up an account of their whole administration, and to hand it to the respective missionary for correction and for transmission to the inspector-general at Santa Ana. This order was executed everywhere except at Loreto, so that the Franciscans had absolute control of their missions like their Jesuit predecessors. The Fathers, as far as possible, tried to exon-

[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vi, 24-25.

erate or excuse the soldiers who had so poorly managed the property; but the reports of some comisionados disclosed such disregard for duty that severe punishment appeared certain. At the intercession of the missionaries the indignant inspector-general contented himself with simply discharging some of the culprits, and sending the others along with the expedition which was preparing to set out for Monterey.

In a letter to Fr. Palóu,[13] however, Galvez gave vent to his feelings in no uncertain terms. "I have returned safely from a pilgrimage to Cape San Lucas," he writes, "and have discovered some important things, and therefore my decrees for the missions of your part of the peninsula, that the temporalities be delivered to Your Reverences, leave to-day, and so the missions will escape from the oppressive rule of the presidio soldiers, some of whom deserve to go to another (place) nearer than Loreto.[13] Your Reverence should rid yourself in this particular of the rascal whom you have in your mission, and do not for his sake keep secret anything which he may have concealed. Promise him my justice if it should be necessary to make him acknowledge what he may have removed; only by this means will he be able to disarm my severity; though no blood may flow, I shall know how to give him what he deserves."[14]

"In another letter," says Palóu,[15] "which the inspector wrote to me after receiving the accounts of the soldier comisionados he expressed himself in this manner: 'I am very sorry to see the damage which before my arrival was done to the herds and goods of the poor missions for the purpose of destroying some more of that which still exists, and of giving me more to do than now; but for the future I will effectively cut out the damage at the root.'"[16]

It is not strange that the inspector-general should display

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[13] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vi, 27.

[13] "que algunos de ellos habrán hecho merito para ir á otro mas cercano que Loreto."

[14] "aunque no corra sangre le sabré dar su merecido."

[15] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vi, 28.

[16] "pero yo cortaré bien el daño en la raiz, para lo venidero."

so much indignation, for the soldier-agents or comisionados in their enforced reports confessed the number of cattle which they had slaughtered within little more than six months during which period they had controlled the missions. Thus one soldier acknowledged that he had killed six hundred head of cattle; another, four hundred; a third, three hundred. The mere reading of these reports caused amazement.[17] "Equally ruinous," says Palóu, "were the receipts and expenditures, so that, as things went, it was to be feared that within a year the missions would have possessed nothing."[18]

"Though all the Fathers clearly saw," Palóu writes,[19] "that through the mismanagement of the soldiers the missions were going to destruction, as far as the temporalities were concerned, and that in spiritual matters they could not be advanced in any way, because the Indians were not at their disposal, but at that of the soldiers who controlled the missions, they were far from soliciting the management of the temporalities.[20] On the contrary, they plainly gave Don Galvez to understand how they felt about it; for when the inspector-general in person handed his decree to Fr. Juan Moran of Mission San José del Cabo, the latter excused himself and declared that he had

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[17] "de manera, que causó horror al leer lo que ellos mismos confesaban."

[18] "de los frutos y saldos fué igualmente el destrozo, de manera, que segun iba, dentro de un año se podia temer se quedasen las misiones sin nada, y del todo perdidas y sin fuerza para poder levantar cabeza." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vi, 28.

[19] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vi, 28-29.

[20] Yet, with Palóu's honest statement before him, Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 296-297, asserts "that there can be no doubt that they (Franciscans) willingly entered into the general plans which involved their (Jesuits) destruction. Long before any public intimation had been given, and before the Jesuits themselves had any idea of the impending expulsion, the Franciscans had taken measures to fill their places and administer their estates." For this absurd and malevolent charge Hittell offers not the slightest evidence. The viceroy entrusted the missions to the Franciscans, and it was understood that they should have the same complete control which the Jesuits possessed. Further than that, either as individuals or as a community, they cared nothing for the temporalities. See for their mode of life Appendix F.

not come for such a purpose; and that if he had known of it in Mexico, he would not have left the College; but to show the inspector-general that it was very expedient to control the temporal affairs in order to promote the spiritual, and that, even though a religious, he was a subject of the king, he declared himself obliged to do this service to His Majesty, inasmuch as it redounded to the spiritual welfare of souls. No less repugnance did Galvez find with the missionary of Mission Santiago de los Córas; for he saw the mission in such a very deplorable state, that it was necessary to urge him to accept the charge, the inspector promising him every assistance to restore it, and so he did. The same difficulty occurred at nearly all the missions;[21] but they had to yield, though they found no other consolation in their new charge than that by means of it they could advance the missions in spiritual matters, which is the principal object of our Institute. In a short time they began to notice and experience in the Indians more obedience, submissiveness, and punctual attendance at the Doctrina, the prayers, and divine worship in the church."

From the reports of the missionaries and of the temporary administrators concerning the number of Indian families, the land capable of cultivation, and the property belonging to each mission, and from personal observations in the south, Don Galvez clearly saw that some of the missionary establishments would never be able to maintain all the Indians on their lists; and that in the future as in the past their neophytes would have to rove about the mountains and subsist upon whatever could be gathered. On the other hand, there were some missions which possessed an abundance of land and water which could support many more natives than they reported, if the Indians would only submit to live in a civilized manner.

The inspector-general determined to equalize things by re-

[21] Bancroft would not go as far as Hittell, but in his "History of Texas," vol. i, 486, he claims that the friars "only feigned reluctance for effect." There must be better evidence than his "ipse dixit" to make the thoughtful reader believe as much.

moving the surplus population of the less favored missions to those with fewer Indians but with more arable lands. A few seemed incapable of improvement, and these he resolved to suppress. Accordingly the missions of Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga in the south were abandoned, and their eight hundred people, accompanied by their missionaries, made their homes at Todos Santos, where good land and water abounded. Its own few Indians[22] were sent to Mission Santiago, where Galvez intended to organize the natives into a pueblo.[23] To San José del Cabo he added forty-four neophytes from San Francisco Xavier. In September, 1768, the decrees were executed at San Luis Gonzaga by the Ayudante Mayor Juan Gutiérrez, and at Dolores or La Pasion by José Garaza, lieutenant of the dragoons, each having a number of soldiers to aid him. The missionaries received orders to turn over to these men all the vestments and other articles, which were then transported to Santa Ana.

Lest through the extinction of the two missions the territory between San Xavier and Todos Santos, a distance of about one hundred leagues, be depopulated, the inspector established a ranch at San Luis Gonzaga, forty leagues from San Xavier, to serve as an inn for travelers. A soldier, Felipe Romero, and his family, were given possession of the land. The missionary of San Xavier was directed to attend to the spiritual wants of the little colony. In case that two Fathers were stationed at the mission, one of them was to celebrate holy Mass at San Luis once a month, for which reason sufficient vestments, etc., remained there.

From the reports of the Fathers and of the comisionados Galvez learned that a similar state of things existed in some missions of the north. He, therefore, removed the surplus population, which could not be supported at the missions of Guadalupe and Santa Gertrudis, to the less populous missions of San José de Comundú and Purisima Concepcion, which possessed more land with abundant water than they needed. The intention was to induce the natives everywhere to live

[22] Clavijero, lib. iv, page 109, gives only ninety.

[23] Indian settlement placed in charge of a secular priest.

together in community, rather than be scattered about, so that they could be systematically instructed and habituated to a civilized manner of living.[24]

[24] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. vii, 30-33.

CHAPTER III.

Galvez Forbids Gambling.—Fr. Lasuen's Reply.—Galvez's Letter to Lasuen.—Galvez Orders Removal of Indians to Distant Missions.—Fr. Lasuen Remonstrates.—Galvez Approves Lasuen's Measures.—Galvez's Unfriendliness to the Jesuits.—Plans for the Improvement of the Indians.—His Proclamation.—His Indignation.—Blames the Jesuits Unjustly.—His Reply to Lasuen's Complaint.

DON GALVEZ showed himself much dissatisfied not only with the condition in which he found the Indians and their missions, but also with the conduct of the few white people on the peninsula. This and his attempt to remove the natives from their northern homes, as he had done in the south, brought out an interesting correspondence between the inspector-general and Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, the missionary of San Francisco de Borja. As it throws much light on the prevailing state of things, it is reproduced here. In a letter written at Santa Ana on September 14th, 1768, and addressed to Fr. Lasuen, Don Galvez in one particular gives expression to his disgust as follows: "Constrained by the frequent and positive reports, which have aroused my anger, that all the inhabitants of this peninsula have become addicted to the vice of gambling, not excepting the unhappy Indians of some missions, which among them dissipates and destroys what little they succeed in acquiring through hard labor by disregarding the most commendable occupations and urgent necessities, I have found it necessary to publish the subjoined edict in this town and its neighborhood, and to command that the same be done at the capital of Loreto, in order that the inhabitants become aware of the resolution, which I have made, not to tolerate nor to dissimulate the smallest neglect of its observance. Desirous also that the Indians of all the missions should know it, I direct Your Reverence to make those living under your care understand this regulation by having it affixed in the most public place, and warning them of the displeasure I shall feel if they cease to obey and observe it, and force me to make an example which will serve

as a warning. I hope from the zeal and piety of Your Reverence that you will devote yourself to abolish diversions so harmful, and to explain the advantage which accrues to those that avoid them."[1]

In his reply[2] Fr. Lasuen states that he has complied with the inspector's directions, but that the vice of card-playing did not exist among the Indians of San Francisco de Borja, nor the vice of smoking tobacco; that only one neophyte and one pagan Indian had in vain applied for tobacco; that more were inclined to use tobacco in the form of snuff, perhaps because the Jesuits had humored them in this. In fact, some only asked for it in the hope of receiving some clothing or something else. "What is called wild tobacco[3] here is a kind of herb or plant that grows wild almost everywhere, wherefore they neither plant it, nor purchase it, nor sell it, nor barter it. They use it most inordinately in their savage state, as I am informed, especially when they want to attack a rancheria or wage war against a hostile rancheria. For that reason, and because they know it injures them even when used moderately, they have a horror for it as soon as they become Christians."

Galvez had proposed that tobacco be distributed to the Indians from the royal warehouse at Loreto at the expense of the common fund of each mission. In the same letter, Lasuen, however, remarks that, though he had no objection to giving snuff to the Indians to gain their good will, or when they asked for it, it should not be at the expense of the common mission fund, "because, Most Illustrious and Pious Sir," he writes, "my children are most numerous, and hungry, and naked; and, therefore, I consider that it will be more agreeable to both Majesties[4] and to you, Illustrious Sir, that

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[1] Galvez to Lasuen, "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

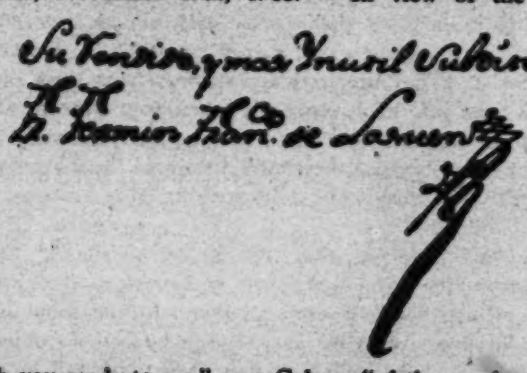
[2] Lasuen to Galvez, October 22, 1768, "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum. The archives at Santa Barbara are not indexed. Reference can be made to date only.

[3] "Tabaco silvestre."

[4] "Ambas Majestades," i. e. God and the king, a frequent expression in the official reports of the missionaries.

the greater necessity be preferred to that which is smaller, or which properly is none at all." Fr. Lasuen goes on to say that he had promised the Indians that the inspector-general would relieve their necessities; that the people of his mission and of Mission Santa Maria, farther north, were in a sad condition for want of food and clothing; that the last crop of corn had amounted to only fifty fanegas; that during the five months in which he had charge his mission had not received a grain of aid from anywhere; and that he hoped that the inspector would forward the much needed provisions.

The result of Fr. Lasuen's letter were the extraordinary measures mentioned in a letter of Galvez to Lasuen dated La Paz, November 17th, 1768.[5] "In view of the report



which you made to me," says Galvez, "of the number of Indians in your mission, and of the entire lack of means to maintain and sustain them so that they need not continue their mountain life as in their pagan state, and of the particular and general information received about the conditions and circumstances of all the missions of the north, and by procuring with the vigilance which since my arrival on this peninsula I have applied to what could be of benefit to it and its unhappy natives, I have decided after mature reflection that the most expedient means to relieve those whom Your Reverence has in charge, and to advance this southern part

[5] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

of the province, will be the removal of a portion, or of some rancherías of them, to the territory of Mission San José del Cabo.[6] In this manner a part of the burden which you cannot sustain will be taken away; San José will be augmented by a number of inhabitants and laborers of whom it is now extremely short; this southern part will suffer less want of provisions and food by reason of the larger harvests which it will be able to reap in the fertile and pleasant fields where those poor Indians will employ themselves; and they will obtain compensation for their labor in the improvement of their portion of the lands which I shall grant them as their own property, besides being assured of abundant food in the missions by living there in decency and culture.[7]

"I have communicated this plan to the Rev. Fr. Presidente, and he not only recognized the expediency and utility of it, but thought its execution necessary and indispensable;[8] hence I now begin to take the steps that seem to me opportune for its execution, and I give orders this very day to the captains of the launches *San Ignacio* and *San Borja* to sail for Bay San Luis and on their return to take on board the families which Your Reverence delivers to them for the purpose of transporting them to this port; and I earnestly recommend that you, with your accustomed zeal, which is necessary, take upon yourself the trouble of selecting and equipping the Indians whom I destine for removal, and bear in mind that it is not expedient that unmarried men come,[9] and place before them the advantages which they obtain from the favor which is proposed to them so that they embrace it with pleasure; for if they comprehend them, I believe no one will have

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[6] A distance of more than two hundred leagues! This shows that Galvez knew not the character of the Indian, who clings to his native district more tenaciously than the white man.

[7] Galvez meant well, but he did not consider the indolent, unambitious nature of the Indians, and therefore his plan was Utopian and premature.

[8] It is remarkable that the experienced Fr. Serra should have thought the plan feasible; but Galvez's assertion is corroborated by Serra's own statement, which see on page 353.

[9] There was already a scarcity of women in the south.

repugnance to remove from misery and starvation and to abandon his ungrateful soil.

"I have instructed the ship-masters to take into the barks all the families that they can without crowding them, and I doubt not that Your Reverence will furnish the provisions which the Indians may need for their maintenance during their voyage, which under the actual circumstances may be very short, and that you may leave nothing undone that may be conducive to the success of this important plan."

Fr. Lasuen, however, who had not labored in vain among the Indians of Mexico before coming to California, was not awed into executing the unwise order of even the mighty Galvez without showing the impossibility of its execution, although it was said to have received his superior's approbation. In a letter of December 20th, 1768,[10] he writes: "Though I know the arrangement is very just and necessary, I consider it at this time exposed to many difficulties and more or less impossible of execution. Apart from the fact that this mission has no power over the Indians who might embark in the two launches, I have not the food to give even to the few at the mission, and I have not the clothing to give them with which they might protect themselves somewhat against the inclemency of the weather, which is at present extremely cold.

"These Indians, Illustrious Sir, are still untamed and new in Christianity, and therefore it is very difficult to make them comprehend the great utility which would come to them from the change and the favorable advantages which you offer them. They should first witness these advantages in others. Let the results of your pious and liberal regulations be experienced in some community which is provided with food and clothing, even though for only a short time; then it will be easy to persuade them and even to convince them that, as they cannot maintain themselves in that way by reason of the barrenness and unfruitfulness of their soil, it will be necessary to move to where during their whole life they have

[10] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

the pleasure of such valuable and attractive conveniences. In this way I think your most important, ingenious, wise, and prudent idea will have the desired effect. On the other hand, I am certain that merely proposing it, and much more attempting it, would seriously disquiet the neophytes and estrange the pagans entirely, and moreover might result in making the project impossible, or at least much more difficult. I have practical proofs of this which I could explain to you, but omit lest I pass from the tedious to the fastidious . . ."

When, therefore, the launch *San Borja* arrived to carry out the will of the inspector-general, Fr. Lasuen by letter of January 15th, 1769,[11] informed the captain that he had suspended the transportation of the Indians until further orders from Don Galvez. The latter, on receiving Fr. Lasuen's remonstrance, replied from Cape San Lucas on February 20th, 1769,[12] "From the letter of Your Reverence of the 29th of December I see the difficulties, which your prudence points out, of putting into practise, for the time being, my plan of transporting to this southern region some of the rancherías which are attached to your mission, and I approve that you have in consequence suspended the sending of some families, as I proposed, in the boats which had to return from Bay San Luis."

Despite his piety and sincerity, Galvez had not escaped the contagion of prejudice prevailing in the government circles against the Jesuits. To this, and not to facts, since none is advanced, must be attributed the strictures applied by the inspector-general to the management of the former missionaries of California. These criticisms are found in a letter to Fr. Lasuen and in a bando or proclamation, both dated at the Port of La Paz on November 23d, 1768,[13] after he had received full reports from all over the peninsula, and after he had in person visited the southern establishments. Owing

[11] "Santa Barbara Archives."
[12] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.
[13] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

to the important subjects with which they deal, and because Bancroft alludes to them, the two documents follow here entire.

"It is not a little painful and repugnant to me," Galvez writes to Fr. Lasuen, "to relate the defects of those who by their state and ministry might have left us the agreeable occupation of praising their public acts; but apart from the character and duties which constrain me to tell the truth without dissimulation, and to undeceive those that, moved by their blind passion, bewail as a damage to these missions the most just[14] regulations of our most august sovereign, which in time averted their ultimate ruin, it is never easy, or scarcely sure of success at least, to apply the remedies without exposing the evils in all their gravity. Nevertheless, in the accompanying proclamation I have omitted many more damages[15] which the religious of the Society have caused on this unfortunate peninsula (and some of which Your Reverence yourself will have noticed), because they would not be heard without scandal and would greatly aggravate the conduct of their authors.[16]

"Knowing, then, the damages which grieve our eyes and pierce our hearts, Your Reverences and I together must spare no fatigue, labor, nor watchfulness which lead to the worthy compliance with the respective obligations which the two

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[14] The unbiased historian will hardly subscribe to this assertion. The decree of expulsion was anything but just, either in itself or in its execution. Blind passion rather governed the king and his infidel ministers. Had they found anything criminal against their victims, they would not have concealed it.

[15] "Estragos" is the term Galvez uses.

[16] No specific charges are made. The Franciscans never spoke of the Jesuits except in terms of respect, so that it is impossible even to guess what Galvez means, unless he attributes the condition of the peninsula, after it had been in absolute control of soldier comisionados, to the former missionaries, which would be unjust. He may have listened to some discontented Indians who shrewdly told him what he wanted to hear. The author has discovered absolutely nothing incriminating the Jesuits; nor did the unfriendly eyes of Bancroft's scribes find anything, or he would certainly have published it.

Kings of heaven and earth[17] have placed upon us, and put into practise whatever measures may be opportune to improve the unhappy condition of these poor people who have been treated with so much disregard, and who have improved themselves so little that they scarcely appear to be rational beings of the secondary species.

"Unless they are made to live together in organized towns, these natives can never be civilized, nor will Your Reverence firmly trust that the Christian Religion may take root in their hearts whose purity[18] is much imperiled in the roving creatures who wander through the mountains after the manner of wild beasts seeking pastures and following their unbridled liberty. Hence it is indispensable to place the Indians, who are under instruction, in real settlements, be it at the principal station of the mission, or be it in determined spots of its district, where they can be visited, instructed, and held in proper order.[19]

"The total nakedness in which men and women have lived did not, either in the former or in the latter, permit that modesty to arise which is the first motor of all the actions and virtues in rational beings who know it and have it. For this reason it is also necessary that all the natives of both sexes be clothed, however poorly, as they themselves wish, in order that, having been accustomed to cover their bodies, natural shame and modesty appear in them, and the desire awaken in them to acquire something with which to relieve their necessities of this class.

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[17] "Los dos Reyes de Cielo y Tierra." A singular juxtaposition. The missionaries frequently use the term "ambas Majestades." Both expressions appear irreverent in English. They show with what awe the Spaniards looked upon royalty, and why the Fathers were so submissive to royal orders, even such as the decree of expulsion.

[18] That is to say the purity of religion.

[19] This was the only practicable remedy proposed by the Franciscans for Texas long before, and insisted upon in Upper California; but for such a purpose it was not necessary to transplant the Indians far away from the neighborhood of their nativity against their will, as Galvez proposed.

"Likewise we shall agree to be more urgent, as it is of prime necessity, to provide the missions with everything necessary, in order that they may be able to gather the vagrant rancherías and reduce them to fixed domiciles. This regulation would be impossible, if my decrees had not been anticipated in various parts in order to overcome a difficulty which might have left the whole work without result. I have already on this coast the two packet-boats, *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, which are destined for the expedition to Monterey and carry abundant provisions; a third, named *San Joseph*, is to follow them; and at the proper time I have ordered two royal ships to pass over to the port of Ahomé to fetch grain collected there by my orders. Hence, through the favor of God, there will be nothing wanting now to the needy missions, neither corn nor clothing to maintain and to clothe your wards; and as to the future, we must overlook no contingency, lest in the ordinary course of things the most serious troubles recur when the natives cannot subsist and must depend entirely upon outside help. I shall direct that in every mission of the north only those remain who can be fed, and with the Indians of the surplus rancherías from the poorer missions I shall increase the number of neophytes in the missions that possess fertile lands but lack the people to cultivate them, as has been done in those of the south.

"Your Reverence sees here an explanation sufficiently ample and even prolix of the plan contained in the decree which I enclose. It reduces itself to a few words, namely, in California there must be no native who is not attached to a colony or town, and who does not maintain and clothe himself like a rational being. If the undertaking is arduous, it is also too pious and just that we should not do our share for heaven. Divine and human laws command us to attempt it and to follow it up with all our strength, and while we obey them as they deserve with firm will and honest application, we must not doubt the success of our efforts.

"In these missions of the south all the difficulties which presented themselves were overcome in a few days, and my regulations had not so many human aids (for I had just

arrived) as now facilitate them for us with the arrival of the packet-boats. As soon as I have despatched them for the ports of San Diego and Monterey, I shall go up to Loreto to execute quickly what I propose. My decrees, after having been well considered, are generally very determined and demand an execution correspondingly prompt, and in the present circumstance must of necessity be rapid and expeditious, because many other affairs call me to different parts and little time remains to me for staying in California.

"Above all, Your Reverence may know that very soon six Academicians from France must arrive here, accompanied by two cavalier officials of the Spanish navy, to make astronomical observations on this peninsula, and it is probable that they will traverse and examine the greater part of it; so that, if only this circumstance stimulated our energy, it ought to be sufficient to animate us to greater endeavors to improve at once as far as possible the state of the country and the condition of the natives, because the honor of the government, that of the nation as well as that of the Seraphic Order, is concerned, so that a few learned strangers may not find in this province and its missions the wretched objects and horrid deserts which I encountered four months ago; and in order that they may not have reason to form the judgment and to publish in their narratives that the greatest and most pious monarch of the world is in California the lord of deserts, and that he has as subjects Indians who go about as vagrants and live like untamed brutes.[39]

"Finally, Your Reverence, please to tell me what you need at present to maintain the rancherias of your mission and to cover the nakedness of men and boys with some cotton cloth

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[39] The party of French and Spanish scientists under Monsieur Chappe d' Auteroche, whose object was to observe the transit of Venus on June 3d, arrived at Cape San Lucas on May 19th, 1769. The observations were successful, and the result was published at Paris three years later. Unfortunately the visitors were attacked by a pestilential fever which carried off M. Auteroche and two other members of the commission. Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiv, 68; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 727.

and trousers, and that of the women and girls with skirts and chemise; moreover inform me exactly about the number of families who are wanting, or who are superfluous in your mission, in order that those collected there might subsist and be cared for in conformity with the new plan which I am about to establish."

The *bando* or proclamation dated November 23d, 1768, and which was to be posted in some public place at every mission and pueblo, reads as follows: "The antiquity of the missions of this peninsula, the grand endowments with which they were founded by pious persons, the copious alms which other individuals donated to support them, the immense sums expended from the royal treasury in the conquest and preservation of the province, and above all the profound respect and indispensable obedience due to the wise laws of our Catholic monarch who devised the most just rules for the conversion of the pagan Indians, are all special circumstances which promised the finding in California of a people well instructed, civilized, and happy; but after the expulsion of the religious of the Society it has been seen with as much amazement as pain that these missions have made of it (California) mere farms[21] with habitations only for the missionary and a few servants, or soldiers of the presidio; that the natives of both sexes generally go naked and with their barbarous habits stifling what is decent and even what is rational; that having been withdrawn from the sea-shores by the missionaries they live in the mountains as vagrants searching for roots, seeds, fruits, and animals with which to sustain themselves; that deprived in this way of the great help of fishing and diving, in which they were very expert while pagans, they did not find equivalent recompense in subjection to the Reductions,[22] where they were made to work by turns, without in many of them receiving some food for their toil;[23] that for this reason, looking

[21] "Granjas ó Haciendas de Campo."

[22] Reductions, missions, doctrinas, conquests are used promiscuously.

[23] This is historically untrue, as far as the Jesuit period is concerned, but applicable to the conditions under the soldier comisionados.

upon the ungrateful and even tyrannical work with natural horror,[34] they hated agriculture, fled from the mission, and looked upon society as upon the worst of evils; that the missions established in fertile districts, lacked Indians to cultivate their fields, whilst the more sterile ones had numerous rancherias which under any system could never support them; that none of the natives was permitted to have a piece of land or anything of his own, lest he forget through this alleviation the insufferable slavery under which all sighed, and lest the little industry of a miserable Indian give the lie to the general impression which the expelled[35] had published to the world that California is very sterile and almost uninhabitable;[36] and that the necessary consequence of such a system was the deplorable injury which the converted Indians have suffered; for of the great number of those whom the first discoverers and the others, who later navigated both seas, encountered in this country and its adjacent pueblos the total population finds itself reduced to seven thousand one hundred and forty-nine natives of both sexes, including even the recently born in the exact and long lists which the Rev. mission-

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[34] From innate laziness they hated any kind of labor; this was the true reason. The same reason holds good to this day. It is evident that Galvez had given ear to some discontented Indians, who noticed what he was not unwilling to hear. See Appendix G for Indian veracity.

[35] The Jesuits. Galvez seldom uses the term Jesuit.

[36] The missionaries reported what was and is true. "The indomitable barrenness of Lower California," says Forbes writing about 1830 when he lived there, "has not only necessarily kept at an extremely low ebb her agriculture and commerce, but has given the country so bad a character that its resources fall far below their intrinsic value." "California," 61-63. If a man apparently as religious and honest as Don José de Galvez could be so blinded by politics as to make himself guilty of such manifest injustice, to revile a religious Order of his Church and belittle the heroic efforts of its members, in order to have an unchristian and tyrannical act of his king appear justified, we need not wonder at the monstrous, though equally unhistorical, charges of men with corrupt and infidel propensities.

ary Fathers of the Propagation of the Faith [37] have formed in obedience to my decree of July 12th of this year.

"Now, in order to comply with the intentions of the king, our lord, who looks upon the poorest and the most distant subjects of his throne with as much love and tenderness as upon those that have the happy privilege of enjoying his royal presence, and also to prove myself worthy of the entire and honorable confidence with which the most excellent Marqués de Croix, viceroy of New Spain, has transferred to me all his superior faculties, I must, trusting the success to the mercies of Divine Providence, apply all means and human resources for the purpose of perfecting in a short time the great work already begun and entirely obtained (?) in this southern California, of reducing all the natives to stationary domiciles and well-organized pueblos, in order that they submit to work the land in return for the grant of some fields of their own, where they can reap the reward of their personal labor, supporting themselves with their own products which they sow and cultivate, and of inducing them to go clothed, by beginning to arouse in them a natural shame to see themselves naked, so that all individually or collectively may maintain themselves with the help of the missions to which they are attached [38]

"I make known to all that comprise the missions of the north, and declare for their consolation, that from now on I will give the most effective orders to aid them in all their necessities by sending grain upon which they may subsist, and clothing with which they may clothe themselves, in two boats

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[37] The Franciscans, so called from the mother-house, which was an apostolic college for the propagation of the faith. The causes of the decrease in the number of the natives has been explained in preceding pages; likewise it is clear from the same pages that the natives were treated kindly by the missionaries. If Galvez had waited six months longer, his remarkable proclamation would not have been issued with the strictures which it contains.

[38] All this the former missionaries had endeavored to effect for seventy years; and if they failed it was precisely because the politicians in Mexico would not lend the aid which Galvez now appears to offer.

which I shall despatch from this port in the beginning of the next month of December; and others will follow them which will leave the port of Loreto or Escondido, for whose safety in the voyages the natives of said missions ought to fervently pray to God, our Lord, and I trust that He will fill them with blessings, if recognizing His infinite mercies they offer themselves with good will to obey these regulations, which for their welfare I communicate to the Rev. missionary Fathers, and I pray and charge their Reverences to explain them and make them understand them perfectly. Given at the Port of La Paz, on the 23d of November, 1768. Joseph de Galvez."

In reply to Fr. Lasuen's complaint that his Indians were destitute and needed food instead of tobacco, Galvez wrote another characteristic and interesting letter which deserves to be reproduced. It was dated La Paz, November 23d, 1768, like the two preceding documents.[39] "I believe," he says, "that the best answer which I can give to Your Reverence in reply to your letter of the 22d of the previous month, is to refer to the enclosed orders and decrees, and to what you have seen commanded since September, that the warehouse of Loreto should provide the missions of the north with what is necessary and might be there. A copy of this repeated order will be forwarded to the Rev. Fr. Palóu, to whom it is directed in order that he give notice to all the Rev. missionary Fathers of that department.

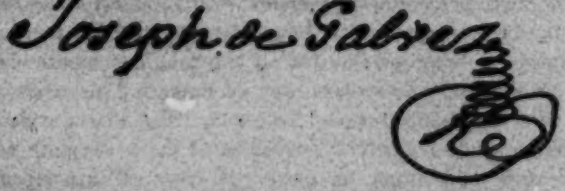
"I will only add on this point that nothing will remain undone to relieve the needy missions than that Your Reverence, as you are in the same predicament with your mission, pray with it to the Lord to quiet the northwinds, so that the two boats, which I shall send with provisions from here very soon, may have a quick and safe voyage; and with my natural frankness I also assure you, as well as the other missionary Fathers, that after the steps shall have been taken with deliberation, which I must do in order to remedy the damages in the root, and in order that abundance may prevail here, they

[39] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

will test your reputation, though I do not wish it, for my regulations will be made public, and the world will see that I could do no more, and that the executors of them could do no less, which in truth I do not hope.

"Concerning that which Your Reverence replies on the subject of tobacco, I am informed that among your Indians its use is not even introduced with so much fondness as among others, and it is well not to distribute it to all; but I have it for smoking and snuffing at the royal store in order to gratify those that deserve it, for I do not command that those be led into the vice who do not have it.[10]

"Very important and useful for your mission could be the income from the skins of the sea-otter, which I am informed are obtained with facility, and which are an article much appreciated in commerce. I want Your Reverence to direct



the Indians of the missions to collect as many as they can for transmission to His Majesty and to the ministers, as likewise to the viceroy with the understanding that I shall pay for them through the commissary of Loreto at the current price, and that they will not be received as gifts by any means; for from no one in the world do I accept any gifts.[11] If Your Reverence advise me of the average number of said skins which each year could be delivered by those natives, I shall leave orders at the treasury or warehouse of Loreto, so that the royal commissary may receive them and pay for them in money or goods. Hence, after the money is assured

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[10] "Yo no mando que se les ponga en el vicio á los que no lo tengan." The above cut is a fac-simile of Galvez's signature.

[11] "porque de nadie en el mundo admito obsequios." Galvez was doubtless absolutely honest.

them by the royal treasury, the Indians will not have any excuse to forfeit so useful an income which may be of much relief to them and of assistance in their necessities." In a letter dated Cape San Lucas, February 20th, 1769, Galvez reverts to the same subject of otter-fishing.[22] Fr. Lasuen on December 20, 1768,[23] replied that he could send but very few skins, and gave little hope that much could be gained in that way.

[22] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.
[23] Ibidem.

CHAPTER IV.

Galvez Tries to Colonize the Peninsula.—Industrial School Plan.—Royal Orders for Securing Upper California.—Fr. Serra is Invited to Santa Ana.—Stipends of the Missionaries.—Expeditions by Land and Sea.—Old Missions to Furnish Church Goods.—Serra Visits the Southern Missions.—He Desires to Cede Some Missions.—Galvez Approves.—The San Carlos Equipped.—Galvez's Proclamation.—The "San Carlos" Sails.—The "San Antonio" Follows.—The "San Josef" Lost.—The Land Expeditions.

BESIDES making strong efforts to improve the condition of the natives, Galvez paid especial attention to the project of colonizing Lower California with Spaniards. On August 12th, 1768, he issued a decree setting forth the privileges offered to colonists and the regulations by which they were to be governed. Government lands were separated from mission lands and offered to Spaniards of good character on easy terms. The chief obligation was that the settlers should make improvements and pay a small annual tax to the king. The first to avail themselves of these advantages were discharged soldiers and sailors from Loreto; but there were few others before 1821.[1]

The two mining settlements of San Antonio del Oro and Santa Ana with a few ranchos[2] were organized into a district called Real de Minas, with headquarters at Santa Ana. The spiritual affairs of these settlers were placed in charge of the Rev.[3] Isidro Ibarzábal, who had come over with the Jaliscan Franciscans, but had staid on the peninsula after their departure for Sonora. He was appointed curate by Don Galvez at the request of Manuel de Osio, the mine-owner, and received his faculties from the bishop of Guadalajara.

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[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xii, 54; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 467.

[2] Rancho, farm.

[3] The Bancroft scribes make Br. in Palóu read Brother, forgetting that a mere Brother cannot be a parish priest. Br. stands for Bachiller, Bachelor of Science.

For the erection of a church the inspector-general ordered one thousand dollars to be paid to the new curate from the royal store, which was likewise opened at Santa Ana. Some money was contributed by the settlers. Galvez also directed that from the same source the priest should receive one dollar a day, which with the stipends he thought sufficient for the curate's support. A lieutenant-governor with jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters was also appointed for this part of the peninsula, likewise a commissary who had charge of farming and mining affairs. One mine was worked to pay the expenses for governing the country, which heretofore had been borne by the royal treasury in Mexico. For the protection of the colonies three companies of militia were organized.[4]

The energetic inspector next determined to establish an industrial school at Santa Ana under the direction of Rev. Ibarzábal, whither four Indian youths from each mission were to be sent for the purpose of learning various mechanical arts which they were to teach their people on their return to the missions. They were also to learn the culture of the cochineal which produced precious dyestuffs.[5]

Besides the colony of Santa Ana, another settlement was begun at the bay of San Bernabé, in order to afford relief and protection to the galleon sailing between the Philippines and Mexico. The control was placed in the hands of a lieutenant and three soldiers. Still another colony was founded at the port of La Paz, and a sergeant with two soldiers stationed there to protect the ships which brought supplies for Santa Ana. Manuel García Morales, the captain of a militia company, was appointed commissary to superintend the construction of the buildings with authority to act as judge in the name of the king. An amount of money was assigned to pay for the expenditures.[6]

Meanwhile more important matters occupied the active mind of the inspector. On his way from the city of Mexico to California he had, through the viceroy, received despatches

[4] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xii, 54-56.
[5] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xii, 56.
[6] Ibidem, pp. 56-57.

from the king which directed him to extend the missions northward to the ports of San Diego and Monterey, and to secure that territory which it seemed the Russian government was about to claim. Ever since he had set foot on California soil, Galvez had in writing conferred with Fr. Junipero Serra concerning his plans for the welfare of the peninsula; but he now wished to deliberate with the Fr. Presidente in person on the steps to be taken for the success of the expeditions to the north. Fr. Serra, accordingly, set out from Loreto and reached Santa Ana on the last day of October, 1768. A few points concerning the missions and those to be organized in the future were first settled between the two. Thus it was determined that the stipend, or annual allowance, for the two missionaries at a mission in Lower California, should amount to four hundred dollars, or at most to five hundred dollars in the more needy districts. For the mission of Santa Maria de los Angeles, the most distant and the last founded by the Jesuits, the annual stipend was fixed at six hundred dollars.[7] The same amount was to be granted to every new mission. This did not include the sum necessary for vestments, sacred vessels, and other articles required for church and sacristy. One thousand dollars was the amount which the government would furnish to every new mission for the construction of the buildings, for household goods and farm implements.[8]

Galvez now made known the command received from the royal court and the viceroy, which directed him to send an expedition by sea in order to take possession of the ports of San Diego and Monterey. He explained that the two royal packet-boats, *San Carlos* and *San Antonio*, or *El Principe*, which had arrived with supplies for the enterprise, were already waiting; but that he had resolved to despatch another expedition overland to San Diego from Mission Santa Maria.

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[7] "señalandoles á los dos misioneros cuatrocientos pesos anuales; para las mas necesitadas á lo mas quinientos; y para la de Santa Maria, que era novisima, y las demás que se fueren fundando á seiscientos pesos."

[8] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. viii, 34-35; tom. ii, 6-9.

He thought it expedient that some missionaries accompany both expeditions in order to found a mission at San Diego, another at Monterey, and a third midway between the two ports. He also wished a mission to be established north of Santa Maria on the road to San Diego, provided the necessary missionaries could be obtained.

Fr. Serra at once offered to join one of the expeditions, and declared that his companion at Loreto might also go along, because Rev. Pedro Fernández, the chaplain of the garrison, could take charge of both the presidio and the mission, since the Indians were few and spoke Spanish. In this way two missionaries could be set free, besides the two from the two suppressed missions about the cape. Serra also offered to appeal to the College of San Fernando for three additional Fathers, who would not be refused if the viceroy expressed a wish to that effect.

Galvez immediately wrote to the viceroy and asked him to request the Fr. Guardian to furnish three more missionaries. Fathers Juan de Escudero, Juan Vizcaino, and Benito Sierra were accordingly despatched to California and reached Cape San Lucas in February, 1769. Fr. Juan Vizcaino was chosen to accompany one of the expeditions; the two others took the places of two Fathers in the old missions. Fr. Juan Fernando Parron left Loreto on November 25th in the packet-boat *Concepcion* for La Paz, and arrived after twenty-four hours. Rev. Fernández was installed in his place, and thus Loreto became secularized, that is to say, it was put in charge of a secular priest. It was the second instance of secularization in California, and like the other was effected at the request of the religious. It was finally agreed between Don Galvez and Fr. Serra that three friars should go with the two packet-boats, and another should sail later in the *San José*, whilst the Fr. Presidente and his companion joined the land expeditions.

In order to lessen the expenses for the proposed missions, Galvez decided that the old establishments should aid in founding the new ones by donating vestments, sacred vessels, and other church articles. From the inventories he saw that all could assist a little, which, with what he had obtained from

the extinguished missions, would supply at least three new missions. He himself proceeded to Todos Santos to collect what could be spared, and he directed Fr. Serra to do likewise on his trip to the north at all the missions, not excepting Loreto.[9]

As soon as Fr. Serra had concluded his business with the inspector, he started out to visit the three missions of Todos Santos, Santiago, and San José del Cabo. At the first Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora labored with many difficulties among the Guaicuro Indians, who had been transplanted to that place from the two suppressed missions of Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga. Fr. Serra found that it would be hard to collect anything there and so notified Galvez. At the other two missions the Fr. Presidente observed that nearly all the Indians could speak Spanish; that Santiago could be raised to a curacy; and that San José also might soon be ready to receive a secular priest. By this arrangement two more missionaries could be gained for Upper California. After Serra's return to Santa Ana Galvez approved the plan, and at once wrote to Guaymas that Rev. Juan Antonio Baeza, the chaplain of the troops, should come over and take charge of Santiago de los Córas as its curate. Baeza arrived at La Paz in March, 1769, and after he had received his faculties from the vicar-general of Guadalajara he was duly installed by the inspector-general. Fr. José Murguía drew up an inventory in duplicate which was signed by himself and his successor; a copy was sent to the College of San Fernando, whilst the original remained at Mission San Loreto. At the request of the Rev. Baeza, Fr. Murguía staid about the mission until the third ship, the *San José*, should touch at Cape San Lucas in June to take him to Monterey, as Fr. Serra had promised.

No sooner had the missionary of San José del Cabo heard that Santiago was placed in the hands of a secular priest than he, in accordance with the intention of his superior, begged Don Galvez to station a secular priest at San José, so that he, too, might be free to join his brethren that went north.

[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. viii, 35-37; tom. ii, p. 10; "Vida," xiii, 58.

Galvez promised to call a priest from Sonora, but if he did not wish to await the arrival of his successor, he might commit the administration of San José to the new curate of Santiago, who would attend it as a mission station. Father Baeza at the same time was directed to take charge of San José as a visita in case Fr. Juan Moran was determined to leave.[10]

The *San Carlos* arrived at La Paz early in December, 1768. She had been hastily constructed at San Blas, and upon examination was found in a leaky condition. Galvez had her cargo removed and the ship thoroughly overhauled and repaired. A coating of pitch appeared necessary, but none could be obtained. Galvez then with his own hands extracted a substitute from the maguey plant; this he applied with success, though it had seemed impossible to every one else. When the condition of the vessel appeared satisfactory, it was reloaded with the supplies from San Blas, and with the church goods collected at the southern missions. Galvez himself helped Fathers Junipero and Parron to pack these goods for the three contemplated missions. In a letter to Fr. Palóu the inspector-general humorously boasted that he was a better sacristan than the Fr. Presidente, since he had packed the vestments and other things for his[11] mission of San Buenaventura more quickly than Fr. Serra for his mission of San Carlos, and had even to help the Fr. Presidente.[12]

In order that the new establishments might be founded and managed after the system observed by the Franciscans in the Sierra Gorda Missions, which was in accordance with his own ideas, Galvez ordered that all kinds of household goods,

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[10] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. viii, 37-38; cap. xii, 58-59; Serra, "Diario," note 2.

[11] Thus he termed the mission which was to be founded between San Diego and Monterey, but which was not established until 1782.

[12] Me escribió una carta en que me expresaba que era mejor Sacristan que el Padre Junipero, pues compusó los ornamentos y demás para la Mision (que llamaba suya) de San Buenaventura con mas prontitud que el Siervo de Dios los de la suya de San Carlos, y que le hubo de ayudar." Palóu, "Vida," cap. xiii, 58-59; "Noticias," tom. ii, Introduccion, p. 11.

field implements, and ironware should be taken along. He added various grains, garden seeds, flowers, and flaxseed, as he considered the soil of Upper California to be fertile, and in this opinion he was not deceived. Then, fixing the day of departure, he ordered all that boarded the vessel to receive the sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist. Two months before he had named St. Joseph patron of the expeditions, and on that occasion issued the following edifying circular to the missionaries:

"When the natives of San José del Cabo last year saw that their poor little crops were threatened with destruction by reason of the clouds of locusts which fell upon them, they bore to the fields with fervent devotion the tutelary image of the holy Patriarch, and succeeded in driving them away. Since then they have not experienced the awful ravages which this plague caused before. The two other missions of this region of the south, following the laudable example, have also had recourse to the powerful protection of the same Saint, whose intercession we Catholics must piously believe will in heaven be proportionate to the incomparable and exalted dignity which he reached of being the reputed father of Jesus Christ, our Redeemer. Forasmuch as the present expeditions to the famous port of Monterey are undertaken in the hope of being protected by the same Saint, I beg and charge the Rev. missionary Fathers of all the missions that, besides the *Salve* which is sung on the Saturdays of every week to the Most Holy Mary of Lo[illegible], the Patroness of all the missions of the Californias, they celebrate the solemn and votive feast of her holy Spouse forever on the proper day which the Catholic Church holds dedicated to him,[12] in order that the whole peninsula be delivered from the locusts, and let them sing a High Mass on the nineteenth of every month, and the Litany of All Saints while the two expeditions by land and sea last, imploring divine assistance through the intercession of the glorious Patriarch, in order that both may have the desired good result, and we may succeed in planting the

[12] March 19th.

standard of the most holy Cross of Christ forever in the midst of the numerous pagans who occupy the countries in the north of this vast province. Given at the Port of La Paz on November 21st, 1768. José de Galvez." [14]

On January 6th, 1769, after Fr. Presidente Junipero Serra had sung a High Mass on board the vessel in honor of the patron saint, the Litany of Our Lady of Loreto was chanted, and then Galvez made an address to officers and crew. He reminded them that theirs was a glorious task, as they were going to plant the Cross among the heathens, and he charged them in the name of God, of the king, and of the viceroy to respect their missionaries and to maintain peace and union among themselves. Fr. Junipero Serra then pronounced the solemn blessing upon the vessel, the flag, the officers, the soldiers, the crew, and upon Fr. Fernando Parron, who was to attend to the spiritual needs of the company, which consisted of Captain Vincente Vila, the commander of the ship, twenty-five Catalonian volunteers under Lieutenant Pedro Fages, Engineer Miguél Costanzo, Surgeon Pedro Prat, and the usual number of sailors and officers who are not named. All finally embarked on the night of the 9th of January, and on the 10th the *San Carlos* put to sea. Galvez in the *Concepcion* accompanied her down the gulf to Cape San Lucas, and watched her until she had doubled the cape under a fair wind, regretting that he could not join her to plant the Cross at Monterey. [15]

The *San Antonio* (*El Principe*) had been delayed by storms and reached Cape San Lucas on January 25th. Galvez gave her an overhauling like the *San Carlos*, and then loaded her with grain, meat, fish, etc. On February 15th, after those who were to make the voyage had confessed and received holy Communion during the High Mass celebrated in honor of St. Joseph, the inspector-general exhorted them to preserve peace and harmony among themselves, to be mindful of their obli-

[14] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum. Palóu, "Vida," cap. xiii, 59-60.

[15] Fr. Serra, "Diario," note 1st; Palóu, "Noticias," tom. ii, cap. i, 12-14; "Vida," cap. xiii, 60-61.

gations, to obey the officers and to respect the two Fathers, Juan Vizcaino and Francisco Gómez, who accompanied them for their consolation. Captain Juan Pérez was then directed to lose no time, since the *San Carlos* had orders to sail directly for San Diego and to wait only twenty days for the *San Antonio* before proceeding to Monterey. Pérez was likewise told to wait only twenty days at San Diego, in case that he did not find the *San Carlos* there and the land expedition had not arrived. The commander of the land party received similar instructions.[16]

Desirous of making the undertaking a perfect success, Galvez determined to have another vessel ply between San Blas and San Diego, so that one ship might always be at the latter port while the other two by turns were fetching supplies from San Blas. He accordingly had a somewhat smaller ship built on the Mexican coast and brought over to Loreto. By his orders the new vessel was solemnly blessed on May 1st. Fr. Palóu sang High Mass aboard of her, assisted by two missionaries who happened to be at Loreto. During this holy Sacrifice Don Joseph de Galvez himself to the edification of all received holy Communion. After the divine services he named the new ship in honor of his patron saint, *San José*.[17]

The inspector-general once more visited the missions in the region of the cape on his way to Santa Ana, and then went to La Paz, where on April 14th he boarded the *San José*, accompanied by Fathers Juan Escudero and Juan Benito Sierra. On April 22d he was welcomed at Loreto by Fr. Palóu of San Javier, who had been notified a few days before by Galvez himself. Having concluded his inspection and arranged everything for the welfare of the missions to the best of his ability, as he thought, Don José de Galvez sailed from Loreto on the 1st of May, 1769, in a barkentine for the Ensenada de Santa Barbara del Rio Mayo on the coast of

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[16] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. ii, cap. i, 14-15; "Vida," cap. xiii, 61-63. In his "Diario," as translated by "Out West," March, 1902, Fr. Serra has Fr. Juan González sailing on the "San Antonio" instead of Fr. Vizcaino.

[17] Galvez always signs "Joseph," never "José."

Sonora. His vessel was accompanied by the *San José*, which returned laden with beans, a quantity of fish, fifty arróbas[18] of figs, four hundred arróbas of dried meat, raisins, eight casks of wine, two casks of brandy, and a quantity of plain clothing for the naked Indians of the north. Moreover, Fr. Palóu put on board for the proposed missions three tower bells and all the vestments which by order of Galvez Fr. Serra had taken from the northern missions and sent to Loreto. Three months later the *San José* reappeared at the bay Escondido with a broken mast. The captain related that he had been driven about the gulf unable to make the port of La Paz. When the inspector-general was informed of the mishap, he ordered the damaged ship to San Blas for repairs. She passed over to the other coast in October. After she had been put into condition and laden with corn, beans, etc., she sailed directly for Cape San Lucas. Here she took on board the church goods which Galvez had ordered from Guadalajara, and on June 16th, 1770, set out for San Diego. She carried additional sailors in order to replace those who had died on the other two ships during the long voyage to San Diego.[19] Fr. José de Murguía, who was to take passage in the *San José*, had fallen sick and gone to Loreto to recover. This circumstance saved his life; for the vessel was never again seen. Fortunately, Fr. Palóu had taken out the church goods and had sent them to Velicatá, whence they were brought to San Diego by land.[20]

With the same thoroughness displayed in equipping the ships Galvez had hastened the preparations for the expedition which was to go by land from Loreto to San Diego. According to the prevailing opinion that port could not be very far from Santa Maria de los Angeles, the most northern mission; but the march overland was considered somewhat hazardous as the road passed through the territory of hostile tribes. Following the example of the Patriarch Jacob, says Fr. Palóu,

[18] An arróba is equal to twenty-five lbs.

[19] See next volume.

[20] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xiii, 62-63; "Noticias," tom. i, cap. x, 46; cap. xi, 51; cap. xiii, 60-61.

the expedition was therefore divided into two sections, so that if the one suffered defeat, the other might be saved. Gaspar de Portolá, captain of the dragoons and governor of California, was appointed commander of the whole undertaking, but he was directed to remain with the second division. Captain Fernando Rivera y Moncada, the commander of the presidio at Loreto, was placed in charge of the first division with orders to explore the country ahead, of which little or nothing was known. The inspector-general also instructed Don Rivera to select as many Catalonian regulars as he deemed necessary, besides a number of muleteers to take charge of the pack-mules, to pass from mission to mission and to collect as many horses and mules as he needed, and as much dried meat, flour, pinole, and biscuits as the missionaries could spare, and to give a receipt for whatever was contributed. In addition he was told to take along from Santa Maria, the last mission, two hundred head of cattle.

In obedience to these instructions Captain Rivera started out from Santa Ana, and on September 30th, 1768, he began his collection at Loreto. He visited the missions of San Francisco Javier, San José de Comundú, Purisima Concepcion, Guadalupe, Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco de Borja, and reached Mission Santa Maria with the following stock and goods for the Upper California missions: 46 horses, 140 mules, 64 pack-saddles, 28 leathern bags, 5 jugs of wine, 2 jugs of brandy, 13 sides of leather, 38 arróbas of figs, 28 arróbas of flour, 340 arróbas of jerked beef, 21 fanégas of wheat, 23 arróbas of raisins, 2 fanégas and 11 almudes[21] of pinole or ground corn, 10 arróbas of mantéca de vaca,[22] four loads[23] of bis-

[21] An almud is a measure equal to the twelfth part of a fanéga, which averages about one hundred weight.

[22] "Mantéca de vaca" may mean butter; but here it evidently means fat. "Mantéca" is the fat lying nearest the hide of the bullock, whereas "cebo" is the interior fat or tallow. This latter was shipped; the former was finer, and was used for cooking purposes in place of lard.

[23] A carga was as much as a pack-mule could carry, about 275 lbs.

cuits, 4 arrôbas and 1 bag of brown sugar, and a number of smaller articles. The eatables were considered gifts for the new missions; but the animals, pack-saddles, bags, etc., were to be replaced in kind from Sonora.[24]

[24] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. viii, 37; cap. ix, 40-42; tom. ii, 8; "Vida," cap. xiv, 64-65; Serra "Diario."

CHAPTER V.

Fr. Juan Crespi Joins Rivera.—Fr. Serra Begins His Journey Through the Missions.—Galvez's Pious Zeal.—Articles Taken from the Missions by Fr. Serra and Captain Rivera.—Fr. Palóu's Statement.—Fr. Serra at San Javier.—He Arrives at Mission Santa Maria.

WHEN Captain Rivera, on reaching Santa Maria, discovered that the surrounding country could not offer sufficient pasturage for the animals, he pitched his camp eighteen leagues farther north at a suitable place called by the Indians Velicatá, and awaited further orders from the inspector-general to whom he sent a report on December 20th, 1768. Galvez communicated the news to Fr. Serra, who at once directed Fr. Juan Crespi of Mission Purisima Concepcion to join Rivera's party. Crespi left his mission on February 26th, 1769, and arrived at Velicatá on March 22d, which was Wednesday in Holy Week. Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen had come up from Mission San Francisco de Borja to enable officers and men to comply with their Easter duty before setting out on what all thought to be a most perilous march. On Holy Thursday all, Rivera included, received holy Communion. The whole party which began the journey on Good Friday, March 24th, consisted of Captain Rivera, Fr. Juan Crespi, a pilotin,[1] twenty-five soldiers, three muleteers, a band of Indian neophytes, who were to act as pioneers, and a number of Indian servants armed with bows and arrows. After marching fifty-two days without serious mishap, this section of the expedition reached the port of San Diego on May 14th.

In the meantime Fr. Serra left the extreme southern missions and journeyed the three hundred miles back to Loreto. When he entered that place on the last day of January, 1769, Portolá was organizing the second land expedition for San Diego. As the Fr. Presidente had to visit each mission and

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[1] Pilotin, assistant guide. It was his duty to record the observations.

collect the church goods, he urged the commander to give him two soldiers and a servant and to proceed with his company, promising to join him near Santa Maria. Portolá accordingly started out from Loreto on March 9th, leaving the three men behind to assist Fr. Serra in packing the articles which, by direction of Don Galvez, were donated by the missions for the use of the Fathers in Upper California.[2]

"So great was the zeal of the illustrious lord inspector," says Palóu, "that he wished to adorn the new missions as though they were cathedral churches, because, as he said to the Rev. Fr. Presidente, it was proper to decorate them as much as possible, and that the vestments should be of the richest, in order that the pagans might see how God, our Lord, is worshiped, and with what splendor and cleanliness the holy Sacrifice of the Mass is offered up, and how the house of our God and Lord is ornamented, so that this itself might move them to embrace our holy faith. To this end he charged the Rev. Fr. Presidente, as soon as he arrived at Loreto, to take from the government warehouse whatever should be necessary, and also from the sacristy of Loreto, and to order everything made which he deemed suitable for the church in the missions, and on passing through the missions of the north to take from them whatever he thought they could spare."

Complying with these instructions Fr. Serra visited all the missions, except Santa Rosalia, which lay too far from the road, and obtained the articles, of which he sent a list to Fr. Palóu. Galvez forwarded a copy to the king and to the viceroy.[3] The missions contributing were Dolores del Sur, San Luis Gonzaga,[4] Todos Santos, Loreto, Guadalupe, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, Santa Maria, San Francisco Javier, San José de Comundú, and Purisima Concepcion. The arti-

[2] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xiv, 65-66; "Noticias," tom. ii, 9-10; cap. iv, 20-21; tom. ii, cap. viii, 39; Serra, "Diario," note 4.

[3] "De todo lo cual mandó su illustrisima hacer estadito, el que remitió á su escelencia y á la Corte." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, 52.

[4] Both these missions were suppressed and the church goods with those from Todos Santos sent on the "San Carlos" to San Diego.

cles enumerated by Palóu were the following, some of which may still exist in missions or churches of California: 38 vestments of different colors, 17 albs, 12 amices, 9 cinctures, 13 corporals, 21 purificators, 2 finger towels, 6 copes, 3 surplices, 5 rochets, 6 cassocks, 19 altar cloths,[5] 9 palias[6] with their covering, 5 consecrated altar stones, 12 silver chalices, 1 ciborium, 2 silver crucifixes, 36 candlesticks, 4 missals, 2 silver missal stands, 2 ostensoria, 13 pairs of cruets, 12 small altar bells, 1 set of altar cards in silver frames, 6 censers with boats, 6 tower bells, 2 baptismal fonts of copper, 5 baptismal shells, 4 altar bread irons, 1 altar bread box, 1 holy water pot, 4 sets of oil-stocks for the holy oils, 3 palios,[7] 5 carpets and 2 coverings for them, 1 oil painting of Our Lady of Sorrows, 9 laminas of bronze, 1 small case containing images of the Holy Family, 1 statue of the Immaculate Conception with silver crown, 1 small statue of St. Joseph with diadem of silver, 1 silver halo for the Child Jesus, one copper platter for the baptismal font, 1 halo of silver with twelve stars, some curtains for a canopy, 3 veils for the Blessed Virgin, 1 black cloth for the tumba, 6 yards of lace one-third yard wide, a number of handkerchiefs, rings and some pieces of money used at the marriage ceremony, 5 cornu-altares,[8] and 1 Manual de Betancurt.[9]

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[5] Presumably that many sets.

[6] Probably canopies for the tabernacle.

[7] Some of the articles usually found in the old missions are such of which the Roman Ceremonial knows nothing. They were peculiar to Spain or Mexico, and their use at worship is now abolished.

[8] Cornu-altares. What they were is not clear. The ceremonial does not prescribe them. Spanish priests could give no explanation.

[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. x-xi, 43-52. In addition Fr. Serra received from the royal store at Loreto the following articles for the altar: "Cinco varas de damasco encarnado y cinco de sayasaya, tres varas de tafetán azúl, dos cingulos nuevos de tela de oro con sus borlas, cinco varas de tela verde con flores de oro para su casúlla, y el forro necesario de tafetán encarnado, punta de oro y fleco de lo mismo, para una muceta, y un almaizal y su forro, que mandó hacer, y otra porción de lo mismo para otra muceta y otro almaizál que hizo nuevo, una lámina de la Concepcion con marco de carey." "Noticias," ut supra, p. 47.

All these goods were packed up and by order of Don Galvez placed on the *San José*, which in June, 1769, sailed for San Diego in charge of Captain Callegan. After three months, as already stated, she reappeared with a broken mast. Everything, except a few church bells, eight laminas or bronze plates, and a large crucifix on a silver pedestal, was landed and sent overland to San Diego and other missions. The *San José* was lost at sea after she had been repaired in Mexico.[10]

In this connection Fr. Palóu makes the following statement which will also explain in part the reason why the goods taken from the missions are enumerated here in detail. "I wanted to dwell at length upon this matter, and present what was said with all clearness, in order that hereafter it be plain what was taken from the ancient missions of California during the time when they were in charge of my College, so that it might be known by whose orders and for what purpose they kept the things which were taken, and where they all are at present in the service of the missions. The Lord Inspector did nothing more than practise what the Jesuit Fathers had done when founding the missions; for the old ones assisted as far as possible those that were about to be founded, as is evident from the books of said missions. In some manner he returned what had been taken; for he ordered that eight thousand dollars' worth of ordinary clothing should be distributed to the Indians of all the missions, who in that year appeared very well clothed. At the request of Galvez, the Marqués de Croix, viceroy of New Spain, sent a rich and complete outfit for the church of Our Lady of Loreto. The inspector also commanded that all the supplies received from the missions for the expedition should be paid. He moreover wanted payment to be made for the mules and horses; but I told him that the missions needed mules and horses; he then had all restored in kind. In addition he commanded that the five thousand dollars in silver and gold left by the Jesuits should be distributed among the missions.

[10] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. x, 46; cap. xi, 50-51; "Vida," cap. xiii, 62-63; Bancroft, "History of California," vol. i, 123-124.

For the church of Loreto he left a fund whose annual revenue of two hundred and fifty dollars was to be used to defray the expenses for olive oil for the lamps and for wax candles for the use of the church. He also did other pious works for the benefit of the missions, which with what has already been said well repaid the things taken from the old missions for the new ones, and for that of Todos Santos he sent a launch." [11]

Bancroft,[12] in keeping with his plan whenever convenient to pick flaws in the conduct of the missionaries, as usual misstates the case. To this day it has been the custom for old missions and parishes to help out new and poor missions by means of those articles that could be spared, with the consent of the people, if purchased by them, or with the permission of the bishop or superior, if not procured by the people. This is all that was done in Lower California by the Franciscans, and by the Jesuits before them, so that the strictures of Bancroft are the expressions of mere hypocrisy. All the goods removed from Lower California to Monterey had been donated by benefactors, or were procured with the stipends of the missionaries. The Indians had neither purchased nor procured any of them, and were wholly indifferent as to what was done with such articles as long as their own worship and celebrations did not suffer. Only that which could be spared was taken for the new missions, and, be it well remembered, by direct orders from Don José de Galvez, the highest government official in New Spain, for the purpose of saving expenses to the royal treasury which otherwise would have had to provide these same goods. Palóu purposely makes his long explanation to render subsequent events intelligible, and to shield the fair name of his College and brethren. The sequel shows that it was quite necessary.

Fr. Junípero Serra was kept busy until Holy Week, and he prolonged his stay until Tuesday after Easter to give the Indians an opportunity to comply with their Easter duty.

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[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xi, 52-54.
[12] "History of California," vol. i, 118.

On that day, March 28th, after singing the High Mass and preaching, he bid farewell for life to all, and then left Loreto with two soldiers and one servant. "Thus he arrived at my mission," Fr. Palóu writes. "Seeing the sore and swelling on his leg and foot, I could not restrain my tears as I considered all that he would have to suffer from the rough and dreadful roads which are known as far as the frontier, and on those that were unknown and to be discovered later, with no other doctor or surgeon than God, and with no other protection for the foot than the sandal; for he never used shoes or stockings or boots on the roads of New Spain or of the two Californias. He would dissemble and excuse himself by saying that he fared better when his feet and legs were uncovered. Governor Portolá in passing through my mission on March 9th had informed me of the condition of Fr. Serra's leg, which had grown worse while he traversed the south, and that he believed that the sore was cancerous, and that he doubted whether he could make the painful and long journey with such a malady. 'Notwithstanding that I reminded him,' said Portolá, 'that the expedition might be delayed if he should become incapacitated on the road, I could not succeed in having him stay behind and let Your Reverence go along. Whenever I touched the subject, his response was that he hoped God would give him the strength to reach San Diego and Monterey, that I should go ahead, and that he would come up with me on the border of the pagan country. I look upon this as impossible, and so wrote to the Lord Inspector.' Portolá, therefore, passed on. At Mission San Ignacio Fr. Miguel de Campa y Cos joined him, as the Fr. Presidente had directed." [18]

Fr. Serra remained at San Javier for three days giving the necessary instructions to Fr. Francisco Palóu, whom the discretory of San Fernando College had directed to act as presidente of the Lower California missions in case of Fr. Serra's absence or death. Fr. Palóu begged his superior to

[18] After his arrival from Spain in 1749, Fr. Serra made the whole distance between Vera Cruz and the capital on foot, and injured his leg so badly that he suffered from it all through his life.

stay behind and let him go in his stead, as it would be impossible for him to travel in his condition; but Serra replied, "Let us not speak of that. I have placed all my confidence in God, through whose goodness I hope to be permitted to reach not only San Diego to plant and establish the standard of the holy Cross at that port, but Monterey as well." [14]

"I resigned myself," Fr. Palóu continues, "seeing that the fervent superior surpassed me, and not a little, in faith and confidence in God for whose love he sacrificed his life on the altar of his apostolic labors. The pain of parting increased when I saw that, in order to mount the ass upon which he made the journey, and to dismount, two men had to raise him into the saddle or out of it. His last farewell was: 'A Dios, until Monterey, where I hope we shall be united to labor in that vineyard of the Lord.' I shall be very glad of that, but my last words were, 'Until eternity.' He reproved me gently for my little faith, and then he began the long tour through the missions visiting the Fathers, consoling all, and recommending himself to their prayers." Don Galvez himself had noticed the condition of Fr. Serra's foot, and had urged him, though in vain, to remain on the peninsula; but in a letter to Fr. Palóu the inspector-general wrote, "I am very glad that the Rev. Fr. Junipero goes with the expedition, and I praise his faith and the grand confidence which he has that he must grow better, and that God must grant him to reach San Diego; *this same confidence I too have.*" As the result showed, this hope was not confounded. [15]

Nothing illustrates more graphically the unworthy treatment the missionaries received while the missions were in charge of the comisionados, a condition which continued at Loreto, than the following paragraph from Fr. Serra's *Diario: "From my mission of Loreto I did not take more provisions for so long an excursion than one loaf of bread and a piece of cheese. I was there all the year, as far as temporal matters go, as the mere guest for the crumbs of the royal commissary, whose*

[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. ii, cap. v, 23-24; "Vida," cap. xiv, 66-67; Serra, "Diario," Note 4.

[15] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xiv, 67-68; "Noticias," tom. ii, cap. v, 24-25.

liberality at my departure did not extend further than the aforesaid; but the said Father[16] supplied that lack with such efficacious arrangements—in the way of his solicitude for food, clothing for my use, and comforts for my journey—that not even I myself could have managed to contrive them, though owing to my sins I do not cease to be fond of my convenience. May God repay such charity."[17]

Fr. Serra left San Javier at daybreak of April 1st, 1769, and about noon he arrived at San José de Comundú, which was twelve leagues distant. The resident missionary, Fr. Antonio Martínez, had gone to Purisima to replace Fr. Juan Crespi, who had joined Rivera. For this reason the Fr. Presidente remained over Sunday the 2d to sing the High Mass and to preach to the Indians. In the same manner he celebrated the next day to which the feast of the Annunciation had been transferred. After the return of Fr. Martínez, Serra set out on the 5th for Purisima Concepcion, where he arrived on the same morning, "received with a dance of the Indians with all the solemnity possible," as Serra relates in his *Diario*. The soldier Don Francisco Maria de Castro, whom Fr. Serra lauds for his conscientiousness, was the major-domo and guard. After he had selected the church goods which the mission could spare, according to the directions of Don Galvez, Serra bid farewell to Fr. Martínez, who had accompanied him from San José de Comundú, and started out for Mission Guadalupe at daybreak of the 7th.

"I traveled all day," Serra says, "except a little halt which I made at midday to take a bite and some rest. When night came on I tarried on the ground. There I talked with some ten families of Indians, and when I asked them for the reason of their being there, they told me with much sorrow that they were of the mission of Guadalupe; and that the Father, for want of provisions, had found himself obliged to send them out to the mountains to seek their food; and that as they were not accustomed to this, their hardship was great, particularly in seeing their babies suffer and hearing them cry. I

[16] Palóu at San Javier.
[17] Serra, "Diario," note 4, no. 2.

felt sorry enough, and though it was somewhat unfortunate that the pack-train was behind and could not arrive that night, they were not left without some alleviation; for with a portion of pinole[18] which I carried they made themselves a dish of good atole,[19] which was for the women and children. Afterwards the process was repeated for the men. At this they were consoled, the more so, when I told them that they should go to their mission; that already corn was on the way to the Father by sea from Mulegé by order of the most illustrious inspector. I took my rest, and had them pray together. They concluded by singing a very tender song of the love of God; and as those of that mission have justly the fame of singing with especial sweetness, I had a good deal of consolation in hearing them."[20]

After crossing "those painful hills," Serra, about midday of April 8th, arrived at the mission station of San Miguél, which was attended from Guadalupe. "I found an equal or greater number of Indians," he writes, "and I gave them the same aid." After nightfall he entered Mission Guadalupe "well tired." The 9th being a Sunday, he celebrated holy Mass and remained at the mission with Fr. Lector[21] Juan

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[18] Ground corn.

[19] A mush made of corn meal.

[20] Baegert relates that in some churches the singing of the litanies, Masses, etc., was very good. Fathers Bischoff and Nascimben especially had taken pains to teach singing. "In einigen Kirchen hoerte man kein uebles Gesang, schoene lauretanische Litaneien, Messen und dergleichen, welches Singen besonders P. Xaverius Bischoff aus der Grafschaft Glatz in Boehmen, und P. Petrus Nascimben, ein Venetianer, in Californien eingefuehrt, und die Californier beyderley Geschlechts mit unvergleichlicher Muehe und Geduld gelehrt haben." Baegert, S. J., "Nachrichten," pte. ii, sec. iv.

[21] The "Out West" translator has "Reader" for the term "Lector." Lector in the schools of religious Orders is equivalent to professor. The Franciscans use the term to designate the professors of higher studies. Fr. Sancho, like Serra, had been lector of theology, i. e., professor of theology. Lecturer would be the proper term in English. "Reader" with religious means the person who reads while the others take their meals.

Sancho. Fr. Juan Gaston of Mission Santa Rosalia came here to meet his superior on the 10th, because Serra, on account of the bad condition of his leg, and lest the expedition to San Diego be delayed, had decided not to visit Santa Rosalia, which lay eighteen leagues away from the road. It was the only mission not visited by the Fr. Presidente. Fr. Sancho provided his superior with another servant, an Indian lad of fifteen years, who could read and speak Spanish, and serve holy Mass. With the consent of his parents the youth accompanied Fr. Serra to the north. After he had made a selection of the church goods as at the other missions, Serra on the 14th set out for San Ignacio by way of Santa Cruz and San Borja, stations on the road, and arrived early next morning, solemnly welcomed at the church door by Fr. Juan de Medina Veitia.

"The missionary of this mission ever since we arrived in California," Fr. Serra writes in his *Diario*, "was Fr. Miguél de la Campa, a member of our College, a missionary who labored many years in the missions of the Sierra Gorda, whence he had come to these; and he was already on his way accompanying the second division of the expedition by land. On the 27th of March, said Father set out from this mission, and for the time there came to occupy his place Fr. Juan Leon,[23] who at the beginning had been assigned as missionary to Mission Santa Maria de los Angeles, where he was almost always discontented because of the lack of provisions to maintain so many neophytes and to regale the Gentiles; for many came every day requesting baptism. For this reason he had absented himself from it, his absence being supplied by the missionary of Mission San Borja, which was nearest. He had besought me to change him to some other mission, and I sent him to this one, it being understood that the Father of San Borja was in said mission of Santa Maria de los Angeles, while his (San Borja) was attended by Fr. Andrés Villaumbrales, who had been missionary of that of San Luis Gonzaga, one of those extinguished by the most illustrious

[23] Fr. de Medina Beitia.

inspector. At the same time, having no assignment of his own, the said Fr. Juan Leon had come to this of San Ignacio from that of Santa Gertrudis. On the 16th, which was Sunday, and the day of the Profession of our Father St. Francis, on which our Order celebrates the feast of the holy Archangel St. Raphael, who is the patron of travelers, I celebrated it quietly, renewing my profession, as the religious in our whole Order do on this day."

The Fr. Presidente on the morning of the 18th resumed his journey and entered Mission Santa Gertrudis on the morning of the 20th of April. "The Indians came forth to meet me with dancing and festive demonstrations," Serra relates, "and the Father Missionary, Fr. Dionisio Basterra, vested in surplice, stole and cope, and accompanied by acolytes with the processional Cross, candlesticks, censer, and holy water. I venerated the holy Cross, sprinkled the people with holy water, and we entered to give thanks unto God for so much that we owed Him.[23] As soon as the Father had taken off the sacred vestments and we gave each other the first embrace, the eyes overflowed with tears (which even now come to me anew as I write this), without our being able to speak a word until for a long time we had paid this permissible tribute to nature. Many days before the Father had fallen into profound sadness for being alone among so many isolated Indians, without a soldier or a servant (for the captain[24] had taken for his expedition both the one and the other), or even an interpreter of any use. He had communicated his dejection to me by various letters and asked me for relief. I could not give it to him, much as I desired; and I tried in various ways not only by consoling him, but by speaking to the most illustrious inspector-general, writing to the captain, and talking to the governor, all without success, since by no one of these means could I procure one soldier to act as guard for him,

[23] Fr. Serra, as the superior of the missions, was officially received; hence the ceremonial reception, which was probably accorded him at each mission.

[24] Captain Rivera, the leader of the first division, who seems to have made extensive and inconsiderate use of his authority.

whereby he could have had some relief and comfort. His Excellency told me that the escort had been taken away against his express order; but that the captain would arrange it, and if not he, the governor would. I wrote to the former and received the reply that the governor would remedy it, as he (the captain) needed the soldiers. I spoke to the governor, and the Father himself talked to him earnestly, when he passed by his mission, where he entertained him as well as he could. What the governor answered was that he not only could not give him a guard, but that he intended to leave the next mission of San Borja without one, which has had three soldiers at least . . . In order to give him some consolation, I tarried five days, and not idly; for we occupied ourselves in assembling the Indians of the rancherías to propose to them the plan of the most illustrious inspector-general, which was very much to my taste,[35] namely, that a sufficient number of families—even though there were two hundred—should pass on to Purisima Concepcion de Cadegomó and make their homes there, where there is a lack of people and an abundance of provisions, and land and water wherewith to plant for all in common; and in particular and above all, where food would be assured them three times a day, and sufficient clothing, which all they have lacked and always will lack at their own mission—or it were better to say, in its hills, for they have no lands for it, not even possible ones. In these proposals, responses, and explanations, those days were passed."

Serra departed from Santa Gertrudis on the 26th, and on the morning of the 28th he was solemnly received at Mission San Francisco de Borja by Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen. The 30th being a Sunday, the Fr. Presidente, at the request of the missionary, sang the High Mass and preached to the

[35] But scarcely wise if the natives were unwilling, and fraught with disappointment even if for a time they allowed themselves to be persuaded. It is to be noted with satisfaction that Serra, unlike Galvez, would have no force employed, but endeavored to reason with the natives for their own good. Besides Purisima lay not so far from Santa Gertrudis that the difference would have been seriously felt by the Indians.

neophytes, as he had done at Santa Gertrudis the Sunday before. In the afternoon of May 1st Serra left San Borja. "On the 3d," he writes, "I arrived at the old mission of Calamofue,[36] where I tarried all night and celebrated Mass the following day with the vestments I had already asked from Mission Santa Maria. On the 4th, which was the day of the Ascension of the Lord into heaven, I celebrated Mass in that deserted church, a ruinous jacal.[37] On the 5th I rose well and early, and by a very rough road at about half-past eight in the morning arrived at Mission Santa Maria de los Angeles. Here I came up with the governor and Fr. Miguél de la Campa."[38]

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[36] Doubtless the Calagnujuet of Jesuit times. See chapter xv, Part II, of this work. Compare "Sunset Magazine," December, 1906, pp. 153-154.

[37] Constructed of poles.

[38] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. viii, 38-39; tom. ii, cap. v, 25.

CHAPTER VI.

Fr. Serra at Santa María.—Founding of Mission San Fernando.—Address to the Indians.—The First Converts.—Fr. Serra's Sore Leg.—Remarkable Cure.—He Reaches Link's Station.—Incidents on the Road.—The Indians.—He arrives at San Diego.

WHILE the provisions for the expedition, which had been brought up from Loreto on the *San Xavier*, were transported from the beach at San Luis Gonzaga to Santa María, Fr. Serra examined the situation at the mission. "On the 6th of May," he writes, "Fr. Campa, the governor, and I, accompanied by Salgado, the soldier guard of the mission, examined its water resources and arable lands, estimated the opportunities which it offered in its vicinity and the other things that a mission needs. It did not seem to us so bad as they had described it to us, so that, though I had before been entirely inclined that the mission should be removed from there on account of what they had reported to me concerning it, now that I saw it I was firmly attached to the spot and to the contrary opinion; and thus I wrote to the most illustrious inspector-general and to Fr. Lector Palóu, who had to manage it as presidente of the missions and who had to remain in my absence.

"On the 7th, which was Sunday, I sang High Mass and preached to the neophytes, who are the poorest of all . . . From the mission I took along the vestments for celebrating holy Mass on the march; the chalice, chasuble, and everything necessary, of which I sent an itemized account to Loreto, in order that it might be replaced, as the mission is so poor. I bid farewell to those poor people with pain at having to leave them for a time without a missionary, though in the hope that their orphanage should not last a great while. On the 11th we two Fathers and the governor set out from the mission, and on the 12th we arrived at the place called La Poza de Agua Dulce.[1] Along the road we saw various little ranchos of Gentile Indians and recent tracks of them; but

[1] The Pool of Sweet Water.

not one, little or big, allowed himself to be seen; their hiding themselves mortified my desires to talk to them and to caress them. On the 13th, bearing in mind that, if we proceeded at the gait of the pack-train, we should have to make two more days' journey to arrive, and that the second would be the day of Pentecost, I prayed the governor to permit us to go ahead in light order to make the road in a day. Thus it was done. We two Fathers with said governor, one soldier, and two servants, traveled all day, and at nightfall arrived at Vila Catha,[2] where the soldiers who were there received us with much satisfaction. We saw various little huts and the tracks of Indians, but not one of the Indians. All this stretch of country is even less supplied than the rest of the Californias for the sustenance of its inhabitants, since from Santa Maria unto here, inclusive, I have not seen even a single pitahaya tree, neither the sweet nor the sour, but only now and then a cactus and a rare garambullo. The most are candle cactus, a tree useless for everything, even for fire." Nevertheless the country about the camp and northward made such a favorable impression that Governor Portolá and the Fr. Presidente resolved to found a mission on a spot known among the Indians as Velicatá, in latitude thirty degrees and longtitude one hundred and fifteen degrees and five minutes, sixty leagues from San Francisco de Borja, in order to facilitate communication between the Lower California missions and San Diego.

"On the 14th," says Fr. Serra, "the feast of the Holy Ghost (Pentecost), in the morning, a little hut of palisades was cleaned and adorned. It was one of the several that the first division of the expedition had left standing, and the one which they told us had served for a chapel on the day of St. Margaret of Cortona, February 22d, when Fr. Lasuén celebrated the first Mass at Vila Catha, to give Communion to the captain and soldiers who had gone from Santa Maria to confession in fulfillment of the annual precept and in preparation for the expedition. It is said that this was the first

[2] "Out West" has this spelling, and presumably it is Serra's. Palóu has Vellicatá. Others write Vilacatá or Velicatá, which latter form we have adopted.

Mass; for although the Jesuit Father Link was there (as is shown by his diary), the soldiers who accompanied him say he did not hold services there.[3] In that hut, then, the altar was arranged, the soldiers were drawn up under arms in their leather jackets and shields, and with all the neatness of holy poverty I celebrated Mass on that great day, with the consolation that this was the first of those Masses which must be continued with the permanency of that new mission of San Fernando, which dated from that day. The Mass, while it lasted, was solemnized by the oft-repeated discharges of the muskets of the soldiers, the fumes of the powder, in this instance, supplying the place of that of incense, which we could not offer because we did not have it. As there was no more wax to burn, except the short end of a candle which I found, the Father did not celebrate Mass that day, but heard the Mass with the rest in fulfilment of the precept. After we had sung the *Veni Creator*, etc., we formed the procession with the soldiers and the Indian neophytes who accompanied us, without a single pagan being visible. Perhaps they were scared by so many thunders. Then we erected the standard of the Cross in the place. I named for first missionary of the new mission Fr. Miguél de la Campa, who was very happy in this charge, knowing that many Gentiles frequented the locality, and seeing that this spot offers all the conveniences of land and water to maintain those that may gather to form the mission." Palóu,[4] moreover relates that "on the morning of the feast of Pentecost Portolá took solemn possession of the country in the name of the Spanish king, whereupon Fr. Serra, vested with cope and alb, blessed water, and with it the chapel and the grand Cross, which latter having been venerated by all was planted in front of the chapel. He named as patron of the mission the holy king of Castile and Leon, San Fernando, the patron of the College, and as its missionary Fr. Miguél de la Campa y Cos; and having sung the first High Mass, he delivered a fervent ser-

[3] See Part II, chapter xiv, this work.

[4] "Vida," cap. xv, 69-70; "Noticias," tom. i, cap. viii, 39; tom. ii, cap vi, 26-27.

mon on the Coming of the Holy Spirit and on the founding of the mission." This was the beginning of the first and last mission established by the Franciscans in Lower California.

"In the evening," Fr. Serra continues, "we more particularly examined the arroyo where the dam for irrigation could easily be built, and all appeared very suitable to us, except that there is a great lack of poles and timbers for the buildings; but we took into account that perhaps in the unknown surroundings time might disclose something, and that if not this is not such a lack that for it the settlement must be abandoned, even though it cost the hardship of bringing them from afar. In other respects the situation appears excellent, and thus I hope that in time it will be a good mission. By order of the most illustrious inspector-general, the Father was given the fifth part of the cattle-herd which had been gathered there for the expedition. I left him one of the four loads[5] of biscuit, a *tercio*[6] of flour, soap of that which I was carrying for the expedition; and on behalf of the governor some chocolate, grape raisins, figs; and of maize more than forty fanégas. So he remained with what he can get along and with what he can regale the Indians for some time until he shall receive more aid."

"The 15th of May, the second day of Pentecost[7] and of the newly-founded mission (as the packs had arrived, we two Fathers had wax candles to celebrate Mass one after the other), was for me a day of much consolation; for soon after the Masses, I having retired inside the hut, they informed me that Gentiles were coming and already near. I praised the Lord. I kissed the earth, giving His Majesty thanks that after so many years of desire for them, He had granted me the favor to see myself among them in their own country. I went out quickly, and found myself with twelve of them, all grown-up men, except two who were mere boys, one of them about ten years and the other about sixteen years. I

[5] "Carga," it is equal to 275 lbs.

[6] "Tercio," about 162 lbs. according to "Out West."

[7] "Segundo dia de Páscua," i. e., Páscua del Espíritu Sánto, which is the term for Pentecost. Second day, i. e., Monday.

saw what I had scarcely believed when I read it, or when it was told me, namely, that they went entirely naked like Adam in paradise before his sin. Thus they go and thus they presented themselves to us. We conversed a long while with them, without in all that time there being noticed in them, though they saw us clothed, the least sign of shame for being in that naked condition. I laid both hands upon the heads of all, one after another, in token of affection, and I filled both their hands with dried figs, which they at once began to eat. We in turn received, with signs that we appreciated them much, the presents which they gave us, which were a net full of roasted mezcales and four fish of more than ordinary size and beauty, though, as the poor Indians had not had the thoughtfulness of cleaning them out, much less of salting them, the cook said they were unfit for use. Fr. Campa likewise regaled them with raisins; the governor gave them leaf tobacco; and all the soldiers treated them kindly and gave them something to eat. Through an interpreter I let them know that the missionary whom they saw present, and who called himself Fr. Miguél, would remain with them at that place; that they and the other people of their acquaintance should come to visit him; that the Father would be their true friend; that the soldiers who were with the Father would all do them much good and no harm; and that they should not steal the cattle that wandered about the land, but that if they needed anything they should come to the missionary, who would always give them what he could. It seemed that they paid good attention to such and similar reasoning, and that all gave signs of assent to them, so that it appeared to me that there should be no delay in gathering them into the apostolic net."[8]

Fr. Serra's opinion was soon verified, but owing to the haste with which the expedition had to proceed, the venerable founder did not have the satisfaction of seeing the first baptism administered; but three days later, while on the road, he received the welcome news from Fr. Campa, that forty-four Indians, men, women and children, had already asked

[8] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xv, 71-72. Compare "Out West," April, 1902, pp. 405-406.

to be baptized, and that they had placed themselves under instructions for that purpose. Only four years after, when the Dominicans took charge, as many as two hundred and ninety-six neophytes were on the roll of this mission. Among these was the chief or capitano, who proved himself especially faithful and zealous.[9]

Leaving some soldiers under a corporal for the protection of the new mission, the expedition began its long march for San Diego on the evening of Monday, May 15th. After traveling only three leagues a halt was made for the night. At Velicatá Fr. Serra's sore leg apparently caused him no trouble; but as soon as the journey began the pain became intense. After he had dismounted for the first night, the wound appeared so inflamed that it was feared mortification had set in. Though he must have suffered exceedingly, he said nothing; nor did he allude to it in his diary until the second day out from Velicatá. On the 16th, after a ride of three hours, San Juan de Diós[10] was reached. Here the poor Father's sufferings grew so intolerable that he could not rest in any position. Governor Portolá proposed that he be taken back for recuperation to the mission which was only six leagues distant, but Serra replied, "Do not speak of this, dear Sir; for I trust in God; He must give me strength to reach San Diego, as He has granted me so far; and in case that it be impossible, I conform myself to His holy will; but though I die on the road, I will not go back; they may then bury me, and I shall gladly rest among the pagans, if it be the will of God."[11]

"On the 17th," Serra himself writes in his Diary, "I celebrated Mass there (San Juan de Diós), although with the great hardship it cost me to hold myself on my feet, because of my left foot having become much inflamed, from which for about a year, or somewhat more, I have been suffering; and now it has become very swollen to half-way up my leg, and its wounds are inflamed. For this reason I passed the

[9] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xv, 70-71; "Noticias," tom. ii, cap. vi, 29; Serra, "Diario."

[10] See Part II, chapter xiv, p. 258, this work.

[11] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xv, 72-73; "Noticias," tom. ii, cap. viii, 35.

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days during which we were detained here mostly at full length upon my bed, and feared that soon I should have to follow the expedition upon a stretcher."

On the 18th of May the sufferer could not celebrate Mass. When Portolá found him unable to walk or to travel on horseback, he ordered a litter made on which the Fr. Presidente could be borne by neophyte Indians. On hearing this Serra felt much distressed on account of the trouble he was causing. Begging God to let him grow somewhat better in order to avoid molesting the Indians, he called a mule-driver, Juan Antonio Coronel by name, and said, "My son, can you prepare a remedy for the sore on my leg and foot?" "What remedy can I have, Father?" Coronel replied. "Am I forsooth a surgeon? I am a muleteer and have cured the wounds of animals only." "Well, my son, imagine that I am an animal," Serra pleaded, "and that this is one of their wounds from which resulted the swelling of the leg. Make for me the same remedy which you would apply to an animal." The muleteer and all bystanders smiled, but Juan Antonio said, "That I will do, Father, to please you." He accordingly took a little tallow, crushed it between two stones, mixing with it the while some herbs which he had found near at hand. Having heated the mass he placed it upon the sore leg like a poultice. God blessed the simplicity of both the priest and the mule-driver, for Serra fell into a sound sleep from which he did not awaken till the next morning. He then arose relieved of his pain, to recite Matins and Prime as usual, and, to the amazement of the governor and soldiers, concluded his devotions by celebrating Mass as though he had not been afflicted at all. Nor was there any more delay on the Fr. Presidente's account until the expedition arrived at the port of San Diego.[12]

"On the 21st," a lengthy entry in the *Diario* says, "a Sunday and the feast of the Most Holy Trinity, after I had celebrated, and all had heard Mass, I made them a brief exhortation concerning the good conduct which we ought all to observe on

[12] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xv, 73-74.

a road whose principal end was the greater honor and glory of God. . . . And in the name of God, Triune and One, our march was ordered and begun." Serra gives lengthy descriptions of the road and incidents with Indians, which are not of sufficiently general interest to be dwelt upon here. On the 24th, the eve of Corpus Christi, which that year fell upon the 25th of May, the expedition came to a spot which was given the name Corpus Christi. On the feast Serra celebrated Mass, after which the march was resumed. On the 27th they reached the place which the Jesuit Father Wenzelao Link had named Cieneguilla while on his way to find the Colorado River in 1766, as one of the soldiers claimed who had been with the Jesuit on that trip. From here, twenty-five leagues north of San Fernando, Link had continued directly north and had been forced back by a sierra which his animals could not pass.[18]

Portolá, therefore, turned to the northwest in the direction of the Pacific Ocean. On Sunday, the 28th of May, the troops had a little bloody encounter with about forty aggressive savages, after which holy Mass was celebrated. During the day very many Indians, all naked, followed the travelers to the halting-place. "Until now," Serra relates, "we had not seen any women among them; and for the present I desired not to see them, because I feared that they went naked like the men. Two women now appeared, talking as rapidly and as efficaciously as this sex knows how and is accustomed to do. When I saw them so decently covered that we could take it in good part if greater nudities were never seen among the Christian women of the missions, I was not sorry for their arrival. The most youthful one, who was, they said, the wife of the chief, carried upon her head the regalement which I had never seen, and which was a great pancake of a thing like dough, but full of fibres. I went to lay my hands upon her head, and the dough stuck to them; but she and her husband at once began to explain to me how it was eaten.

[18] Serra, "Diario"; Palóu, "Vida," cap. xv, 74-75. See Part II, chapter xiv, p. 358, this work.

On the 29th we went forth, and the day's journey was only three hours, but most painful, for all of it was through hills, ascents, descents, all slopes of earth, but steep and wearisome. At last we descended to the plain, and the hardship could be considered well employed, because of the excellence of the stopping-place, equal to which we have seen none so far." [14]

Several places were found suitable for missions, notably the one reached on May 29th, where Fr. Serra celebrated holy Mass on the next day, the feast of San Fernando. The governor thought it the best place in California. "If it is managed that the mission of Villa Catha (Velicatá)," Serra writes, "keeps the name San Fernando, distinct from Santa Maria, it would give me pleasure to have this one called San Pedro Regalado; but for the present I will only name this spot for the day, San Fernando." The march slowly continued through the month of June, and Fr. Serra seems to have celebrated holy Mass every day. Great crowds of Indians were occasionally encountered the nearer the expedition approached San Diego. At times some of their own Indian attendants would run away, probably from homesickness, certainly not for lack of kindness on the part of Fr. Serra. On one occasion, on hearing that a few of the Indian following had deserted, he exclaimed: "God, our Lord, bless them as well for the benefit they have been to us, as for the drawback their absence will be to us in the future."

On the 27th of June he relates: "In a short while more and more pagan men, women and children gathered about us in such great numbers that I did not count them. Their affability now declined to familiarity, for if in sign of affection we put our hands on their heads or shoulders, they did the same to us; and if they saw us seated, there they sat close to us, and always with the mania that we should give them everything they saw, without stopping at little things. They asked me for my habit, the governor they begged for his leather jacket, waistcoat, breeches, and all he had on, and thus as to the rest. They even bothered me enough to give

[14] Serra, "Diario."

them my spectacles. I took them off for one whose actions seemed to signify that I should lend them to him to see what they were, but God knows what it cost me to recover them, because he ran away with them. At last, after a thousand difficulties, I recovered them after they had been in the hands of the women who hankered for them. Only articles of food they did not wish."

On the same day the travelers received news through an Indian that the sea expedition had arrived at San Diego. About noon of the 28th Sergeant Ortega, who had always gone ahead of the main body to prepare the camping-places, came with ten or more soldiers and fresh animals to meet Portolá and his company. He confirmed the news that the two ships had reached the port. On the 29th, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, the governor left the expedition early in the morning with eight soldiers to hasten his arrival at the long-sought port, whilst Fr. Serra once more celebrated holy Mass, "and plenty of Gentiles witnessed it with much attention," as he writes. Finally, on July 1st, 1769, after having traveled forty-six days, the Fr. Presidente with the main body entered the camp at San Diego.[15]

Subsequent events, as well as the particulars about the expedition which went by sea, will be found in the next volume. It is well, as Bancroft remarks, to preserve the names applied by these first expeditions between Velicatá and San Diego. The route taken and the names applied to the various localities are, therefore, copied from Crespi's *Diario* and appended in a footnote.[16] Serra and Portolá gave different names to

[15] Fr. Serra, "Diario" in "Out West," C. F. Lummis, Editor, March to July, 1902; Palóu, "Vida," cap. xv; "Noticias," tom. ii, capp. v-vi.

[16] Crespi, "Diario," in Palóu's "Noticias," tom. ii, 37-97; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 490. From Velicatá to San Juan de Dióa, arroyo, 4.5 leagues; Santos Mártires, arroyo, 3 leagues; Las Palmas, arroyo, 3 leagues; S. Angelo de Fulgino, arroyo, or Corpus Christi, 3.5 leagues; Álamos, arroyo, 3.5 leagues; Cieneguilla, 4 leagues, in 30 degrees, 56 minutes; S. Ricardo (Santa Humiliana), 3 leagues; S. Vincente Ferrer (Santa Petronila), 3 leagues; S. Dionisio, rio, 3 leagues, in 31 degrees, 8 minutes; S.

some of the places, according to the feast of the day on which they happened to be camped there. Most of these are added in parenthesis.

León, arroyo (S. Andrés Hispelo), 2 leagues; S. Angel de Clavácio (S. Pacífico), 6 leagues; S. Telmo, pozo (Stos Mártires), 4 leagues, in 31 degrees, 11 minutes; S. Rafael (Sta Margarita), 3 leagues; S. Bernabé, 5 leagues; Santa Isabél (S. Guido), 3 leagues, in 32 degrees; Alisos, arroyo (S. Nazário), 5 leagues; S. Jacobo Ilírico (S. Antonio), 2 leagues, in 32 degrees, 6 minutes; S. Anselmo (Basilio), 3 leagues; S. Francisco Solano (San Antonio), 1.5 leagues; S. Jorge (S. Atenógenes), 2 leagues; Stos Mártires (S. Gervásio), 3 leagues; S. Pedro Mártir (Sta Miguelina), 2 leagues; Santos Apóstoles, 3 leagues; Santa Cruz (Visitacion), 1 league, in 32 degrees, 14 minutes; Sta Mónica (S. Juan, 3.5 leagues); S. Estanislao, valle (S. Juan Bautista), 4 leagues, in 32 degrees, 18 minutes; S. Juan Bautista (S. Juan Capistrano); S. Antonio, valle (S. Francisco Solano), 4 leagues; S. Pio (S. Bienvenuto), 4 leagues; Stos Mártires, pocita (Cárcel de S. Pedro), 3 leagues, opposite the Coronados; Santo Espiritu on San Diego Bay.

CHAPTER VII.

Galvez's Last Regulations.—School for Sailors.—Unwise Orders Concerning the Soldiers and the Price of Mission Products.—Palóu Removes to Loreto.—Governor Armona.—Epidemic in the South.—Fr. Moran a Victim.—Folly of Transplanting Indians.—Galvez's Anger.—He Remembers the Missions.—Shabby Treatment—Fr. Palóu Defends Indian Rights.—He Reports to Mexico.—Fr. Ramos Goes to Mexico.—Armona Retires.

AFTER the inspector-general had despatched the *San Carlos* and the *San Antonio* on their errand to the north, he went to Loreto and arrived there on April 22d, 1769. He informed Fr. Palóu "that he had resolved to continue Loreto as a mission, because it had been the first on the peninsula," Palóu writes,[1] "and that as I, in the absence of the Rev. Fr. Junipero Serra, should have to act as presidente, I should have to remain there and manage it as its missionary; that he would leave a decree directing that Indian families to the number of one hundred be brought from the other missions, which had more than they needed, and added to the nineteen which it (Loreto) had; that, to begin with, twenty-five superfluous families should be brought from San Javier in order to work the mission field; and that for the period of one year the weekly rations of an almud[2] and a half of corn should be given them from the government store.

"When I asked him how they should support themselves thereafter, inasmuch as the mission of Loreto, though it has much land, lacked water, and it had been experienced that less rain fell there than anywhere in California, he replied that it had the rancho of San Juan, and that by furnishing meat to the government warehouse they could obtain corn for their maintenance and cloth to clothe themselves; that they could help themselves by manual labor for which reason he had ordered that, besides the rations, they should be allowed six dollars a month while they worked for the royal store, or

[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiii, 61-63.

[2] 8 to 10 lbs.

did other work as it came to hand; that they could also help themselves by fishing and selling the fish to the colonists, and likewise by diving for pearls; and that for such a purpose he would order a boat to be given to the mission, so that by this means and others, which were not wanting, they could well support themselves.

"I had to submit to this, bearing in mind from what was said, that some missionary had to stay at Loreto to transact the business and keep the accounts between the mission and the store. His lordship also fixed the annual stipend which was to be paid to me from Mexico for the support of the two missionaries, and which he said should be five hundred dollars in addition to the two hundred and fifty dollars for the expense of wax and olive oil for the lamp, as I said in the eleventh chapter. For everything he would leave his decrees, as he would also direct that the garden belonging to the store should be turned over to the mission, so that with its product it might assist in maintaining the mission, and that for everything else he would draw up instructions according to which the mission and everything else should be regulated." From all this it is evident that Galvez did not think it necessary to take any counsel from those who alone were competent to judge about the advisability or practicability of his measures, and therefore the result was confusion and failure.

Among other things Galvez also resolved to found a training school for sailors in which Indian boys were to be instructed how to manage the mission launches, as he had ordered that one should be built at San Blas for each mission. For this purpose as many as forty orphan boys, from ten to fourteen years of age, were to be taken from the missions and placed at this school. In the beginning the establishment was to receive one hundred fanégas of flour from the government store; but after that the boys were to support themselves by their own labor and at the cost of the missions.[3] Nothing seems to have come of the chimerical plan.

In making these and similar regulations the inspector-general passed his last days in California. The worst orders

[3] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiii, 62-63.

were those issued for the soldiers and for regulating the price of mission goods. From this it may be clearly seen that, despite his piety, the welfare of the missions on the peninsula was not uppermost in his mind, but rather the king's treasury, no matter how much the missions suffered in consequence. After going over the accounts of the royal warehouse and the pay of the military, he arbitrarily fixed the wages of the soldiers as follows: Those serving south of Loreto were daily to receive four *reáles*,[4] out of which they had to sustain themselves and furnish their own horses, weapons, and ammunition.[5] Those stationed at Loreto, and in the north as far as Santa María, were allowed five reáles a day, and the soldiers on the expedition and in the new missions, six reáles. To indemnify the soldiers for this reduction of their pay, Gálvez reduced the price of the goods sold at the store, in such a way, however, that the burden fell, not upon the government, but upon the poor Indian missions. A new price-list was arranged for everything. Thus corn, which had been sold for four dollars a fanéga, was reduced to three dollars and a half; beans and garvanzos from six dollars to five dollars a fanéga; dried figs from six to four dollars an arróba; mantéca, used in the preparation of food instead of lard, from six to three dollars an arróba; fresh meat from six to two reáles; dried meat from twelve to six reáles; wine from six to four reáles; brandy from ten to seven reáles a cuartillo or pint, etc. The missions, on the other hand, were required to sell these articles to the government store for one reál less, and to pay for the trouble of handling them. All these regulations the inspector left in writing with the temporary governor, Juan Gutiérrez, and then, on the 1st of May, 1769, embarked for Sonora, accompanied by the chaplain of the troops, Rev. Pedro Fernández, who had attended to the needs of the presidio since the departure of the Jesuits.[6]

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[4] A reál is equal to twelve and one-half cents.

[5] "Para los del Sur á cuatro reáles con la condicion que de ellos habian de comer, poner las béstias necesarias, las armas, pólvora y balas."

[6] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiii, 63-64.

After the departure of José de Galvez, Fr. Palóu turned Mission San Javier over to Fr. Juan Escudero, and collecting twenty-five families, who volunteered, he removed with them to Mission Loreto as the inspector had commanded. Fr. Benito Sierra was sent to Santa Rosalia de Mulegé, and Fr. Juan Gaston was placed in charge of Purísima Concepcion de Cadegomó, which since the month of February, when Fr. Juan Crespi joined Rivera, had been attended from San José de Comundú.[7]

"As soon as I took charge," Fr. Palóu writes, "I discovered that the mission at Loreto could not subsist and that all the others in a short time would decline; because owing to the new price-lists, the value of meat, tallow, fat, figs, wine, and brandy had very much decreased, and these articles were the only products of the missions, and from the sale of which the Indians were provided with cloth to cover themselves, and with corn in those years when none was harvested, which harvest generally does not yield enough. Despite my misgivings, I tried to await the results, so that with the experience made I might approach the inspector-general for relief, though I well knew that it would be difficult to obtain it while the pay of the soldiers was reduced."[8]

On June 12th Don Matias de Ármona,[9] the new governor arrived at Loreto. After studying the situation on the peninsula, he resolved not to take possession of the governorship, nor to return to California after a conference with the inspector at Álamos, Sonora, unless Galvez modified his orders concerning the peninsula. He was informed that the king had heretofore furnished $30,000 anuually for the maintenance of the military, but that Galvez wanted this expenditure to be covered by California, though the revenues were not only insufficient but uncertain. "I felt very much the distress of the gentleman," says Palóu, "because in the few days that he staid at Loreto I recognized in him all the requisites of a good governor. I explained my misgivings to him concerning

[7] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiv, 65.
[8] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiv, 65-66.
[9] "Sargento mayor del regimiento de la Corona."

the damage to the missions from the new price-list, which I showed him, so that he could with his own eyes see that the income from the meat which was used at Loreto and weekly amounted to little more than one hundred arróbas, did not pay the wages of the cowherds; that to pay them sixteen dollars a week was needed, besides the rations, whereas the meat amounted to little more than twelve dollars. I explained other points to him, in order that he might speak to the inspector, as he promised to do, and that he should write to me if he did not return to the peninsula. Thereupon he bid farewell and on June 24th sailed away in the same galeota that had brought him from San Blas." [10]

Meanwhile, in May, 1769, a pestilential fever broke out at San José del Cabo. Fr. Murguía, who was staying with the curate of Santiago waiting for a ship to take him to San Diego, hastened to the afflicted mission to assist the stricken people. While attending to his duties he also fell sick, but managed to reach Mission Todos Santos nearly dead. He recovered slowly, but now Fr. Juan Moran, the missionary in charge, was attacked by the fever while on his way to hear the confession of a sick Indian, and died before the curate of Santiago, who had been called, could administer the sacraments. "Though I felt pained that he had not received the holy sacraments," Fr. Palóu writes, "I had the consolation of his blameless life, and that by all he was considered a good religious." By direction of Don Galvez the curate of Santiago thereafter attended San José as a mission station, and thus both places reverted to the bishop of Guadalajara, or in other words, were secularized. Santa Ana and the surrounding mines and ranchos were already in charge of a secular priest, so that in the southern part of the peninsula the Franciscans, through Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora, retained only Todos Santos. [11]

The missionaries were laboring hard and managing the temporal affairs of the missions under the most disheartening circumstances in order to advance the spiritual welfare of their

[10] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiv, 66-67.
[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xiv, 68-70.

neophytes, when suddenly an epidemic of measles spread through all the missions from Loreto northward, carrying off many natives of all ages. This malady had not subsided, when another more serious disease began to rage. So many of the Indians died that San José de Comundú and Purisima, whither Galvez had transplanted many neophytes from Guadalupe, were again reduced to the small number which they had before. Guadalupe also lost many of its people from the same cause. At San Javier the havoc created by the epidemic was not as great as at Guadalupe; but at the pueblo of Santiago in the south the pestilence worked so fearfully that all the Indians who had been settled there from Todos Santos died, besides many of its original inhabitants. The same disaster overtook San José del Cabo, where all the families placed there from San Javier, with one exception, besides many of the native population, fell victims to the pest. At Todos Santos the plague at its first appearance killed more than three hundred children and adults; but as many of the panic-stricken neophytes fled to the mountains and died, it is impossible to give the exact number of the victims.[12]

The Guaicuros, whom Galvez had removed to Todos Santos from the suppressed missions of Dolores and San Luis Gonzaga, never resigned themselves to their lot, not so much because they had been transplanted, but because they were forced to live in community. Formerly they had been free to rove about the mountains, which was satisfactory to them, albeit they had to subsist upon wild fruits. They now caused endless trouble, and in their discontent destroyed or stole everything they could reach; nor did the authority or the respect due the inspector-general awe them to desist. Galvez himself went to Todos Santos from Santa Ana to pacify and correct them; but so little improvement followed, says Palóu, that on the same day on which he let them feel his displeasure, they stole the dinner prepared for him; and on the night before his departure for Santa Ana they stole everything made ready for his journey. This angered the inspector-general to such a degree that the missionaries with difficulty restrained

[12] Ibidem cap. xv, 70-71.

him from hanging some of the Indians, whom he had already ordered to make their last confession. In his wrath he declared that such a race of people deserved to be put to the sword so that they might not pervert the rest.[13] The discontent increased to such an extent that it became necessary to station soldiers among the neophytes; they had their hands full bringing back deserters, who in turn would cause all manner of annoyance to the poor missionaries.

It might be supposed that his experience with these Indians would have opened the eyes of Don Galvez to their real nature, to the folly of transplanting them, and to the necessity of taking measures for the relief of the missionaries; his previous and subsequent action, however, seems to force the conclusion that he had not been sent to the peninsula for the benefit of the missions and neophytes, but rather for the relief of the royal treasury at the expense of the peninsula. Nevertheless, about the middle of August, 1769, $8,500 worth of cloth arrived, which Galvez ordered to be distributed among the neophytes. He also commanded the keeper of the Loreto warehouse to allow the Fathers additional goods to the value of $1,500, but to charge them to the missionaries. Fr. Palóu sent all this to the different missions, so that the Fathers could dress all their wards, who had never before appeared so well clothed. In subsequent years the missionaries continued to provide clothing for the natives from the royal warehouse, and in payment furnished beef and produce.[14]

When writing his thanks to the inspector-general for the cloth he had sent, Fr. Palóu took occasion to tell him that he feared the missions in future might not be able to go to this expense, nor even to do what the Jesuits had done in this way, because the price of mission products, upon which the missions and the Indians depended for their maintenance, had been so materially lowered. The letter found Galvez ill with

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[13] "Fué preciso contenerlo para que no ahorcase á unos que ya habia mandado, confesar, y prorumpió que merecia tal raza de gente que se pasasen á todos por cuchillo, para que no maleasen á los otros."

[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xv, 71-72.

fever, so that no action was taken; but during the month of October he sent a commissary for the Loreto store in the person of Don Antonio López del Toledo, who was to act as governor in the absence of Armona. The latter informed Fr. Palóu that he had not spoken to the inspector-general about the matters which he had promised to advocate, "because it was the same to speak to him of California and to make him show anger."[15] "At the same time," Palóu writes, "in reply to what I said before I received from the inspector a letter in which he said to me that by means of the directions and instructions which he had given, and which the new commissary of Loreto brought along, my tears ought to be wiped away, and that for the rest I should have recourse to Divine Providence."[16]

The new commissary reached Loreto on October 23d, 1769, and from him Fr. Palóu learned that Galvez had ordered him to deliver the articles considered necessary for the mission of Loreto, but to ask for a receipt, and to forward it to the inspector so that he could determine whether or not they should be charged to the mission. This was one of the points which Fr. Palóu had mentioned to Galvez when he wrote "that all the utensils for the house as well as for the Indian community had been received at the warehouse, but that not as much as a plate, or a napkin, had been turned over for the use of the missionary Fathers, not even the least thing, not an earthen jar, nor a pan, nor a metate[17] to prepare the food for the Indians; that having asked the temporary governor in charge of the store, he had replied to me that all belonged to the royal warehouse, that he had received it by inventory from his predecessor, Don Francisco Troya, that the mission in the time of the Jesuit Fathers had kept an account separate from that of the warehouse, and that among all the rest on the

[15] "Pues lo mismo era hablarle de la California que manifestaba enojo!" Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xv, 72-73.

[16] "que con las providencias é instrucciones que habia dado, y llevaba el nuevo comisario de Loreto, se me enjugarian las lágrimas, y que en lo demás ocurriese á la Divina Providencia."

[17] Curved stone for mashing corn and making tortillas or cakes.

peninsula this mission was the best provided with utensils, and that the mission had paid the store for everything, as was clear from the account books of the time of said Fathers, and that the inspector had charged the royal commissary to deliver to the mission what belonged to it. Besides these instructions Galvez had issued another which the commissary intimated to me as follows: 'In the work of taking out salt to the wharves of Cármen Island, and in other work in the service of the king, the commissary should employ the Indians of Mission Loreto, and from the other missions others that might be needed, and to give them on account of the royal treasury the usual subsistence, *without other wages, because all subjects, who are truly such, have the obligation of serving the king.*'" [18]

"In another chapter of said instructions," Palóu tells us, (and it is well that he reproduced them, so that the haughty attitude of the Spanish officials towards the Indians and their missionaries stands out clearly), "he (Galvez) told the commissary that he should populate the saltworks of Cármen Islands with enough people, erect a warehouse there for the storing of salt, and take precaution that all the barks which had to return brought the salt to San Blas. The commissary intimated these instructions to me and said that he would soon have to execute them, and that the Indians should, therefore, quickly make ready, and that, as there were few at Loreto, I should ask the missionaries of the neighboring missions to send laborers for the royal service which must have a sufficient number. Hearing this, and considering that in the

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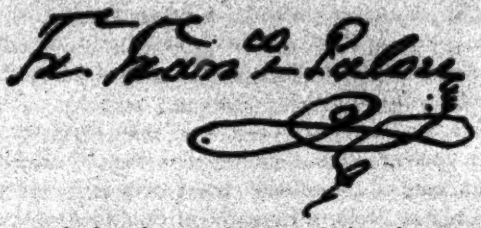
[18] "dandoles de cuenta de la real hacienda el mantenimiento acostumbrado, sin otro estipéndio de jornal, porque todos los vasallos, que verdaderamente los son, tienen obligacion de servir al rey." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. I, cap. xv, 73-75. Galvez was evidently a firm believer in the un-Catholic doctrine of royal absolutism. He seems to have been a typical State Catholic, though of the better class, with whom Religion is but the handmaid of the State, and the ministers of Religion not messengers of Christ, but only officials of an inferior branch of the State. The very doctrines of Christ must be made subservient to the notions of kings and politicians, or be outlawed!

adjoining missions the Indians had become very scarce on account of the epidemic mentioned before, that they were needed for necessary work, and that, if the land were not cultivated, they would have to purchase corn from the warehouse at so high a price, that to the discredit of the missionaries great damage, if not the destruction of the missions, must result therefrom, I wanted to prevent it. For that reason I asked the royal commissary what wages would be given to the Indians? He answered: 'None; that as the inspector had commanded in the instructions, only rations would be allowed to those that worked and during the time of the work.' I asked him further, who should have to support their wives and families? who should have to give them clothing, and who should have to maintain them if they were sick? To all of which he replied, 'The missions.' Well, if the missions have to maintain and clothe them, it is necessary



that they work for the missions; and therefore, as long as they are not paid the six dollars a month for their labor, as the inspector has ordered in the price-list which he left, I cannot furnish a single Indian, because I am convinced that the said instructions are erroneous, if not fictitious, for in them no mention is made of the wages which a few months before have been assigned them, and therefore he should suspend the execution of the regulations which he claimed to possess. With this he departed." [19]

As a schooner happened to be on the point of sailing for

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[19] Palón, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xv, 75-76. It is to be regretted that some of the haughty, bluffing, and meddlesome officials in Upper California, Neve for example, did not have to deal with the fearless Palón. Above is the fac-simile of Palóu's signature.

San Blas, Fr. Palóu sent a full report to the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando. The Fr. Guardian replied that the discretory had deemed it inadvisable to approach the viceroy on the subject, as he would doubtless refer them to the inspector; that Palóu should address himself to Galvez, and in case of an adverse decision he should send his own memorial and the inspector's reply to the College, which would bring them to the notice of the viceroy. Months passed before this answer of his superior reached Loreto; but Palóu had not waited for instructions. He had meanwhile sent a circular to all the missionaries and asked their opinion as to what was to be done with regard to the regulations as represented by the new commissary, a copy of which he enclosed. At the same time, as he intended to visit Galvez in person, he called to Loreto Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora, whom the College had named presidente in case that Fr. Palóu should at any time have to be absent or should be incapacitated. Fr. Ramos turned his mission Todos Santos over to Fr. Murguía, who had recovered from his illness, and hastened to Loreto, where he arrived on December 2d, 1769.

In the meantime the replies had come from the Fathers. All were unanimous in their opinion that Fr. Palóu should resign the care of the mission temporalities, in order that, if they perished or declined through the execution of the instructions, it could not be attributed to the missionaries of the Franciscan Order. Palóu, accordingly, drew up a document formally renouncing the control of the mission property, and signed it with the missionaries of the three nearest missions only, because there was no time to obtain the signatures of the others. Fr. Juan Ramos then embarked for Sonora to present the paper to the inspector-general. He was accompanied by Juan Gutiérrez, the acting governor. Unfortunately Galvez had departed for the capital; but on March 14th, 1770, Fr. Ramos brought back a letter which the inspector, before leaving Sonora, had written to Palóu inviting him to plead his case in writing and assuring him that it would receive the same attention as though he appeared in person. Palóu now wrote a full statement and added a

number of propositions for the guidance of the College. These documents Fr. Dionisio Basterra, who was retiring to the College on account of ill-health, took along when he embarked on March 19th. Fr. Ramos in his mission launch returned to Todos Santos by way of La Paz. Fr. Murguía was recalled to Loreto and arrived in the beginning of May to prepare himself for the journey overland to San Diego.[20]

Meanwhile Matías de Ármona, the governor-elect, tried in vain to be relieved of his office, because no provisions had been made to pay the soldiers, and the peninsula was unable to maintain them; but he was ordered to take charge of his post, and to be confident that all he had asked would be forwarded. He arrived at Cerralvo on June 13th, 1770. From Santa Ana he wrote to Fr. Palóu, and asked him for a report on the state of the missions and how they could be advanced without extraordinary cost to the royal treasury. Fr. Palóu went to Santa Ana himself by way of Todos Santos. After celebrating the feast of the patron saint, July 26th, the governor and Fr. Palóu together proceeded to Mission Todos Santos for the feast of Our Lady of the Angels, August 2d, and received there the welcome news that the port of Monterey in the north had been discovered and occupied. The event was celebrated on the next day with a High Mass of thanksgiving. On returning to Santa Ana another High Mass was celebrated for the same purpose.

During these days also Ármona received notice from the viceroy that he was permitted to retire from California to Mexico. Ármona then urged Palóu to draw up a list of propositions for the welfare of the Indians, which he promised to recommend to the viceroy. Palóu did so, and had the satisfaction of seeing some of them granted. Some of those conceded ordered that the commissary should settle his accounts with the missions; that the mission of Loreto should receive the balance due at the expulsion of the Jesuits, as well as all that was taken from the rancho since their departure; that the unmarried Indian men at Santa Ana should return

[20] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, capp. xv-xvi, 76-80.

to their missions, because they had not received the mechanical instruction promised; that the mission Indians should not work on the San Blas transports; and that the prices for the mission products should be rearranged. After finishing his business with the governor, Fr. Palóu, embarking at La Paz on August 24th, 1770, in a mission launch, retired to Loreto, whilst Armona remained at Santa Ana until November 9th, when he sailed for San Blas, leaving Bernardino Moreno to act as governor until another should be appointed. [21]

[21] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xvii, 80-83.

CHAPTER VIII.

Fr. Basterra's Memorial.—Its Fifteen Petitions.—Fr. Lasuen's Report.—The New Governor.—Fr. Rioboo Goes South.—Three Letters from the Viceroy.—Articles Sent to the Five Missions.

WHEN Fr. Basterra reached the capital about the beginning of July, 1770, he visited the inspector-general to place the grievances of the missionaries before him, with the remark that he had orders to deal with the inspector only. Galvez received him kindly, and directed him to draw up a memorial of all he was to advocate, which then would receive due attention. Basterra accordingly compiled the following *Representacion*, which Palóu reproduced in his *Noticias*, and accompanied with the appended explanations.[1]

"Memorial Presented to the Inspector-General.—Most Illustrious Inspector-General, Don José de Galvez.—Since Your Lordship permits me to present to you in writing the urgent petitions which Fr. Francisco Palóu, presidente of the missions of (Lower) California and missionary of Loreto, has entrusted to me, I proceed herewith to do so according to my ability, satisfied that, as Your Lordship already knows me, your kindness will overlook my errors.

"The first thing, then, which said Father begs of Your Lordship is that Your Lordship by decree command that the Indians engaged at work for the king be paid the six dollars a month and the daily rations, as Your Lordship determined when you were on the peninsula; for the royal commissary, Don Antonio López y Toledo, wanted the Indians to work for the rations only. This every one else that goes there will demand." Fr. Palóu adds by way of explanation that as father of the Indians he considered himself obliged to ask for justice, and therefore the request was made.[2]

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[1] Tomo i, cap. xviii, 85-89.

[2] "Atendiendo yo, como padre de dichos Indios, tenia obligacion á pedir justicia, por esto se hizo dicha representacion de la primera suplica." (Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xix, 92.) The missionaries

"The second petition is that Your Lordship command that the meat be sold at a higher price than Your Lordship determined; for the said Fr. Presidente (Palóu), (inasmuch as his mission supplies the presidio), has experienced that month after month the mission runs into debt to the amount of eight or nine dollars, for it pays each of the vaqueros as much as six and eight dollars a month." Fr. Palóu explains that the royal store required Mission Loreto to furnish weekly fifty arróbas of meat for the soldiers and sailors, but paid only one cent a pound, or $12.50 a week. The mission had only the rancho of San José stocked with wild cattle, for the capture and slaughter of which alone six or seven cowherds were needed at six and eight dollars a month. This cutting down of the mission income was altogether due to the withholding of the $30,000 which under the rule of the Jesuits the king annually paid for the maintenance of the soldiery, but which the Franciscans were now expected to save to the royal treasury out of the meager products of the barren missions.

"The third petition is that all the household goods be delivered to said Father (Palóu) without charge, and also that to Mission Loreto be paid the silver and the balance which it had at the expulsion of the Jesuits." These articles had been purchased from the store, but they were not delivered.

"The fourth petition is that Don Francisco Trillo pay Mission San Ignacio for ten tinájas[8] of brandy, and that Your Lordship so command as Your Lordship verbally promised

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considered themselves as holding the place of parents with regard to the Indians. This view was recognised by the kings. The question will be ventilated in the next volume.

[8] A tinája was an earthen jar; jug is probably meant here. There is no evidence that either the Jesuits or Franciscans manufactured brandy; the liquor was very likely a part of the consignment of goods sent from Mexico and used for medicinal purposes. The friars, as stewards, held themselves responsible for every article to the real owners, the Indians. On this point they were exceedingly scrupulous; hence the seemingly trivial petition for the jars or their value.

to the said Fr. Presidente (Palóu), and that said tinájas be paid at the royal warehouse.

"The fifth petition is that Your Lordship order a re-examination of the accounts as far as they touch the income and the expenditures of the missions; for when the books are examined it will be found that some entries are made twice and others are wanting; and that Your Lordship, after examining and correcting them as they ought to be, command that what the missions acquired and what is due them be paid in money through the síndico.[4]

"The sixth petition is that the missions should not be obliged to purchase cloth, tobacco, etc., at the warehouse, but that they may bring these goods from Mexico City to Guadalajara; for it is evident that in this way they would save some money, and the Indians would have a little more for clothing and food.

"The seventh petition is that the payment of the ten thousand dollars which Your Lordship ordered to be given from the Pious Fund, which belongs to the missions, in the shape of clothing (which have already been distributed), be repeated, or of a part of said amount, for the same purpose, until the missions have sufficient income to clothe their respective Indians." This Fr. Palóu declares was reasonable, inasmuch as the Pious Fund existed for the benefit of the Indian missions, not for the use of the government. Moreover, only three missions on the peninsula were able to clothe their Indians without this assistance.

"The eighth petition is that Mission Loreto should not be obliged to furnish more mules, horses, and asses than those that have the government store brand; for after a careful search of the rancho, there were not found more than twenty-four mules in all with the store brand; of horses, young and old, there were found sixty, ten belonging to the warehouse; and of asses, eight, all belonging to the store." It had been stipulated that twenty-four mules, eighteen horses, and ten asses should be considered the property of the royal store. They were kept at the mission rancho, but were branded to distinguish them from the mission stock. When the Fran-

[4] This refers to the accounts in the city of Mexico; the síndico was the lay procurator for the Franciscans.

ciscans took charge there were no more than given in the petition; nevertheless, Trillo demanded the original number. Hence the petition against his action.

"The ninth petition is that the missions should not be obliged to forward the surplus produce and goods to the store, but that they might sell them to any person; that in case the royal store needed some of the goods, the commissary should make his demand through the Fr. Presidente, or through whoever may be in charge of the mission accounts, so that the latter procure them from the missions, thus avoiding much annoyance to the missionary Fathers; and that, after said produce and goods have been forwarded, the commissary should make payment in money, as well for the goods as for the transportation, just as the missions would have to pay for what they obtained from the store.

"The tenth petition is that the governor and commissary should not meddle with the temporalities entrusted to the Fathers by his Lordship; for the royal commissary, Antonio López de Toledo, came with the impression that everything that existed at the missions was at his disposal, and that the Fathers were his inferiors; and he said another thing, that if the Fathers did not send him what he wanted, he would come with soldiers and would take off the lock from the granaries and would carry away the contents by force.

"The eleventh petition is that, as to the garden which his Lordship has added to the temporal property of Mission Loreto with the obligation that the Father take care that its fruits are delivered to the governor and to the royal commissary, he should order this obligation revoked, because from it might result much friction between those gentlemen and the Father, as to whether he took good care or not, whether or not all that it produced was delivered; besides no Father stationed there would take charge if the said gentlemen are the first who must be regaled with what the garden produces." The garden contained six olive trees, two fig trees, about twenty old vines, a few pomegranates, and some cotton plants. [5]

[5] It savored of insolence to make such demands upon a priest.

"The twelfth petition is that the governor and commissary should live outside of colegio,[6] as the temporary governor, Don Juan Gutiérrez had done, and thus avoid that the doors of the colegio remain open at night until said gentlemen might want to retire. Many also enter at night to make their supplications and propositions to the governor." The annoyances, says Palóu, which follow are evident when in one and the same habitation and school live the governor, the Fathers, and the commissary, and worse, when in the same building adjoining the church is the royal storeroom, which is a public store not only for clothing, but also for every kind of eatables and apparel.[7]

"The thirteenth petition is that no contribution or token of subjection should be imposed upon the Indians of the north, and that those imposed in the south should be abolished; for although the Indians have not been able to plant, as well by reason of the many diseases as by reason of the flight of others to the mountains, the commissary, nevertheless, wanted to impose said tax on the produce of the missions in the south, which doubtless will cause want in the maintenance and in the clothing of the Indians." Palóu makes a lengthy note here which it is best to reproduce. By a decree of Don Galvez the Indians of the three southern missions, Todos Santos, Santiago, and San José del Cabo, had been directed to cultivate at each mission an extra piece of land sufficient to take the planting of one fanéga of corn; the yield was to be brought to the royal commissary at Santa Ana in recognition of their subjection to the King of Spain. Those of Santiago and San José had not planted the field on account of the epidemic; those of Todos Santos had refused, because they had been transplanted thither against their will. The commissary then wanted to levy the contribution upon the missions. With re-

[6] The house containing the quarters of the governor, missionaries, and commissary, etc. It was called colegio probably on account of the little school.

[7] This shows what intolerable conditions prevailed at the principal mission and what little regard those haughty officials had for the ordinary rules of decency and good manners.

gard to the northern missions, Galvez, in consideration that they lacked water and arable land to do as much planting as in the south, decreed that, in recognition of their subjection to the king, they should give the tenth part of the product to the royal warehouse, likewise of the wine and figs; "and when he asked me," Palóu relates, "whether I thought them unable to do that, I replied that I did not judge the said Indians disposed as yet to pay tribute or tithes, as well because they were so poor and still new Christians, as because they were on the frontier. He rejoined that it was no tax, but only a recognition of subjection to the king. Well, Sir, I responded, all that the missions produce must be refunded in supporting and clothing the Indians who labored for it. If a part of it is turned over to the store, so much less would there be to give to the Indians."[8] There the matter seems to have rested for the time; but the commissary, acting upon the written orders of Galvez, made the demands, so that Palóu saw himself compelled to appeal to the inspector through Fr. Basterra.

"The fourteenth petition is that neither the governor nor the commissary should take or detain the mission boats, nor prevent the Indians from using them. If in case of some urgent necessity the boats are wanted, proper compensation should be made. The Fr. Presidente should also be informed of the urgency so that he can determine it.

"The fifteenth petition is that, as his Lordship has ordained, the missions of San José del Cabo and Santiago should continue in charge of a curate; for, apart from the fact that these pueblos have much declined, some injury may result to us from their administration, inasmuch as our enemies would not neglect to accuse us of trafficking with the Philippine ships which stop at San José to recuperate their men."[9]

[8] Galvez showed that he neither understood the Indians, nor used ordinary judgment in dealing with them. He was guilty of the very disregard of Indians' rights which he unjustly attributed to the Jesuits. It was foolish to make the Indians recognize vassalage to the king in this provoking manner; they barely recognized or understood their subjection to the Creator.

[9] This was exactly what had happened to the Jesuits, wherefore Palóu wisely endeavored to forestall similar charges. The curate

"These, Illustrious Sir, are the petitions which the Fr. Presidente, Fr. Francisco Palóu, and Fr. Juan Ramos confidentially entrusted to me, warning me that I should manifest them neither to His Excellency (the Viceroy), nor to any one else; because the said Fathers have confidence in Your Lordship alone that for the welfare of those poor Indians you will decree all that will be useful and expedient, and His Excellency, the viceroy, will confirm it for its greater permanency. Thus do said Fathers hope, and I hoping the same, pray God, our Lord, to prosper the life of Your Lordship many years. San Fernando, July 10th, 1770.—Fr. Dionisio Basterra."

"In all the said petitions," says Palóu, "I had no other object than the welfare of the missions which are in charge of the religious of my College, and the consideration of the honor of my apostolic Institute. Though no decision followed concerning them, I rested assured and was without misgivings of being at fault for having been silent." [10] Galvez, indeed, made promises to Fr. Basterra, but none were carried out, "either because he was distracted with other things of greater importance," as Palóu charitably expresses himself, "or because he disagreed with the Rev. Fr. Guardian of the College about the number of missionaries who would have to go to California and the new establishments, as I shall relate farther on." [11]

About this time, at the request of Fr. Palóu, and in compliance with the wishes of Governor Armona, the different missionaries made a report on the state of their respective missions. Only one of them, the report of Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen of Mission Francisco de Borja, is extant. From this document, dated August 31st, 1770, [12] we learn

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appointed for the two pueblos had already withdrawn and gone to Mexico with Armona, "because," as he said, "those pueblos were not for curates, but for missionaries," that is to say, they were too poor. (Palóu, "Noticias," 100.)

[10] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xix, 91-100.

[11] Ibidem, cap. xviii, 90.

[12] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum. Bancroft gives date of August 31, 1771, which is an error.

that forty-two Indian families, composed of one hundred and fifteen souls, lived at Mission San Borja, besides four widowers, one of whom had a son, and three widows, two of whom had a daughter each. In addition twenty-two orphan boys, eleven orphan girls, six old invalid women, and eight old invalid men were maintained at the mission. "Various sick people, of whom there are always enough," Fr. Lasuen writes, "stay at the mission, but return to their rancherías when they have recovered. Six pueblos, which harbor the remainder of the Christians on the list, belong to the mission. These are San Juan, San Francisco Regis, Los Angeles, Guadalupe, El Rosário, and San Ignacio. There is little difference between these Indians and the surrounding pagans." In a former statement made to Don Galvez, Fr. Lasuen had reported one thousand and sixteen souls under his charge, and he now thought that the number was about the same, barring those that had died in excess of those that had been baptized. During the two years of his administration one hundred and twenty children and one hundred and six adults, or two hundred and twenty-six in all, received baptism. During the same period two hundred and twenty adults and one hundred and four children died. There was no missionary stationed at Mission Santa Maria, according to Lasuen; for this reason the Indians of the ranchería San Pedro y San Pablo, near the Arroyo Calagnujuet,[13] where that mission had first been established, twenty-five leagues from San Borja, were induced to join those of Ranchería Guadalupe.

In the same document Fr. Lasuen urged the appointment of two missionaries at each mission, according to the regulations of his College, and to insure success for missionary efforts. In this connection Bancroft has this to say: "Lasuen makes an eloquent appeal for two padres at each mission, less (?) perhaps because he needed help, than because he longed for company.[14] We can in some degree imagine the desolate

[13] Lasuen spells it Calangujuet.

[14] All that Bancroft says of the Indians is true, but that was not the motive for Lasuen's request. The missionaries knew in advance what conditions they should meet, yet they volunteered.

loneliness of a padre's life at a frontier mission; but the reality must have been far worse than anything our fancy can picture. These friars were mostly educated, in many cases learned, men; not used to nor needing the bustle of city life, but wanting, as they did their daily food, intelligent companionship. They were not alone in the strictest sense of the word, for there were enough people around. But what were these people?—ignorant, lazy, dirty, sulky, treacherous, half-tamed savages, with whom no decent man could have anything in common. Even the almost hopeless task of saving their miserable souls must have required a martyr for its performance." [15]

Toward the end of 1770 a new governor was appointed for the peninsula in the person of Don Felipe Barri. He sailed from San Blas with his family and Fr. Juan Antonio Rioboo, O. F. M., about the middle of January, 1771, but did not reach Cerralvo until March 22d. When Fr. Rioboo arrived at Santa Ana, he informed Fr. Palóu by letter that the two Indian pueblos of San José and Santiago were without a priest, the curate having retired to Mexico, and that he would take charge if the Fr. Presidente permitted. Governor Barri urged Fr. Palóu to grant the permission, lest the people go without instruction and the sacraments. The Fr. Presidente consented that Fr. Rioboo remain temporarily, but only on condition that he have nothing to do with the temporal affairs of the pueblos. The governor thereupon appointed majordomos or stewards for both places to manage the temporalities. [16] At the same time he transmitted to Fr. Palóu three letters from Viceroy de Croix, which on account of the spirit they manifest and the information they contain are reproduced here. They were all written on the same day and read as follows: "In accord with the illustrious inspector-general,"

Not one desired to retire on account of the things Bancroft describes. How little does a writer of the materialistic caliber of a Bancroft comprehend the aims and motives of a Catholic missionary! The real motive for Lasuen's request will appear later.

[15] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 729.

[16] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xx, 104-105; cap xxi, 105-106.

the first letter tells Father Palóu, "I have resolved, because of the important aims and considerations which it is plain to Your Reverence demand the reduction of the numerous pagans on the peninsula, that in the packet-boat *San Antonio*, which returns to San Diego and Monterey, ten religious should go to establish five new missions on that coast [17] for that purpose, and that a like number of them must be founded in the intermediate region between Velicatá and San Diego. I charge Your Reverence very particularly, as is proper for your religious zeal to dispose, that with all possible speed the founding of these five [18] be realized by assigning two Fathers to each from the twenty which the *San Carlos* is bringing; for they carry along all the vestments and valuable articles for worship in the said new missions, and it would be extremely painful to me if their construction were delayed more than is indispensable.

"They must take the names respectively of San Joaquin, Santa Ana, San Juan Capistrano, San Pascual Bailon, and San Felice de Cantalicio; and, for the more rapid and happy success, Your Reverence will proceed in union with the lieutenant-governor, Don Antonio de Toledo, whom I am notifying that for this purpose, and until the new governor of the peninsula arrives, he should effectively contribute to the achievement of so laudable an object. You may know that to the síndico of the College have been paid, besides the stipends [19] fixed, and agreed to, by the said inspector, the thousand dollars which are assigned to each mission. I wish that Your Reverence keep yourself in good health, in which I pray God, our Lord, to preserve your life many years. Mexico, November 12th, 1770.—Marqués de Croix." [20]

The second letter also contains important facts to which we shall have to refer in the course of this narrative. "In accordance with the agreement Your Reverence has made with the illustrious inspector-general," says de Croix, "and with

[17] Upper California.
[18] Between Velicatá and San Diego.
[19] Annual allowance granted each missionary.
[20] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap xxi, 106-107.

the plans and regulations which the said illustrious lord formed on the peninsula, and which I have approved, there have been advanced to the thirty religious missionaries who are destined for California, as well to the twenty who must remain on the peninsula, as to the ten others who go to the new mission of Monterey, one year's stipend at the rate of two hundred and seventy-five [21] dollars a year, with the additional ten thousand dollars for the founding of ten new missions which are to be erected, one thousand dollars respectively for each, which amount of eighteen thousand and fifty dollars your síndico, Don José Gonzáles Cálderon, collected at this court; and as the sínodo [22] of two hundred and seventy-five dollars has been assigned indiscriminately to the missionaries, notwithstanding the difference of their destination, it is necessary to urge Your Reverence to inform me about it minutely, after you have ascertained the destination of the said thirty religious, so that in accordance with it and in conformity with the regulations indicated concerning the sínodos, the accounts may be settled and the respective expenses, which have been incurred by those missionaries in the old missions, may be paid, where the sínodo does not amount to two hundred and seventy-five dollars. I hope that Your Reverence will not omit anything for the right understanding of the matter. In consequence their allowance begins from the day on which they depart from this capital, since they must pay the expenses of their journey by land to the port of San Blas.

"I also inform Your Reverence that for each of the ten missions which are to be established, the religious take along the vestments, sacred vessels, and other necessary articles for which they have asked. This comfort I have facilitated on account of the laudable object for which they are intended and on account of the interest which I take in the propagation of the faith in that heathen country, besides two rich

[21] It will be seen that the annual stipend of the Franciscans was $225 less than that of the Jesuits. The Jesuits enjoyed an allowance of $500 a year. In both cases goods were sent in place of money.

[22] Annual stipend.

vestments which are destined one for the new mission of Monterey and the other for the church of Our Lady of Loreto, Patroness of the peninsula. I give Your Reverence this news for your information. May God preserve Your Reverence many years. Mexico, November 12th, 1770.—Marqués de Croix." [33]

The third letter refers to the goods sent for the new missions. "In order," de Croix informs Palóu, "that Your Reverence may have exact knowledge of the vestments and articles which each assortment contains for any one of the new missions to be established on the peninsula, I enclose the accompanying list, and inform you that I have directed that the bales intended for the five missions [34] be forwarded to Your Reverence, and that those that are marked with the same number are for the use of one and the same mission; and to avoid confusion I have ordered that those intended for Loreto [35] should be addressed from six to ten, and that those that are directed to Monterey should have the numbers from one to five. The goods so arranged and their transportation I place on this same date in charge of the royal commissary of the port of San Blas, Don Francisco Trillo, and I warn him to take like care in forwarding the precious vestment which is intended for the use of the church of Our Lady of Loreto, the Patroness of the peninsula; and this I communicate to Your Reverence for your guidance. God keep Your Reverence many years. Mexico, November 12th, 1770.—Marqués de Croix." [36]

The articles sent to each mission, as directed by Viceroy de Croix, were "five vestments, white, red, violet, green and black, respectively; five frontales or antependia of the same colors; five pálias or tabernacle veils of the same colors; two albs and two surplices; two *mantebójos* and two sets of altar-cloths; two corporals, two cinctures, and six purificators; one

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[33] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxi, 107-109.

[34] To be established in Lower California between San Diego and Velicatá.

[35] For the missions in preceding note.

[36] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxi, 109-110.

crucifix for the altar; three candlesticks and two covered altar stones; one set of altar cards and two *ortes;* one chalice with paten and spoon; one plate, cruets, little bell, and an altar-breadbox; one censer with boat and spoon; one altar breadiron and one holy-water pot; one silver shell for baptizing; three oilstocks and one salt-cellar; one small ciborium with two coverings for bringing the Viaticum to the sick; one white veil and one white cape; one white and one black cope; one Roman ritual; thirteen *reáles*[27] *para las arras.*"[28]

[27] Reáles, etc., were thirteen pieces of coin which the bridegroom gave to the bride as a pledge at the marriage ceremony. As the Indians had no money, the viceroy provided these thirteen coins for each church, where they were kept for use along with the ring.

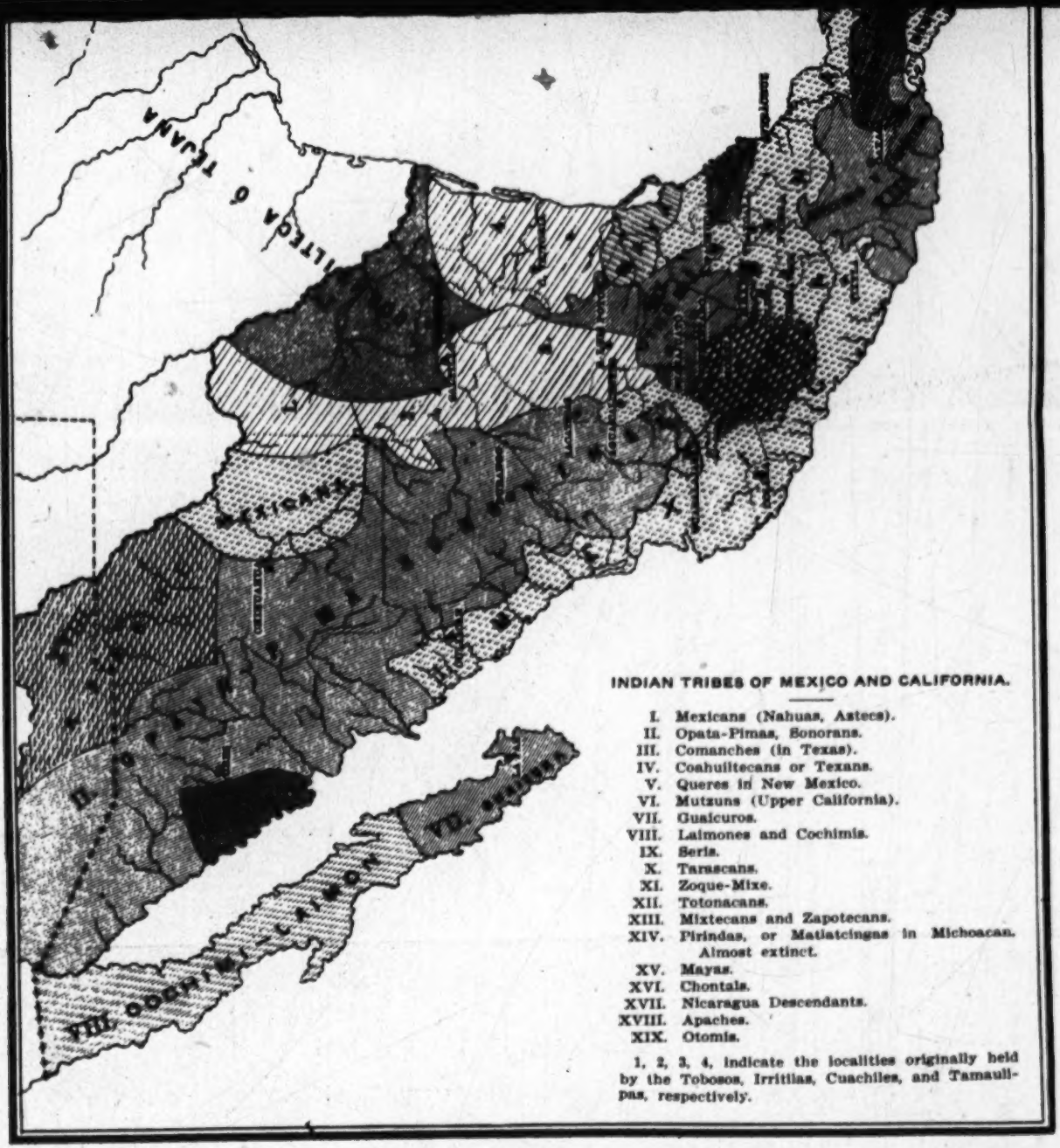
[28] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxi, 110-111.

CHAPTER IX.

Governor Felipe Barri.—New Missions.—The College Cedes the Sierra Gorda Missions.—The Archbishop's Letter.—New Missionaries.—Hardships.—Worst Grievance of the Fathers.—Lack of Guards.—Distribution of the Missionaries.—Indian Treachery and Arrogance.—An Unreasoning Governor.—The Guaicuros Turbulent.—A Wily Indian.—Complains to the Governor.—Palóu's Efforts for Peace.—His Fearless Stand.

GOVERNOR FELIPE BARRI with his family arrived at Loreto on April 19th, 1771. "At first," Palóu relates, "he manifested great affection for the holy habit, and he was very ardent in assisting us in the conversion of the Indians and in the progress of the missions. He promised an agreeable harmony and explained that to this effect his excellency, the Marqués de Croix, viceroy of New Spain, had charged him in one of the instructions which he wanted me to see to assure myself of it. Thus he made known at Loreto and on the whole peninsula, not only in words but also in deeds, the affection which he professed for us and the good harmony which existed between us. This led to the result that the Indians, who had grown somewhat perverted in some of the missions, as far as stealing was concerned, became frightened. He said much about the manner of governing which the missionaries exercised in the missions, and about the doctrine and the education which had called forth his admiration, and he also praised our disinterestedness and charity which he saw us exercise towards the Indians; this he not only said, but after his recent arrival he also wrote it to the inspector-general. From all this I inferred that his respect and authority ought to aid us greatly in advancing the missions. We conferred about the manner in which we should go to work in founding the new missions according to the directions of his excellency, but the delayed arrival of the Fathers, as well as the lack of soldiers on the peninsula needed for the undertaking, stopped us."[1]

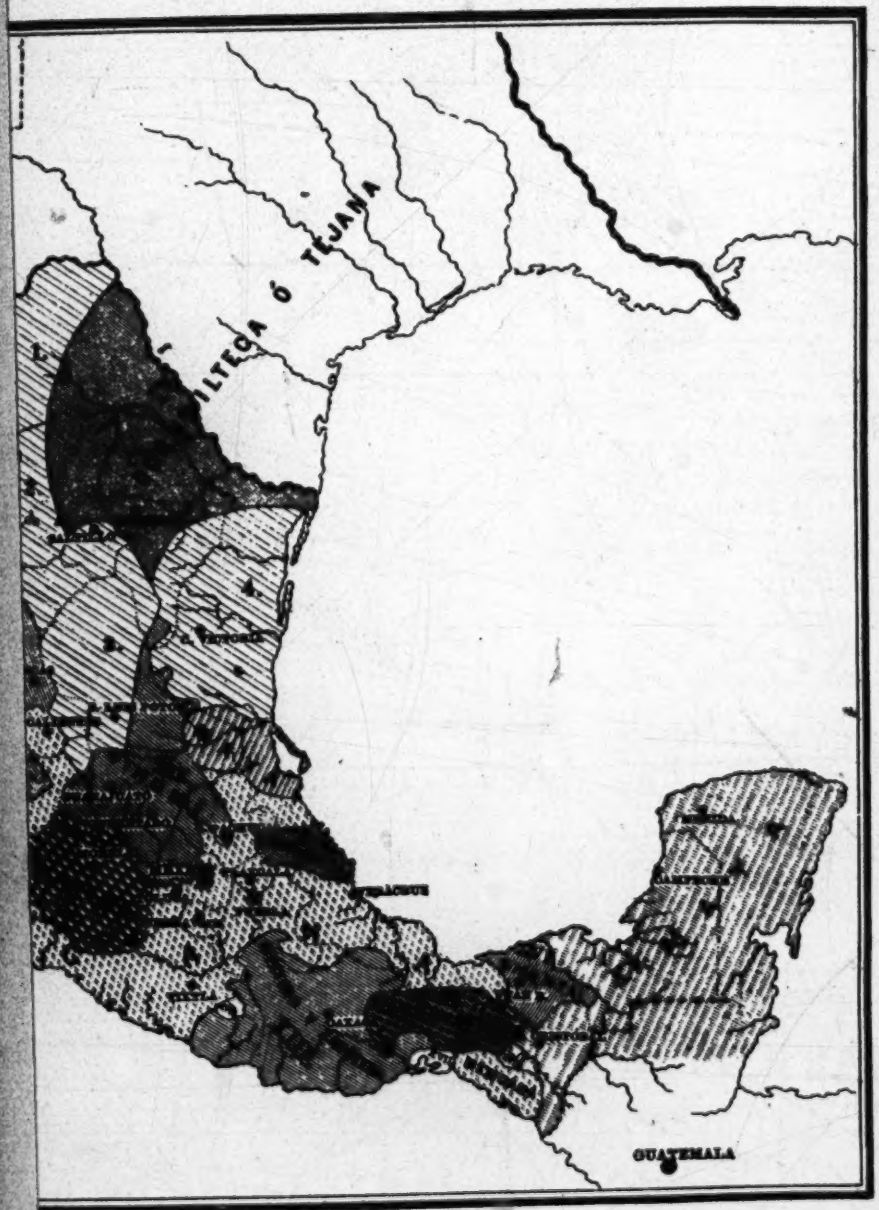
[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxii, 112-113.



INDIAN TRIBES OF MEXICO AND CALIFORNIA.

I. Mexicans (Nahuas, Astecs).
II. Opata-Pimas, Sonorans.
III. Comanches (in Texas).
IV. Coahuiltecans or Texans.
V. Queres in New Mexico.
VI. Mutzuns (Upper California).
VII. Guaicuros.
VIII. Laimones and Cochimis.
IX. Seris.
X. Tarascans.
XI. Zoque-Mixe.
XII. Totonacans.
XIII. Mixtecans and Zapotecans.
XIV. Pirindas, or Matlatcingas in Michoacan. Almost extinct.
XV. Mayas.
XVI. Chontals.
XVII. Nicaragua Descendants.
XVIII. Apaches.
XIX. Otomis.

1, 2, 3, 4, indicate the localities originally held by the Tobosos, Irritilas, Cuachiles, and Tamaulipas, respectively.


ILTEQA Ó TEJANA
GUATEMALA

It will be remembered from the preceding chapter that in the beginning of August, 1770, when the news of the success of the Monterey expeditions reached Mexico, the viceroy and the inspector-general resolved to found ten new missions in addition to those of San Fernando de Velicatá, San Diego, and Monterey. For this purpose the inspector in a personal interview informed the Fr. Guardian of the College of San Fernando that the viceroy had decided to found the missions, and that therefore the forty-four religious, who had come from Spain in 1770, should proceed to the peninsula and the newly-discovered territory.[2] The Fr. Guardian explained that these Fathers were needed for hearing confessions in the city, for giving missions throughout the country, for replacing the missionaries who had been withdrawn from the missions in the Sierra Gorda, and for the various offices and occupations in the College itself. Galvez, however, demanded that some missionaries should be sent immediately, and threatened to write to the king, who would use his power over the community. The Fr. Guardian insisted that he could not spare as many Fathers as the inspector-general required. Thereupon both agreed that thirty religious should go to California on condition that the archbishop be persuaded to take charge of the five Sierra Gorda missions by substituting secular priests for the five Franciscans, and thus secularizing those five establishments.[3]

In sending so many friars to the Indian missions of California the College of San Fernando was, indeed, making great sacrifices. It must be borne in mind that the College received no compensation for any of these religious, though it had to educate and train them. All that each missionary among the Indians received as stipend, and all he earned in any way whatsoever, went into his mission. The College received nothing. Nor could the individual missionary put aside anything whatever for himself or his relatives. Whatever superficial or malevolent authors have written to the contrary con-

[2] See close of the Collective Letter to the viceroy, Part III, chapter i.

[3] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xx, 101-102. See Appendix H.

cerning the Franciscan missionaries in Lower and Upper California, who labored there before the confiscation of the missions in 1835, is calumny.[4]

The five missions in the Sierra Gorda had been established by the College of San Fernando in 1744, and Fr. Junipero Serra had toiled there with extraordinary zeal and success for nine years. When the missions of Lower California were forced upon the College by the viceroy, the Fr. Guardian, as will be remembered, withdrew five Fathers from the Sierra Gorda, and thus, contrary to their regulations, but in order to satisfy the persistent government, left five religious at their post without a companion. The arrangement was to be temporary, but now the inspector insisted on having more friars for new missions and the Fathers in Lower California clamored for assistants. The discretory, therefore, decided to cede the Sierra Gorda missions to the bishop of the diocese. The friars did so the more readily because under their management those Indians had advanced to such a degree of progress that their missions became objects of emulation among the surrounding secular clergy. Furthermore, the Bull of Pope Innocent XI. directed that, when Indian missions had sufficiently advanced in Christianity and civilization, they should be turned over to the bishop, who was to place them in charge of curates. As early, therefore, as June or July, 1770, the Sierra Gorda missions were offered to Archbishop Francisco Antonio Lorenzana, who seems to have declined them. Hence it was that the Fr. Guardian promised the thirty religious for California only on condition that the College be relieved of the missions which had been in the care of the Franciscans for twenty-six years. It seems that this was done; for soon after the viceroy addressed the following letter to the Fr. Guardian, which explains itself:

"The urgent petition of Your Reverence and the discretory of July 10th, last past, in which you ask that secular priests be stationed at the five missions in the Sierra Gorda, which have been in charge of your Apostolic College, I sent to the fiscal, and in accordance with his reply I have resolved in

[4] See Appendix F.

the decree of the 10th of the present month to accede to the importunities of Your Reverences; and I extend to you the most expressive and deserved thanks for the zeal with which your missionary religious have known to succeed in their apostolic labors, and I resolved to notify the Most Illustrious Archbishop to name an ecclesiastic to take charge of said missions, to provide them with secular curates, as well as to appoint Don Vincente Posadas, citizen of the Rio Verde, commissary to receive the five missions mentioned, with orders that he give to the Fathers a juridical document that there are found in them all that is delivered up in each one; and that he should not only not place any obstacles to their removing their books and everything that serves for their use, but likewise to provide them with what is necessary, so that they may be restored with every possible facility to their College, after the lands have been divided among the Indians in the manner which Your Reverences have proposed to me. I give you notice of this so that you may be thoroughly informed and that punctual compliance may be brought about. God keep Your Reverences many years. Mexico, August 15th, 1770. Marqués de Croix."[5]

Some months later the archbishop addressed himself to the College in a letter which likewise explains itself. It reads as follows:

"My Dear Sir, The curate and juez eclesiastico of Cadereita has reported on his efforts which he made by my order to place in charge of the secular clergy the five missions of Xalpan, Landa, Tilaco, Tancoyol, and Conca, in the Sierra Gorda. We learn from them the indefatigable zeal with which the sons of your Apostolic College have labored there. Since it is the invariable practise of your Institute to be as ready to give them up as to accept them, I can do no less than manifest to Your Reverence my gratitude, and the obligation under which I find myself to crave occasions in which to serve you. Our Lord keep Your Reverence many years. Mexico, De-

[5] Palóu, "Vida," cap. vi, 24; cap. viii, 37-39.

cember 22, 1770. B. L. M. de V. Rma. Your most affectionate Servant. Francisco, Archbishop of Mexico." [6]

The Fathers appointed for the missions already existing and those to be established in Lower California were Juan Prestamero, Ramon Uson, Marcelino Senra, Tomas de la Peña, Vincente Imas, Francisco Echasco, Martin de Palácios, Manuel Lago, Pedro Arriguibar, José Leguna, Gregorio Amúrrio, Juan Figuer, Vincente Fuster, Antonio Linares, Vincente Santa María, Francisco Javier de Tejada, Juan Antonio Rioboo, Miguel Sanchez, José Legomera, and Francisco Villuendas.[7] Those going to Upper California were Antonio Paterna, Antonio Cruzado, Francisco Dumetz, Angél Somera, Miguél Pieras, Buenaventura Sitjar, Domingo Juncosa, José Caballer, Luis Jaime, and Pedro Benito Cambon. These thirty friars left the College for Tepic in October, 1770.[8]

Notwithstanding the viceroy's desire and the superior's orders that the friars should lose no time in traveling to their destination, for want of an opportunity they could not sail from San Blas until the beginning of the next year. In the meantime they remained at the Franciscan hospice of Santa Cruz, Tepic. Finally, on January 2d, 1771, the ten religious intended for Monterey sailed away in the packet-boat *San Antonio*.[9] The incidents occurring on this voyage belong to Upper California history, which will be found in the second volume.

The twenty Fathers assigned to the peninsula embarked on the packet-boat *San Carlos* in the beginning of February.

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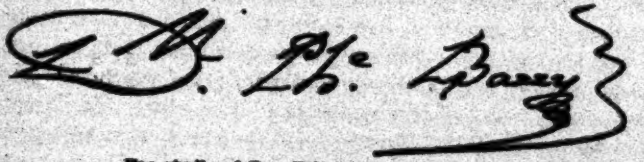
[6] Palóu, "Vida," cap. viii, 39.

[7] Palóu has "these twenty," though in his list he gives the names of only sixteen; another paragraph, however, mentions Fr. Rioboo; Sanchez, Legomera, and Villuendas are named at the distribution. (Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvi, 137-138.) Fr. José Herrera was another one appointed; but he fell sick along with Fr. Tejada. Without waiting until he had fully recovered, he followed the other friars by land and died at the Real del Rosario. Fr. Tejada did not reach California till April, 1772. (Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvi, 136; cap. xxxvi, 252.)

[8] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xx, 103-105.

[9] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xxv, 115.

They had scarcely left San Blas when they encountered heavy storms which drove the vessel about the gulf, away from the desired harbor, until it ran aground on the coast of Colima within sight of the port of Manzanilla. The rudder was broken and the ship had suffered other damage so that she was considered unsafe for another voyage. After the friars had landed by means of the launch, Fr. Juan Prestamero, who acted as superior, reported their misfortune to the viceroy. De Croix ordered the missionaries to proceed overland to Tamasúla on the coast of Sinaloa, opposite Loreto, and thence to cross the gulf for California. When the viceroy's order arrived the captain had already repaired the ship; but the Fathers preferred to travel the three hundred leagues to Sinaloa on foot. At the captain's request, however, lest the crew be without a priest, Fathers Marcelino Senra and Juan Figuer were permitted to take passage with the church goods. Contrary winds prevented the *San Carlos* from landing at the port of Loreto until the 30th of August, seven months after leaving San Blas, and when the inmates were about to perish for want of fresh water. The other eighteen friars wandered to Sinaloa and finally arrived at the coast, but not till one of their number had succumbed to the hardships and died on the road.[10]



Fac-simile of Don Felipe Barri's signature.

When Governor Barri[11] learned from Fathers Senra and Figuer that their eighteen brethren were probably waiting on

[10] The name of the deceased is not given, but to all appearances it was Fr. José Leguna, of whom no further mention is made in the records.

[11] The cut shows that the governor spelled his name Barry. The viceroy also wrote Bucarely in conformity with the old style. Palóu and authors after him generally use the "i" in accordance with the new style.

the other coast for an opportunity to cross, he sent the *Concepcion* over. She returned with the seventeen sorely tried religious on November 24th, more than a year after they had bid farewell to the College of San Fernando. Fr. Palóu, after waiting for them in vain until July, had started out from Loreto on the 29th of that month to make a visitation of the northern missions. On August 30th, while at Mission Purisima, he learned from Fr. Murguía, who had remained at Loreto, that the *San Carlos* had arrived with only two Fathers. Palóu, who at the request of Governor Barri had already interrupted his official visit to the missions, hastened back to Loreto, and arrived there on September 6th. After distributing the goods brought over from Mexico to the respective missions, he sent Fr. Senra to Todos Santos and Fr. Figuer to San Borja as assistants. This arrangement caused great consolation to the two missionaries in charge. One of the worst grievances suffered by the friars was that no two of them were stationed at one mission, and that some of the establishments were as many as sixty leagues apart, so that it was impossible for the poor religious to make their confessions to one another except after long intervals. The missionaries cared little for company; but they found it hard to be deprived of the spiritual consolations which they were wont to find in the sacrament of penance, and which the lowest of their flock enjoyed. It was for this reason that Fr. Palóu urged the two new-comers to hasten north and south respectively in order to give their brethren the relief which they had only rarely received within the last three years. Moreover, Fr. Ramos at Todos Santos dwelt among a most turbulent people and needed the assistance of a companion.[12]

On November 24th the *Concepcion* brought only fifteen instead of seventeen friars from Sinaloa, as Fr. José Herrera[13] and Fr. Francisco Tejada had remained at Tepic on account

[12] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xxv, 115-116; "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxii, 113-116.

[13] Herrera is mentioned here for the first time by Palóu. There is confusion in the number as well as in the names of the Franciscan Friars in Doyle's edition of Palóu's "Noticias," which we had to use.

of sickness. When the fifteen religious reached Loreto Fr. Palóu happened to be at San José de Comundú with Fr. Ramos, who was explaining the deplorable state of his mission to his superior. He accordingly wrote to the governor for the necessary guards, in order that at least two new missions could be started in compliance with the instructions of the viceroy. The governor replied that he had received corresponding orders, but that, as the troops had not returned from San Diego, he had no soldiers to spare; that he had asked Don Pedro Corbalan, the governor of Sonora, for recruits, but had not as yet obtained any; and that he had reported the situation to the viceroy. Fr. Palóu then informed both the College and the government of the predicament in which the missionaries found themselves. Both reports unfortunately reached Mexico when De Croix had finished his term of office, Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa had assumed charge of the government, and Don Joseph de Galvez had returned to Spain. Therefore the founding of the five new missions between San Fernando de Velicatá and San Diego had to be postponed until the new viceroy could acquaint himself with the duties of his office and the needs of the vast territory under his jurisdiction.[14]

Fr. Palou distributed the newly-arrived friars among the existing missions, until other establishments might arise, in the following order: Fathers Vincente Fuster and Antonio Linares were sent far north to Fr. Miguel de la Campa at Velicatá to assist him at that place and at Mission Santa Maria, which latter had no resident missionary; Fr. Gregorio Amurrio was made assistant to Fr. Juan Sancho at Mission Santa Gertrudis; Fr. José Legomera went to San Ignacio as companion to Fr. Juan de Medina Beitia; Fr. Pedro Arriguibar was appointed assistant to Fr. Juan Benito Sierra at Santa Rosalia de Mulegé; Fr. Manuel Lago was sent to Fr. Andrés Villaumbrales at Mission Guadalupe; Fathers Francisco Echasco and Martin Palacios were assigned to Purisima Concepcion, where Fr. Juan Gaston was stationed; Fathers Juan

[14] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xxv, 117; "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvi, 136-137.

Prestamero, Tomás de la Peña, and Vincente Imas were given charge of Mission San José de Comundú; Fr. Ramon Uson was made the companion at San Javier of Fr. Fernando Parron, who had returned from San Diego and administered the mission since Fr. Escudero through ill-health had been compelled to retire to Mexico; Fr. Vincente Santa Maria found his work at Loreto with Fr. José Murguía; Fr. Miguel Sánchez was placed at Todos Santos to assist Fr. Marcelino Senra; and as the bishop had appointed no curate in place of the secular priest who had left the mission or pueblo of Santiago, Fr. Palóu appointed Fr. Francisco Villuendas to assist Fr. Juan Antonio Rioboo in taking care of both Santiago and San José del Cabo, with instructions not to meddle in the least with the temporalities of either pueblo.[15]

Lest subsequent events be misunderstood, it will be necessary to relate some incidents which as specimens of Indian treachery and military conceit and arrogance afford a glimpse of the trials which the missionary must undergo wherever the missions are subject to military or political interference. In this case the animosity of a haughty governor caused the withdrawal of the Franciscans from the California peninsula, wherefore the occurrences are stated at some length according to Fr. Palóu, who was the superior of the missions.

"About the middle of August, and while I was in the north at Mission San Ignacio," Palóu writes, "I received a letter from the governor asking me to return to Loreto as quickly as possible, because the Indians of Todos Santos had rebelled and had come in bands to complain against the major-domo of said mission. Knowing them already, I made little of the matter and wrote to the governor that he should not be alarmed about said Indians, as they had done the like before, but that nevertheless we should soon see. He sent a second letter, whereupon I at once retraced my steps and reached Loreto on September 6th.

"When I arrived at Loreto the governor informed me that two bands of Indians and boys had come from Mission Todos Santos to petition against the major-domo of said mission,

[15] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvi, 137-138.

and to complain of being starved to death, of floggings and much work; that he (governor) as judge would have to do justice; that he had already written to the lieutenant of Santa Ana to send the major-domo of said mission as prisoner; and that he would have to chastise him severely for the tyranny and cruelty which he had practised on the Indians. I told him: Sir, these are misrepresentations of the Guaicuro Indians; they have always done this, bringing falsehoods to the judge until he took notice of them. I related various instances about them which occurred in the time of the Jesuit Fathers, and likewise what had happened recently in the time of Don Matias de Armona; that one went to complain to said gentleman against the major-domos that they had flogged him, and he uncovered his body which had become one bleeding wound. Horrified at the cruel punishment, the governor (Armona) made an investigation, when it was discovered to be a wicked trick of the Indian, who had in this manner covered himself with wounds by slashing his body, in order to ruin the poor major-domo, who had not in the least meddled with the punishments, but only had charge of the labor; but if anything occurred he notified the missionary, who, like a father, ordered some whipping to be administered in his presence, seeing to it that the chastisement was that for sons.

"I also related that a few days after this incident the governor in my company had gone to Todos Santos; on the second day of our arrival, all the Indian women and some men presented themselves complaining against the present missionary, Fr. Juan Ramos, saying that he killed them with hunger, let them go naked, as could be seen (for which purpose they presented themselves half covered with rags). As I was present at this scene they asked me to rid them of the Father, and that, if I did not, the governor would place a secular priest with them. The governor, however, remembered what had occurred a few days before, which I related, how he had seen with his own eyes that on the day before all had gone about well dressed, the men in pants and cotton shirt, the women in chemise, petticoats, and blanket, and how he had likewise seen the good food which was given them

without scarcely any work, for nothing could be entrusted to them, because they destroyed and stole everything; and that even for fetching the wood to their own kitchen it was necessary to hire a servant who received six dollars a month, and who had nothing more to do than to bring wood for them; for if any of them were sent, he would not return, but walk off to the hills to his ancient haunts. I say, remembering all this, Governor Armona, after listening to them with patience and prudence, consoled them by saying that he would remedy this, when they went to their homes.

"He took the following steps: Reflecting with his sagacity about those that had made the speeches and about those that only joined in the commotion, he called apart one of the latter and asked him what the Father had done to him to make him complain. He replied that he had nothing to complain about, and that he wondered why his relatives complained without cause; and asking him who were the fault of it, he named two, who were the ones that had made the addresses before all others. The governor at once ordered them to be arrested and put in chains. The rest then came to ask pardon for what had occurred and to beg that the two be punished, who were the fault of everything; that they had nothing to say either against the Father or the major-domo; that if they had come before it was because they had been forced by the two; and after declaring which one was more guilty the governor sent him as a prisoner to Santa Ana for punishment, and thus the revolt was allayed and all remained contented.

"Having told these two cases and others which took place during the time of the inspector-general, who had made the declaration that the Guaicuro nation deserved to be put to the sword lest they corrupt the rest on the peninsula, I said to him (Gov. Barri): Sir, in view of this it is proper to ask information of the missionary Father and we shall see what he says. To this he replied that he did not want to see such a Father, neither him, nor his letter;[18] that he had already

[18] "A lo que me respondió que al tal padre ni á él ni á carta suya queria ver, que ya tenia escrito al teniente le enviase preso al mayordomo." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxiii, p. 119.

written to the lieutenant to send him the major-domo as a prisoner. Well, Sir, if he is proved guilty punish him as judge. Notwithstanding what was said, I wrote to Fr. Ramos to tell me the facts of the case, and he replied, giving me his individual version of all, and as the case went higher up and the complaint reached the viceroy, it has seemed to me right to be explicit on this point, by giving the motive for the trouble as the said missionary Father Juan Ramos de Lora wrote it to me, and the Fathers Marcelino Senra and Juan Antonio Rioboo confirmed it.

"I have already said that the Guaicuro Indians never had settled down in their native missions of La Pasion and San Luis Gonzaga, but that they were accustomed to live in the sierras like deer, maintaining themselves with wild fruits, and gathering at the mission for Mass only on those Sundays when it was the turn of their ranchería; that only one ranchería assisted on one Sunday and the other on another Sunday. The inspector-general had transplanted all these rancherías to Todos Santos to live together in community. As they had been accustomed to live in the mountains, they found this hard, and soon began to run away, so much so that, on informing the inspector, he found it necessary to place more guards at the mission, and to assign some soldiers who did nothing else than bring back fugitives. Some Indians of the same tribe, who appeared more quiet and reasonable, were selected to accompany the soldiers. Among them was the chief of a rancheria whose name was Leandro; he acquitted himself perfectly, and through him they succeeded in bringing back many Indians; but as only a few remained and running away was continual, it became necessary for the chief to stay outside the mission nearly the whole year; for when one band of deserters came, another had already started out, so that he turned about in search of these. This the Indian did with pleasure, for which reason the Father flattered him a great deal, giving him better clothing, letting him take mules for his excursions, and taking care that the mission plant a good piece of land with corn for him, so that he had no further trouble about it than to receive the yield and sell it; because

for himself and his family he had enough from the weekly rations that were distributed, when his was set apart from the others. Thus the matter stood when I was at Todos Santos with Governor Armona. The Father praised the conduct of the Indian, and regretted that he had not been at the mission on the occasion for which we came, and he said to us that if he (Leandro) had been present the revolt referred to before would not have occurred.

"The said chief, however, became wicked, or to speak more correctly, his evil deeds and vices were discovered; for having turned over some Indians, his very companions accused him before the Father by saying that Leandro delivered those he wished, but his friends remained in the hills as well as the women whom he wanted for his purposes. The Father investigated and found it to be true, and when the chief arrived he charged him in the presence of the major-domo. When he saw himself accused, instead of humbling himself and asking pardon, he grew insolent and answered the Father impudently; but the major-domo could not bear this and therefore said to him: 'Ah! you rogue, is that the way to speak to the Father!' Then fearful of chastisement he fell upon his knees and asked pardon. The Father forgave him and contented himself with saying that he had no more use for him, and that he should remain quietly at the mission.

"Little satisfied with this the Indian planned revenge, and a few days after asked for permission to go to Santa Ana on business. Fr. Ramos gave it, and then he went to tell the lieutenant that the entire mission was in revolt; that all wanted to run off to the hills, and that the Father had already told him not to go in search of them; that the cause for the trouble was the cruelty of the major-domo, who ill-treated them with blows; that he had already killed one, whom he named, and that he had come to unburden his conscience.[17]

[17] This is a good specimen of the duplicity of which an Indian is capable, and which he practises to this day, when religion does not control him. For governor substitute U. S. Indian Agent, when the story can be duplicated by any experienced Indian missionary. See Appendix G.

The lieutenant, hearing this, advised him to proceed with the others to Loreto, and to lay his complaints before the governor. Soon after returning to the mission he asked permission to go and bring some fugitives who were prowling about near the mission. The Father who through other Indians was already aware of his plans, said to him: 'See here! I already know that you want to go and complain to the governor, but in order that you may not go without permission, I give it to you; and, in order that you may travel with convenience, take two mules from the mission and go with them.'[18] He left and gave as excuse that he went, not to Loreto, but to bring in fugitives. A few days after his departure some of the Indian women and men whom he had already notified disappeared, and went to the hills of La Pasion and San Luis to collect those that were scattered, and who were those, as I said, about whom there was charge that he let them live there and never brought them to the mission. With all these he presented himself to the governor and made the same complaint. He also added against the Father that he would not hear the confession of the Indians; that one, whom he named, had died without confession; and that as he departed from Todos Santos the Father had said to him, 'Go; I already know that you go to see the governor; but you must know that the governor commands nothing in the mission, nor has he power to remove the major-domo, but that I command here and no one else.'[19]

"The governor was highly incensed at this, because he firmly believed that by what was said, which he believed as the Gospel, his authority to govern was denied. He did not comprehend that the intention of the Indian was to have the major-domo removed, in order to be revenged upon him for hav-

[18] "Mira, ya se que quieres irte á quejar al señor gobernador, y asi no te vayas sin licencia que yo te la doy; y para que vayas con comodidad coje dos mulas de la mision y vete con ellas."

[19] This was of course untrue; but the shrewd Indian noticed that the governor wanted to hear just such complaints. How many government inspectors and Bancroftian agents have thus been deceived by natives who guessed what was wanted! See Appendix G.

ing hinted at punishment for the insolence which he had shown towards the Father, as I said before. He also testified against the Father in the matter of confession presuming, that being governor, Barri would likewise remove the said Father, and would give them a secular curate, as the inspector had done at Santiago. He omitted what they knew that, when the Indians of Santiago and San José had fled to the curate, he told them to stay at their mission; that if they came back they should be flogged; and that for fear of the curate they had kept very quiet at the mission, laboring with much humility and assisting at all the exercises.

"For this, then, the said Indians came to Loreto in the beginning of August; and while I was returning to Loreto the governor wrote to his lieutenant to institute a suit against the major-domo, whose name was Juan Crisóstomo de Castro,[20] and that if he were found guilty of the things of which the Indians accused him, he should be sent up as a prisoner to receive the merited punishment. The lieutenant made an investigation, and after summoning him and taking his declarations, he did not send him to Loreto as a prisoner, but returned him to the mission as a free man, doubtless because he found him innocent. Nevertheless, after receiving the lieutenant's letters, the governor in speaking to me insisted that he would have to remove the said major-domo for being cruel and tyrannical. To this I replied that it would be justice to punish him if he deserved punishment, but if not, that he ought not to be removed, for he was the feet and hands of the Father; that with him the mission had prospered in temporal things; that on account of the false reports of the Indians the Father had already removed four minor major-domos, and had not as yet found any one whom he could substitute owing to the misrepresentations and stories which the Indians brought up; that if this one, who was at the head, were now removed, the mission would go to ruin; and that if a change were made, the governor himself should take charge of the mission. He

[20] He had been a soldier and was a man of means, but took the position at the request of Don Galvez, who had found him trustworthy. ("Noticias," 123.)

replied that if the major-domo had been cruel, he was not to blame, since he had done what the Father commanded; and that the Father had said that no one commanded in the mission except himself; but that the Father would have to know that there was a king in California and that he would make him see whence he had his authority, etc.[21]

"I endeavored to pacify him by saying that if the Father had been at fault in anything or had exceeded his authority, he (Barri) need do no more than tell me; that I as superior would proceed to investigate and give satisfaction. To this he responded that he (Fr. Ramos) was a priest, and he did not want to deal with him, but only with the major-domo; that he would make an example of him, and that as long as he was not removed from the mission he would not permit the Indians to return to it.

"This was declaring against all the missionaries and reversing himself in such a manner that he now condemned all that he had praised before. He made himself the patron of the wicked so that any Indian who committed theft or anything similar, found in his house an asylum. From this resulted the loss of respect for the missionaries on the part of the Indians, the absence from prayers and instruction, and the stealing of grain and cattle whenever they could, in consequence of which all the missions suffered great damage. The governor also spread all over the peninsula that the Fathers had nothing to do with anything except preaching, hearing confessions, and saying Mass; and that all the rest pertained to the governor, as in fact he said publicly, and to me he said the same. I answered that the missions in spiritual and temporal matters were in our charge, and this touched everything except the approval of the elections of the village governors and the criminal cases, as the instructions of the inspector-general plainly stated.

"I pass over the grave cases that occurred in all that time

[21] Bancroft attributes the crazy conduct of Barri to the fact that Fr. Palóu had not returned to Loreto at once, but had made light of the Indian charges. Offended pride it certainly was which changed the man from a friend to an unreasoning enemy.

until we left the missions; but we were so situated that it is a wonder that the missions did not rise in rebellion. The Indians of San Xavier tried to do so twice. We could correct and chastise no one, so that we were compelled to let them live as they pleased in order to avoid greater evils. If they wanted to come to prayer, they came; if not, they stayed at home, and this was the case especially in the missions round about Loreto, which latter was entirely ruined." [22]

[22] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxiii, 116-126; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 731.

CHAPTER X.

Fr. Juan Escudero Takes Palóu's Complaints to Mexico.—Palóu Surrenders Mission Todos Santos to the Governor.—Proposals.—Barri's Refusal.—Memorial to the College.—Favorable Reply of the Viceroy.—Rage of the Governor.—His "Exhorto."—Palóu's Fearless Reply.—Low Scheme of the Governor.—The Dominicans.—Palou's Energetic Action.—Barri Baffled.

FR. PALÓU now reported the intolerable conditions on the peninsula to the College of San Fernando with a view to have the viceroy restrain the governor from interfering with the work of the missionaries, who, according to the instructions of the inspector-general, as fathers, masters, and teachers of the neophytes, had full control of everything pertaining to the Indians, except that it was the privilege of the governor to approve the newly-elected village gobernadores and to pass judgment in criminal cases. This document was taken to Mexico by Fr. Juan Escudero, who was retiring to the mother-house on account of poor health. He left the port of Loreto in the *San Carlos* on October 25th, 1771, and reached the capital in December. The venerable discretory took decisive action, as we shall see later.[1]

Meanwhile Fr. Palóu conferred with Fr. Ramos about the situation at the latter's mission of Todos Santos, whither the governor would not allow the Indians to return until the major-domo had been removed. As the demands of Barri and the ever turbulent Guaicuro Indians were unreasonable, unjust, and subversive of order, the two Fathers agreed that the best way to settle the matter was to surrender the mission to the governor. In the document presented to Barri Fr. Palóu once more recited the grievances of the missionaries, who found it impossible to labor with profit to the neophytes. "I made a surrender in writing to the governor," says Palóu, "telling him that in view of the fact that of the many Guaicuro Indian families, whom the inspector-general

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[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxiii, 126-127.

had transplanted to Mission Todos Santos, only a few had survived the epidemics, and that the remaining few had never settled down in peace, but had run away continually, and that they did nothing more than destroy what the mission possessed, stealing what they could, not sparing even what was sacred (for they had just stolen a silver wine-cruet from the church, etc.); that no means had been discovered to subject them, because they would at once complain to the lieutenant at Santa Ana and raise thousands of stories and misrepresentations; that the Father found himself compelled to have servants for everything, even for carrying wood to the kitchen of the said Indians, whence resulted extraordinary expenses to the mission; and that in consequence of the order received from the viceroy, that all servants who were from the other coast[2] and served in southern California, should return to the provinces whence they had come, there would be no one to cultivate the land and to do the necessary work at the mission, I saw myself forced to surrender said mission. I begged him to be pleased to distribute the few remaining Indian families among the missions of the north, since by giving each mission four of these turbulent families it would be easy to subdue them to the ways of the rest and thus gain their souls, which I doubted very much if they continued at Mission Todos Santos, because not having taken root there it is probable that they would die in the mountains as had happened to most of those that had been transplanted to said mission."

Palóu suggested that, even though Santa Ana were depopulated, the Spanish colonists, or the gente de razon,[3] could settle down at Todos Santos, and they would do so with pleasure if they were promised the said mission lands and

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[2] Indians from Sonora and Sinaloa who had to be hired, because the Guaicuros would not work and could not be trusted.

[3] "Gente de Razon." This term was applied to all white people to distinguish them from the natives who were considered as acting without reason, that is to say, not according to the dictates of reason.

the cattle, which might be divided among them;[4] that he asked nothing for himself except that the few Indian survivors should be removed to the northern missions in order to save their souls;[5] and that said Spanish colonists should be attended by the curate of Santa Ana, to whom for that purpose the church of Todos Santos with all the church goods and the house with its furniture should be delivered. In this way, Palóu stated to the governor, the stipends for two missionaries could be saved and the two released Fathers would have something for the new missions. Moreover, the expenses for the guards could thus be saved, because by distributing the Indians among the other establishments the soldiers at Todos Santos would become superfluous, as in case of necessity the colonists could take up arms for themselves.

In reply to these propositions Governor Barri declared that he had no authority to accept the surrender of the mission, but that he would forward the matter to the viceroy along with his own report. Though he had no authority to accept the resignation of the missionaries, Barri used his position to annoy the same missionaries and to make their stay impossible. For this reason, and in order to arrest the complete ruin of the peninsula establishments, the Fathers resolved to send Fr. Ramos to Mexico to present a full statement of the conditions to the viceroy. He embarked with Don Fernando de Rivera about the middle of January, 1772, and arrived at the College in March, just as the discretory discussed the plan of ceding a part of or all the peninsula missions

[4] This measure was defensible on the ground that the land and stock in question did not belong to the Guaicuros. The original natives had died away; the Guaicuros had been placed there against their will and were unwilling to remain. Thus all the land and stock, except the church buildings, house of the priest, the appurtenances of both, the gardens, etc., in short what was necessary to maintain divine worship, became the property of the government.

[5] This was not transplating away from their native homes, but the removal from a foreign region, and for incorrigible turbulence. It brought them nearer to their original territory, however.

to the Dominicans. His appearance and report doubtless hastened the decision.[6]

Meanwhile Fr. Escudero had presented Fr. Palóu's statement of Governor Barri's conduct to the Fr. Guardian and the discretos. They at once endeavored to discover the suitable remedies. The result of their deliberations was the following document which was presented to Viceroy Bucareli on December 23rd, 1771. Some of the provisions do not concern Lower California, but they are reproduced here for future reference.

"The Fr. Guardian and the Ven. Discretory petitions the viceroy:

1. That the lieutenant and the captain of San Diego and Monterey comply with the instructions which the illustrious inspector-general gave to the commanders on land and sea.

2. That a suitable guard be placed at the presidio of San Diego and at Mission San Buenaventura, which must be fifty men strong according to Don Fernando de Rivera, because at the Santa Barbara Channel, where it was intended to found it, there are found about ten thousand[7] able-bodied Indians.

3. That for each of the new missions some Indian families of converts be sent to cultivate the land and do other necessary work about said missions.

4. That these families be treated with humanity by giving them the necessary food while on the road, etc.

5. That the cattle herds be re-established and increased, so that in case of necessity provisions could be obtained from Lower California and Sonora.

6. To furnish the presidios and missions with supplies for a year and a half, and that for this purpose two packet-boats be set apart.

7. To declare that Monterey is a port, and that San Francisco could be a good one, but its entrance and bay needs examination.

8. That for the missions to be founded between San

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[6] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, xxvi, 138-141; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 731.

[7] The immediate vicinity had not that many.

Fernando de Velicatá and San Diego many more soldiers are needed; and that for the churches many things are wanting which are now asked for, and that it be borne in mind that there is little or no hope of converting these gentiles.[8]

9. That for the maintenance of the missions it is expedient that the temporalities be in charge of the missionaries, and likewise that the missionaries have the authority to appoint or remove servants and soldiers, as the Marqués de Valero and the leader of the conquest deemed expedient, according to the decrees of the viceroys.[9]

10. That the old missions should have returned to them the mules, horses and other property furnisehd by them for the new missions.

11. That the royal warehouse pay its debts to the missions in similar goods or in drafts.

12. That the warehouse should not receive the products of the missions except for cash or useful goods.

13. That the Indians who worked for the king be paid just wages.

14. That the month of June be fixed for the sailing of the bark which has to bring the supplies to Loreto, and the month of February or April for those that go to San Diego and Monterey from San Blas.

15. That a suitable allowance be assigned to the religious who go to the said missions or return from there.

16. That four thousand dollars be granted for the four missions of San Fernando de Velicatá, San Diego, Monterey, and San Buenaventura, one thousand for each, as was paid to the other ten, according to the regulation of the inspector-general.

17. That the Dominican Fathers[10] or others take charge of the four missions called Del Sur de la California adjoining San Javier, namely: San José del Cabo, Santiago de los

[8] Those between the two points mentioned.

[9] Such was the case under Jesuit control, and the only way to insure the presence of moral men.

[10] This is the first mention of the Dominicans in connection with California, but their real connection begins earlier, as we shall see later.

Coras, Todos Santos, and San Javier, and three of those in the north which are Purisima, Concepcion, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, and Santa Rosalia de Mulegé, leaving to this College those of Loreto, San José de Comundú, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, and San Borja.

18. That the soldiers be provided with sufficient rations so that they may be able to work and to guard the missions, and that they be approved by the Fathers, as their excellencies the viceroys Marqués de Valero and the leader of the Conquista commanded in the decrees, a copy of which accompanies the memorial presented herewith." [11]

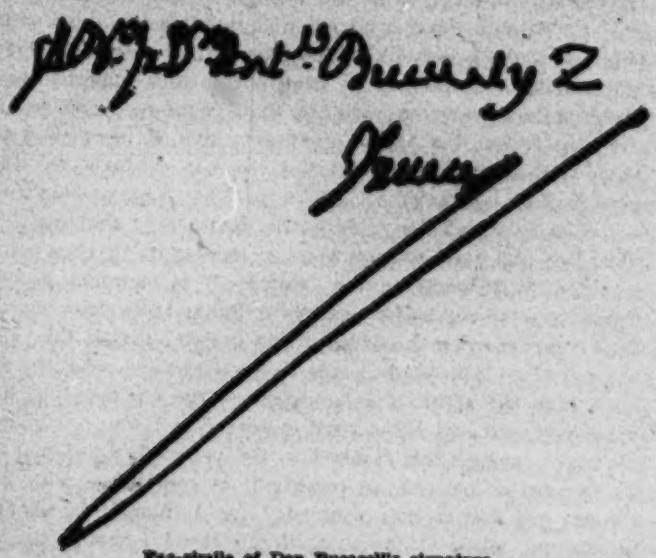
Bucareli sent the following favorable reply to the Memorial of the College:

"In consideration of this Memorial of Your Reverences of the 23d of last December, and of the letters with which the Fathers of California accompany it concerning the incident which occurred when six soldiers and one muleteer of the presidio of San Diego deserted, and in conformity with what was said in his examination by the fiscal, I have given corresponding orders to Governor Barri and Captain Pedro Fages that on the subjects contained in the aforesaid Memorial they should execute all that may be easy to them in order to keep in the tranquillity which they desire the missionary Fathers devoted solely to the spiritual conquest and to make themselves beloved by the Indians, informing me as to this matter about whatever they consider conducive to the service of God and the king, doing all that may be possible, and that it causes no inconvenience to ask my resolution; to which end I have addressed a copy of said letters to Barri, in order that after doing what therein is asked, he tell me on each point what he has executed and what still remains, so that the holy purposes for which missions have been there established may be accomplished. All this I communicate to Your Reverences in order that in consequence you may write to the missionary Fathers to the effect that they may go and find their new spiritual conquests with all the gentleness and sweetness which their zeal counsels them and the circum-

[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxiv, 127-129.

stances demand. Supposing this, I strictly charge the said Barri and Fages to assist them with their whole strength, in order that the royal intentions of his Majesty may be realized. God keep Your Reverences many years. Mexico, March 18, 1772. Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa.—To the Most Rev. Fr. Guardian and Discretorio of San Fernando." [13]

Although a copy of the Memorial and of the viceroy's reply had been sent to Fr. Palóu by way of Sinaloa, he did not receive the documents for some unaccountable reason until the



Fac-simile of Don Bucareli's signature.

month of December, nine months after date. Palóu immediately forwarded copies with his own circular to all the missionaries as Bucareli had directed. It was not done so secretly, however, as to escape the notice of the governor, who must have been angered beyond bounds by the action of the viceroy; for he sent Fr. Palóu an official communica-

[13] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, xxiv, 130-131.

tion which he called an "exhorto," [13] and in which he claimed, says Palóu, "that I had given out that some orders to me had come from the viceroy that I should command the peninsula, and that the governor commanded in nothing, whence it had resulted that on the peninsula all were wanting in subordination and obedience, that this was the same as denying the sovereign, and that the gravest damages had been the consequence. He then exhorted me to publish such orders, if I had them; and if I had none to give satisfaction to the peninsula in order to avert the damages which threatened."

If the frantic Barri expected to intimidate the Franciscan superior of the Lower California missions, he soon discovered his mistake; for instead of being filled with apprehension, Palóu at once answered by saying that "to me no orders whatever had come, but to the governor; that if he wished to know the contents of the letters I received, no 'exhorto' was needed; that I included for him a copy of all by sending him the Memorial and the reply of his excellency; that my Fr. Guardian had done nothing more in writing to me than comply with the instructions of his excellency to communicate the information to me and to let my religious know, and that I thus complied with the order of my prelate; that if this was the cause of want of obedience to the sovereign, what would have been the result if I had received the command of his excellency and had not carried it out? that I was not aware that any damage had resulted to the peninsula; and that if so, it was his business to remedy it in compliance with his duties; and that if they concerned me, I thought he should advise me, when at the cost of my blood I would try to check it." [14]

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[13] This was a request sent from one judge to another who being his equal could not be ordered to carry out what was demanded. It was, therefore, called "exhorto," exhortation or supplication, because one only asks and petitions another over whom he is not superior. It was generally employed to secure the presence of a fugitive criminal, or of a witness, etc. The request had to be executed, or the respective official had to take the responsibility for the consequences. ("Diccionario de Legislacion," p. 661, Madrid, 1873.)

[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxv, 131-133.

The baffled governor was bent on mischief, however. This was fortunately detected by the Dominican Fathers, who had arrived at Loreto two months before this incident, and were awaiting the arrival of their commissary in order to receive the formal transfer of the missions. Inasmuch as they were interested in the welfare of the missions they saw what was transpiring and penetrated the designs of the implacable Barri. They warned Fr. Palóu that the clause in the "exhorto," which stated that greater injury was threatening, and that Fr. Palóu should be held responsible for the consequences, meant trouble; that they were certain that the governor was exciting the Indians of Mission San Xavier to revolt against the Franciscans; and that in two days a band of San Xavier Indians would arrive at Loreto to demand that the governor should remove the Franciscans on the ground that the Indians would no longer suffer their cruelties.

"When I learned this news," Fr. Palóu relates, "I despatched a courier to said mission, who left at midnight, and I wrote to the Fathers who were at that mission, that as soon as they received my letter Fr. José Murguía should come to Loreto, as I needed him, and that Fr. Santa Maria should immediately repair to the mission which I indicated, and that they should not delay, not even to take away clothing. Thus it was that at daybreak they already had my letter. To the two Dominican Fathers who were there (because not all could stay at Loreto until their Rev. Fr. Presidente should arrive, who was to receive the missions), I wrote that they should do me the favor of caring for the said mission, as I needed the two religious, and that I would be obliged to them if they remained and took notice of anything extraordinary in the Indians."[7]

"On the very day on which the Fathers left, the Indians came to ask the Dominicans, who had remained (at San Xavier), for permission to go to Loreto; and though at first they said they went on business, they at last explained that they went at the request of the governor to demand that the Fernandinos (Franciscans) be removed and the Dominicans be put in their places. The Dominicans showed them

that there was no necessity for this, as the Fathers had already gone away, and that the Fr. Presidente had asked them to take charge of the mission, and so there was no reason to go. Nevertheless, they insisted on wanting to go to Loreto; for if they did not show themselves there on the morrow, for which day the governor had called them, he would punish them. 'He will not do that; what you have to do,' the Dominicans advised them, 'is to write a letter telling that, since the Fathers had already gone away, you would not molest him about it, when you may be assured that he will say nothing'. With that the revolt was quelled before it took shape; and though one of the (Dominican) Fathers came and begged me to return the Fathers, as all was then quiet, or that I go, I would not go, nor allow the Fathers to go, not even when one of the ringleaders wrote to me asking pardon in his name and for the rest, in order to avoid the risk that anything should result therefrom, and I only permitted Fr. Murguía to go at the proper time to transfer the mission." It is from this date then that the Dominicans acted as resident missionaries of San Xavier.

"In this manner," Palóu continues, "the damage was stopped which the governor informed me was threatening, who unable to contain himself at seeing his plan frustrated, in answer to my letter gave vent to his rage in another paper in which he wrote that he knew about the Fathers. He went so far as to assert that a missionary had betrayed some ignorant one who made his confession to him. The whole paper reduced itself to old stories and misrepresentations. At the same time he told me that he would see if harm had come from the divulging of his orders, and then employed his time and paper in explaining the instructions of the viceroy to his own taste and satisfaction; but I, to arrest the storm, replied that I was aware of his views, and that his excellency would determine when he saw his letter and my answer, which I would forward in order that he judge what was most expedient. Though this occurred in 1773, I wanted to insert it here under the supposition that all this resulted from the order which

the Fr. Guardian and the Ven. Discretory had succeeded in obtaining from his excellency in favor of the missions. [15]

[15] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxv, 133-136; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 735-736.

CHAPTER XI.

Request for a Report on all the Missions.—San José del Cabo.—Santiago de los Coras.—Todos Santos.—Pueblo de Santa Ana.—San Francisco Xavier.—Mission and Presidio of Loreto.—Purisima Concepcion.—Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

AS EARLY as January 18th, 1772, the superior of the peninsula missions had received an order from Fr. Guardian Rafael Verger, dated Mexico, June 1st, 1771, to draw up a complete report on the state of all the mission establishments under the following heads:

"1. How many families, ranchos, and pueblos has each mission, and what roads and which are the distances?

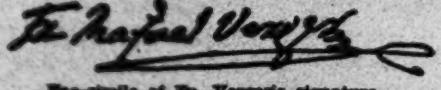
2. What lands are cultivated and with what laborers?

3. How many yoke of oxen, how many mules and horses are left?

4. Are the last decrees observed which Governor Matias de Armona issued for the welfare of the Indians?

5. Is it true that the Indians are obliged to dive for pearls in dangerous waters where sharks and other monsters kill many of them?

6. Inquire as far as possible in what condition the mines of Santa Ana are; whether it is true that they are destroyed? This, though it appear foreign to our mode of life, just now, considering the circumstances, it is not.[1]



Fac-simile of Fr. Verger's signature.

7. Is it true that they have returned to the custom of paying the wages of the soldiers in money? Lastly, of all your Reverence thinks expedient for the advancement of the missions in spiritual as well as in temporal matters you will send me prompt notice in duplicate; and in case any of the sick

[1] The object doubtless was to ascertain whether the place could maintain a secular priest, in which case it would not be accepted.

Fathers come, send the report with him; I am told he may also come by way of Guaymas. There is nothing more to say. The Lord keep you in His holy love and grace with health, etc. —Fr. Rafael Verger."[2]

In obedience to his superior's demand Fr. Palóu, under date of February 12th, 1772, forwarded the following document which contains a sketch of the history, location, and condition of every mission with reference to past grievances and necessary reforms. As it is the first complete statement regarding the missions of California, of great historical value, and made near the close of the Franciscan administration, it is reproduced in this and the next chapter, although much of it has been stated before. In his introduction Fr. Palóu remarks, "I shall try not to omit the least, in order that you may obtain an adequate view of the whole peninsula."[3]

Mission San José del Cabo.

"This mission, distant from Cape San Lucas or the bay of San Bernabé about twelve leagues, and founded about half a league from the shore of the Gulf of California, also called Northern Sea, on which shore the ship from China[4] usually stops to take in provisions, which this pueblo and that of Santiago de los Coras, which is in the neighborhood, furnish it, is in twenty-two and one-half degrees north latitude. It began in the year 1730, the first missionary being the venerable Father Nicolás Tamarál, whom the Indians soon after killed with the Father of Santiago. It was endowed with a fund of $10,000 by the Marqués de Villapuente in order to furnish the annual income of five hundred dollars which served to maintain the missionary Father. It was in charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus from its foundation to their expulsion, which occurred in the beginning of December, 1767; though in the last years the missionary Father did not reside there, he attended to its few Indians. At the end of

[2] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 142-143.

[3] See the whole report in Palóu's "Noticias," tom. i, capp. xxvii-xxviii, 143-195.

[4] The Philippine galleon, which also touched the China coast.

April, 1768, it came under the control of this Apostolic College. The first missionary was Fr. Juan Moran, who, after having labored there fourteen months, died at said mission while administering it; for while attending those who were afflicted with the pestilence, and on returning from hearing the confession of one, he felt himself mortally attacked and soon died.[5]

"During the visitation which the illustrious inspector-general, Don José de Galvez, made at this mission, seeing the small number of Indians comprising it, he commanded that the Indians of one rancheria from Mission San Javier settle there in order to receive the fertile lands which it possessed. Thus twelve families of forty-four souls went to San José del Cabo; but they all, except three, died during the epidemic of 1769, so that only fifty persons, old and young, survive. Before leaving the peninsula the said inspector raised Mission Santiago de los Coras to a curacy, and assigned to it Mission San José as a pueblo de visita,[6] wherefore it went out of our control and came under direct jurisdiction of the bishop of Guadalajara. The first curate was Rev. Juan Antonio Baeza, who in the month of November abandoned his curacy and left the peninsula, when the curate of the town of Santa Ana took charge and managed it until the month of April, 1771. His Excellency, Viceroy Marqués de Croix then placed it in control of one of the missionary Fathers, Fr. Juan Antonio Rioboo, to administer its spiritual affairs, while the temporalities were in charge of a layman placed there by the governor of the peninsula, for which reason, and not knowing the condition in which it is, I cannot give an account of it."[7]

Mission Santiago de los Coras.

"This is distant from the preceding mission about eighteen leagues and about five leagues from the gulf coast. It is

[5] Fr. Moran originally belonged to the Franciscan province of the Immaculate Conception, Spain, which is all we know of his antecedents.

[6] Pueblo de Visita is a missionary station without a resident priest.

[7] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 144-146.

situated in twenty-three degrees north latitude. The Marqués de Villapuente endowed it in 1719 with $10,000, like the preceding one, and with the same endowment it was in charge of the Fathers of the Company of Jesus from its foundation until their expulsion; but in April, 1768, this Apostolic College came into control, when its first missionary, Fr. José Murguía, was appointed. At the visitation the inspector, on finding that said mission had but few Indians, and nearly all afflicted with the *galico*,[8] he ordered that all the native families of Mission Todos Santos, who were contaminated and suffering with the same disease, should be removed to Santiago, for the purpose of placing them under an intelligent surgeon for treatment. The removal took place in the month of October of said year, 1768. The said Father attended them until April, 1769, when by order of the inspector the mission was raised to a curacy. Its first curate was the said Rev. Baeza. A few months after, the epidemic broke out at San José del Cabo mission, and killed all that had come from Todos Santos, as well as a great many of the natives of Santiago, for which reason now it is composed of only seventy souls of old and young people.

"The curate administered said pueblo until November, 1770, when he went to Guadalajara. From the time of his departure until April the curate of the town of Santa Ana attended the place. Thereafter, by especial command of his excellency, a friar had to be stationed there, and at present Fr. Francisco Villuendas has charge of the spiritual affairs, whilst the temporalities are controlled by a major-domo appointed by the

[8] Venereal disease. Clavijero writes that down to the time of the expulsion "El galico no ha sido visto hasta ahora en la California porque ningun extranjero le ha llevado" ("Hist. de la Baja California," lib. i, sec. xviii.), so that outsiders corrupted these Indians within one or two years! Yet there are those that blame the missionaries for not wanting the Indians to come in contact with soldiers and adventurers, and for insisting on selecting the personnel of their guards! It is likely, however, that Clavijero was in error, as he never visited the country, and that the dread disease was communicated by the miners or the soldiers who came from Sinaloa with Governor Huidróbo in 1736.

governor of the peninsula, for which reason I do not know its condition, though the said Father writes to me, the same as of San José, that the said pueblos are in very poor circumstances for want of corn, and that they subsist only on the meat of the starving cattle which they slaughter.[9]

Mission of Nuestra Señora del Pilár, commonly known as Todos Santos.

"This was endowed by the said marqués like the preceding ones, and was founded in the year 1719 at a place called La Paz on the bay of the same name in the Gulf of California, in twenty-three degrees and four minutes. After a few years it was changed to a spot called Todos Santos in nearly the same latitude, but on the western coast about half a league from the shore of the Grand or Pacific Ocean. It is distant from Santiago about thirty leagues on account of the roundabout way taken, for there is no direct road through the high sierra. The said Fathers of the Company of Jesus administered this mission from its founding to their departure, but in April, 1768, it came into the hands of the College, receiving as the first missionary Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora.

"When the illustrious inspector at the visitation which he made saw the place so favorable and the land and water abundant, whilst the Indians were so few and contaminated with the *galico*, he determined to remove them to Santiago, and to settle this one with the whole Guaicuro tribe, who were living at the two missions of La Pasion and San Luis Gonzaga, because the latter localities were not suitable to support them in community for want of land and lack of water. Thus it was done in September, 1768 by transferring to it more than seven hundred souls and abandoning entirely the two places mentioned.

"The new colonists have been so little pleased with the kindness bestowed upon them to improve their conditions, that they would not take root there, and only by dint of threats and chastisements have they made some kind of stay, but more to destroy what belongs to the mission than to ad-

[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 146-147.

vance it, so that, had it not been for the forethought of the inspector in obtaining hired servants and major-domos from outside to cultivate the land, the whole mission work must have come to an end, since the expenses caused by their desertions were not small, as a number of men had to be on hand who did nothing else than go in search of fugitives. The contagious epidemic which, as I already have said, destroyed the mission, carried away many, and not a few in the hills. For this reason only one hundred and seventy souls are now found on the list, about thirty of whom are deserters in the mountains. From the inventories of the said mission it is seen that it has about four hundred head of half-starved cattle, one hundred mares and fillies, forty horses, seventy mules, one hundred sheep, and one hundred and fifty goats. Besides more than $4000 have been expended in procuring implements and useful articles for the house, vestments and furniture for the sacristy. From the surrender of the mission, which I made to the governor, you will have read what little hope there is in spiritual matters. . . . Fr. Ramos having left the mission on January 15th to present our grievances in person, the two Fathers Marcelino Senra and Miguel Sanchez are in charge." [10]

The Mining Town of Santa Ana.

"It is situated between the two missions of Santiago and Todos Santos, and distant from the latter about twelve leagues and from the other about eighteen leagues. It was established on the arrival of the inspector, who for that purpose bought, at the expense of the king, the works of Don Manuel de Osio which had their own chapel. Some houses were added for the dependents in the royal service and after the same style for some individual settlers, though but few. From the beginning of its establishment they were occupied in mining for metal, though it had not yet passed the construction period when Don Armona arrived. From what I heard an intelligent man, versed in such matters, say, the mines are of so little value that they do not pay, though beforehand they

[10] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 147-149.

occasioned extraordinary expenses. It is the general opinion that said mission is of no importance, and I believe that the news of it has reached the ears of the illustrious inspector-general; for an order issued in December came from him directing that all the Indians of the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora, who had been brought over to work said mines, should be given permission, nay, commanded, to return to their respective pueblos. It has already been published at said town of Santa Ana. Likewise I was assured that an order came to sell all that pertains to the mining branch, as also that the mines be sold if any one is found to purchase them, and if not, that they be given to any one that can work them; from which I infer that the mines have not been what in the beginning they were published to be. By removing the laborers to save expenses to the king the said town may be said to be extinguished, and its curate without the daily dollar of income, which was granted him from the mining estate when he was stationed there. No parishioners will remain to him, except the few settlers of two hamlets which are in the neighborhood called San Antonio and El Oro, which before the coming of the inspector had a larger population and were attended by the missionary Father of Todos Santos. They are unable to support a curate. The town is distant from the gulf about seven leagues, and from its site through a pass in the mountains the island of Cerralvo may be seen." [11]

Mission San Francisco Javier.

"This was founded in the beginning of October of the year 1699. Juan Caballero endowed it with $10,000 in order that its revenue of five hundred dollars might serve for the support of the missionary, as in the case of the preceding ones. At first it was established at a spot called by the natives Biaundó, in the sierra called Viggé; but after some time it became necessary for want of water to remove it to the place it now occupies, which is in a narrow dale with openings to the north and the south, but hemmed in by high mountains of solid rock. It lies on an arroyo which has water

[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 150-151.

only in time of rain; but toward the north the mission has a copious spring whose flow is joined by some streamlets. From it by means of a ditch water is led to the mission where it is collected in two reservoirs of masonry for the purpose of irrigating the little pieces of land which are entirely surrounded by a stone wall. When the rains are abundant all the land can be planted with corn, but even then the planting requires no more than five fanegas of corn, which occurs but very seldom; generally but two fanegas are used up, because sufficient water for irrigating more cannot be obtained.

"It also has small pieces of land called vineyards, with olives, figs, guayabas, and other fruits. It has the best church building on the peninsula, built of masonry with vaulted roof; the sacristy and part of the dwelling are of the same material, but covered with tules. Besides the land mentioned, other pieces of irrigable soil are cultivated with success on the site of the old mission about three leagues north of the present mission, but only in years when water is very abundant. To the south also, at a distance of four leagues from the mission, about the place called Presentacion, as much as two fanegas were planted in the years when the rains were plentiful.

"This mission was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers from its inception until the last of January, 1768, when the Jesuit Father left it; thereupon it passed under control of the College on the 6th of April, when I, as missionary, received it through appointment from the Fr. Presidente, Fr. Junipero Serra. From that time till now, November 24th, 1771, there have been baptized eighty-three children, one hundred and fifteen old and young have died, and fourteen couples have been married. When I received it the mission had three pueblos de visita which were named respectively Nuestra Señora de los Dolores, Santa Rosalía, and San Javier el Viejo,[13] only pueblos in name without churches or dwelling for the priest. Only in two of them are there some kind of huts, but not more than four; all the rest have no other houses or shelter than the shade of the shrubs which are surrounded with rocks

[13] Ancient San Javier, that is to say, the first mission site.

or boughs. By order of the inspector-general all the Indians were removed to the mission proper, but seeing that there was not enough land to raise grain for the support of all, he directed that twelve families should pass on to establish themselves at San José del Cabo, and twenty-five families should settle down at Loreto, so that the mission was reduced very much. At present it numbers sixty families of married people and seven widows, in all two hundred and twelve persons old and young. The mission has a rancho for cattle, but all are in poor condition. It owns only six tame cows with six calves, sixteen breeding cattle, eight steers, six yoke of oxen for plowing, four plowshares, and eight points for plowing. All the rest of the cattle are half-starved, because they are scattered as far as the other coast, and I am told that many die for want of pasturage, which has all been consumed by the locusts; for the same lack of feed many horses have died, so that there are only twenty-six mares, seven fillies, four horses, and forty-three mules and asses; seven of the latter are useless on account of age, and the rest are weak partly for lack of feed, and partly from being worn out through carrying corn from Loreto, as in the preceding year there was no harvest; because, though the grain was put into the earth three times, the wheat, too, as many times, the locusts devoured everything. Hence it was found necessary to subsist on corn purchased at the royal warehouse at six dollars a load, and the pay for fetching it; and if this help should cease, the mission would be on the point of destruction. Just now there is a small piece sown with wheat which is growing well, and a good harvest is expected if God delivers it from the plague which usually destroys the growth in its best season. The mission has twenty-two tame horses for the herders, though at present they are inserviceable for lack of feed. Of sheep there are seven hundred and thirty-three head; of goats two hundred and seventy, though for want of pasturage many die.

"The yield of grapewine (with the sale of which the corn is paid) was very small on account of the damage caused by the locusts in the vineyards; for it has only twenty tinajas of wine each holding fifty pints; besides it is very poor on ac-

count of the said damage; the same trouble was experienced in the orchards, where much of the fruit withered and all was scorched. This is nothing to wonder at, since there have been so many locusts, as the old people say, that never have such a multitude been seen, nor for so long a time, for in this mission they lingered more than a year without any means to get rid of them. After this plague came the drought which, though it killed the locusts, as they died of hunger, deprived the whole sierra of pastures, causing great mortality among the cattle and other animals, and much discouragement to the Fathers who saw the devastation.

"This mission is situated in twenty-five and one-half degrees, and is distant from the gulf coast, where the presidio is, about eight leagues, the first two of which are over the most wretched roads in the direction of Loreto; three leagues then run towards the north and five towards the east. The roughness of the sierra does not permit a direct road from the Pacific to the gulf shore. It is a day and a half's travel from Mission San José de Comundú, which lies to the north about twelve leagues, the greater part of which are most rugged hills.

"From the mission of Todos Santos and the town of Santa Ana which lies toward the south, it is distant one hundred leagues. At about forty leagues on said road is situated the rancho of San Luis Gonzaga, formerly a mission. At this place the inspector located the family of a retired soldier by giving him possession in writing of said land; he also obtained the very house in which the missionary Father used to live; the church serves as chapel for the rancho people. Galvez also directed that from time to time the missionary Father of San Javier should go there to offer up holy Mass, and when there are two missionaries there, one should go to this rancho every month and during the Lenten season to see that all complied with the precept of Confession and Communion, a charge which is more burdensome (on account of the long and deserted road), than if the three pueblos de visita had remained as before, as the most distant was no more than four leagues away."[18]

[18] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 151-156.

Mission de Nuestra Señora de Loreto and Royal Presidio.

"This was the first that was founded on the peninsula, and began on the 25th of October, 1697, on which day possession was taken of the peninsula in the name of his Majesty, and the first Mass was celebrated by the venerable Father Juan Maria de Salvatierra of the Company of Jesus. It is located on the banks of the bay called San Dionisio, in twenty-five degrees north latitude. Towards the east it has the Island of Cármen, and to the south-southeast another called Los Danzantes, which form two inlets, one between the two islands which bears the name of La Bocachica, another between the isle of Los Danzantes and the mainland, and in this latter is the entry for the port of Escondido in which the ships have their refuge from all storms, which protection they miss at said bay of San Dionisio, where also they see themselves prevented from landing on account of the shallow water; for even the launches of the mission must cast anchor outside. The port of Escondido lies from the mission about seven leagues, a part of which runs over a most wretched road. Toward the northeast it has another island called Coronado, between which and Cármen is a harbor called the Grand; between Coronado and the point on the mainland there is another small bay, and even large barks may enter it.

"In the year 1698 Don Juan Caballero endowed this mission with $10,000, like the foregoing. It was in charge of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus from its foundation until the beginning of February, 1768, when they left the peninsula. During this time, as is clear from the books, there were baptized six hundred and forty-six children and adults, Spaniards and Indians, and three hundred and twenty-nine were buried, whilst ninety-two marriages were celebrated, including Spaniards and Indians.

"The College took charge on the first of April, 1768, the first missionaries being the Rev. Fr. Presidente, Fr. Junipero Serra, and his companion, Fr. Fernando Parron, although they controlled spiritual matters only until they left for Monterey, when the Rev. Bachelor Pedro Fernandez, chaplain of the Guaymas expedition, came and took charge. He remained

until the first of May, 1769, when the mission returned to the care of the College, which administered it by order of the inspector-general in both temporal and spiritual affairs. From the departure of the Jesuit Fathers until the last of December, 1771, there have been baptized seventy-six children of either Indian or of Spanish parents. There have died one hundred and thirty-one persons; and twenty couples were married.

"On the side of the mission towards the gulf is the royal presidio, and it alone separates the church and colegio, which is constructed of masonry with flat roofs, from the mission. At present the town is occupied by women and children of the soldiers only, because most soldiers are now at San Diego, Monterey, and the frontier. In front of the town is the suburb for the royal sailors, which likewise generally has only women, because their men are in the ships. The mission is situated in a beautiful and sufficiently extensive plain, which for want of water as well as for the scarcity of rain cannot be cultivated at all, wherefore to avoid the expense they provide themselves with water from wells which are tolerably wholesome. During the visitation which the inspector made he found the mission deserted by the Indians, so that only nineteen families could be found; he therefore ordered the number to be increased to a hundred families by drawing twenty-five away from San Javier and the rest from other missions in the north. I put the decree into execution (partly) at once by taking twenty-five families from San Javier, but I suspended the removal of the rest, because there was not wherewith to maintain them.

"The mission is composed of forty families with one hundred and sixty persons. It has a rancho for cattle which are all scattered so that their number cannot be known; but it has no tame ones. It has thirty-two mares, fifty-four horses and fillies, seven mules, but neither sheep nor goats. It has no other revenue upon which to subsist and with which to clothe the Indians than the cattle which it can slaughter at the ranch. It is distant from San Javier eight leagues, the road over which for five leagues runs to the west and for three to the south; from San José de Comundú it is eighteen leagues,

of which five run to the west and the rest towards the northeast, the greater part of which road goes over rough hills. From Santa Rosalia de Mulegé it is forty leagues traveling north and going up the coast of the gulf; within this territory are the cattle of the mission which extends to the borders of that of Mulegé."[14]

Mission San José de Comundú.

"This was founded in the beginning of the year 1708 on the site called Comundú, twenty leagues[15] from Loreto towards the north, in the midst of the sierra of the same name, and about equally distant from both coasts. The Marqués de Villapuente endowed it with $10,000, like the preceding ones. Its first missionary was Father Julian de Mayorga of the Society of Jesus. After a few years it was removed to the place which it now occupies, which is a narrow, but long, valley running east to west in twenty-six degrees north. It has a good well, whence water runs through a ditch by means of which the fields in said valley are irrigated. The seed sown usually amounts to eight fanégas of wheat and five fanégas of corn. It has vineyards and orchards with olives, figs, pomegranates, and other fruit-trees, and also some sugar cane which is ground and manufactured into sugar for sale. Ordinarily this mission does not suffer want, because the yield of wheat and corn is good. Enough cotton is raised to make shawls and thus it adds to the clothing and blankets made of wool. It has a church, which, like part of the dwelling, is of masonwork with vaulted roof and the rest of stone, and all covered with tules.

"From its foundation to the month of January, 1768, it was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers; from April 8th of the same year it came into control of the College. Its first missionary was Fr. Antonio Martínez. From that date to the 9th of December, 1771, there have been baptized ninety-four children, and there have died two hundred and forty-one children and

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[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 156-159.

[15] In the preceding paragraph Palóu has eighteen leagues, likewise in the last paragraph on this mission.

adults, whilst twenty-eight couples have been joined in matrimony. It has no pueblo de visita, as all live at the mission and are found to number eighty-two families with two hundred and sixteen souls.

"The mission has many wild cattle, but only twenty-five tame oxen used for plowing and six cows with five calves. There are thirty-four tame and forty-seven wild mules; fifty-two riding horses, fifty unbroken colts and fillies, seventy-seven mares with twenty foals, twelve asses, twenty-three hundred and eighty-five sheep and lambs, forty swine, and three hundred and sixty-five goats. The count took place on December 18th. It also has on hand two hundred and thirty fanégas of wheat (espinguin) and three fanégas of summer wheat; two hundred and fifty fanégas of corn, eighteen arróbas of cane sugar, forty-eight arróbas of dried figs, five arróbas of dried grapes, and sixty-six tinájas of wine each holding sixty pints. It has sown six fanégas of wheat which is growing well. The mission is distant from the Loreto presidio eighteen leagues by the road, three of which run toward the south and the other five towards the east. From San Javier it is twelve leagues; from Purisima ten, half of which are over a bad road. From the Great Ocean it is distant fourteen leagues, and from the gulf about twenty over bad roads." [16]

Mission Purisima Concepcion de Cadegomó.

"This was founded in 1713 and endowed by the Marqués de Villapuente in the manner that has been related of the others. It was administered by the Fathers of the Company of Jesus until January, 1768. In April of said year Fr. Juan Crespi received charge of it from the College, and from that time until the 8th of December, 1771, there have been baptized thirty-nine children, one hundred and twenty children and adults have died, and fifteen couples have been married. It has no pueblos de visita, as the Indians all live at the mission. There are forty-nine families, seven widowers, and three widows, with sixty children of both sexes, or in all one hundred and sixty-eight souls.

[16] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 160-162.

"The mission is distant from that of Comundú about ten leagues; from Guadalupe about thirty leagues; from the ocean it is seven leagues, and nine from the gulf. It is in twenty-six and one-half degrees north, situated on the banks of an arroyo called Cadegomó, on a beautiful spot and in a pleasant climate. It has enough land capable of cultivation upon which may be sown several fanégas of wheat, with an abundance of water from the said arroyo, though for irrigating it depends upon a very large dam built across the arroyo, and upon the floods, which when there is high water carry it away, as happened in the past year 1770, when from this the mission was put back, because they waited too long in restoring it for want of laborers; but, thanks be to God, they finished it and the mission has returned to its former condition. It has a church of stone and mud and partly of adobe roofed with tules like the dwelling.

"It has some vineyards, many fig-trees and pomegranates, and much cotton is grown to aid in clothing the Indians. Ordinarily many figs are raised, and there was a year when nine hundred arróbas were obtained. In the last year only three hundred were gathered on account of the damage done by the locusts; for the same reason not a grain of wheat or corn was harvested, when about two hundred fanégas were expected. At present seven fanégas of wheat have been sown; if they remain free from the plague the mission may harvest a good crop. It has about sixty tinájas of wine, each holding sixty pints. It has no rancho, nor a place for one; only in the neighborhood of the mission it has twenty-eight tame but old oxen, of which only four pair are of service for work; in addition there are nineteen cows, one steer, and twelve yearling calves. There are other cattle running wild, which cannot be counted. It has thirty-seven mares, thirty-nine horses and fillies, thirty-six asses, twenty-two mules, two thousand and seventy-four head of sheep, and two hundred and eleven goats." [17]

[17] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 162-164.

Mission de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe.

"This, like the others, was endowed by the Marqués de Villapuente, and was established in the month of April, 1720. It was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers from its inception to January, 1768. It came into the hands of the College and Fr. Juan Sancho de la Torre was appointed its missionary in April of said year, from which date to September, 1771, there have been baptized fifty-three children, one hundred and thirty old and young Indians have died, and twenty-eight marriages have taken place. On account of the many that died and those that by order of the illustrious inspector were transplanted to San José and Purisima missions, but few people have been left to this mission; for it has only thirty-nine families which, with the boys and girls of all ages, comprise one hundred and forty souls, who all live at the mission, which has no pueblos de visita.

"This mission is in the center of the peninsula at nearly equal distances from both seas, and in twenty-seven degrees latitude. From the gulf it lies eighteen leagues, and from the Grand Ocean, about twenty. It is thirty-seven leagues north of Purisima Mission, twenty-five leagues south of San Ignacio, and eighteen leagues to the west of Santa Rosalía de Mulegé. It is situated in a narrow valley on the side of a very high sierra, so that they had to labor a great deal to plan a suitable church and dwelling, which both are of adobe and covered with tules. In the center of this cañada is an arroyo with very little water, which latter is collected by means of an earthen dam, in order to irrigate the land, which requires no more than a fanéga of seed grain to plant it. On the side of the said sierra, near the mission buildings, there are some springs oozing water to the thickness of a thumb. It is gathered in a trough of masonry and serves to irrigate a little garden that grows vegetables and some fruit-trees, like the fig, pomegranate, and a few grapevines, although the latter do not thrive at this mission.

"Eight leagues from said mission toward the south is a place called San Miguel, which formerly was a pueblo de visita. The chapel and the dwelling of the missionary still

remain on the banks of an arroyo, which is the same that runs by the mission. Here it seems there is a greater quantity of water which is collected by a dam and forms a pool with which the land thereabout is irrigated, and which requires as much as two fanégas of corn for planting. On the last day of last August, when I passed there, the land had been planted with corn and it had already grown up; but even while I was there the locusts fell upon it and devoured all, nor was there any means to prevent it. The locusts did not leave anything but the stalk, so that not as much as an ear of corn was harvested.

"Toward the other or Pacific Coast, eighteen leagues to the west of the mission, is another place called San José de Grácia, with sufficient water which is collected by means of a dam; the land thus irrigated is extensive enough to receive about three fanégas of wheat. In said locality there are some fig-trees and some gravevines; but these, too, produce little. During last August, when I went through said mission, San José de Grácia had a good little field of beans already in bloom; but the news has come that the locusts fell upon it and put an end to it. Then wheat was sown there; if no mishap occurs the mission will escape the miseries which it is undergoing, since it has no other aid than what can be sent from the store at Loreto by means of the hardship of transporting it forty leagues by sea and eighteen by land as far as Mulegé; nor has it any funds, for it has no other revenue than the meat of the cattle which it may slaughter from the herd which it has along the opposite coast.

"The said locality of San José lies about five leagues from the Grand Ocean, where there are some good estuaries, some of which enter the land as far as three leagues, and at low water many fish are caught along the shore. Going south about eight leagues one meets a great ensenada called San Juan Nepomuceno, which is a very quiet sheet of water, though, as it seems, protected only from the south, into which flow the waters of the arroyos called San Andrés and El Valle, though only in the rainy season; but by digging a well water is easily found. It might perhaps be advisable for the

ships going to and coming from San Diego and Monterey to take in water there.

"This mission among all is the one most abounding in pastures for all kinds of animals, because the rains there are generally plentiful; but it is not suitable for temporary sowing, because the seasons are sometimes unfavorable, and in favorable times the rains are wanting. On account of the abundance of the pasturage the meat is good and generally the cattle are fat. It has a rancho for cattle at the place called El Valle, about two leagues from the mission, where it has sixty-six mares and four stallions, the foals of the last year and twenty of the year preceding having been devoured by lions which are numerous. There are fifty-two riding horses, thirty-two mules, twenty-seven asses, two hundred and twelve tame cows of whose milk a good cheese is made, nine hundred and forty-seven head of sheep, and three hundred and eighty-three goats." [18]

[18] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 164-167.

CHAPTER XII.

(Continued.)

Mission Santa Rosalia.—San Ignacio.—Santa Gertrudis.—San Francisco de Borja.—Santa Maria de los Angeles.—More Missionaries Needed.—Recommendations.

Mission Santa Rosalia de Mulegé.

"THIS was endowed by Don Nicolás de Arteaga with $10,000, like the preceding missions, and came into existence in the year 1705. It was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers until January, 1768. Fr. Juan Gaston received it from the College in April of the same year, from which time till the last of August, 1771, there have been baptized forty-eight children; one hundred and thirteen children and adults died, and seventen couples were married. It has no pueblo de visita; all the Indians comprising forty-six families with one hundred and eighty souls live about the mission.

"It is situated on the side of a high sierra along the banks of a large arroyo called Mulegé, which flows into an estuary that terminates in the gulf from which the mission is distant about half a league, so that on account of the break which the arroyo makes through the mountains it is not separated from that sea. It has a church which is vaulted and constructed of masonry like the sacristy, and the dwelling, which latter is covered with tules. The mission is not laid out in regular order, as the huts of the Indians are on the hillside opposite the church and the dwelling of the Father. It lies in twenty-six degrees and forty minutes north latitude; it is distant from Loreto by land along the coast forty leagues, from Mission Guadalupe, eighteen leagues, and from San Ignacio about forty. The mission is in a poor condition, because the floods of 1770 have carried away the dam and the soil from the fields, so that the whole has become a sandy waste. During the month of August, when I was there, I made an examination for the purpose of seeing whether by restoring the dam the current might be restored; but I found that the soil was wanting in which to plant, as all was sand.

"On this account I examined a place called Magdalena, about ten leagues from the mission on the road to San Ignacio, and I discovered that it had an arroyo with sufficient water. By means of a dam the good plots of land which it possesses could be irrigated, and with it the mission might support itself; but they find themselves unable to do this work for lack of corn and the means to purchase it; rather they find themselves in debt at the royal warehouse, but they have pledged themselves for any aid that is given them so that they may not perish. If any alms were obtained so that they could support themselves during the time the work lasts to put the fields under cultivation, which would require no less than a year, because there are so few people, the work and the removal of the mission could begin. However, the difficulty presents itself to me that by abandoning the site it occupies, the mission will lose the benefit of the launches which go and come to the north of this inlet, for ordinarily they stop at the creek and provide themselves with the necessaries; yet I think that not having enough for itself the mission will have less to give, and for the security of the temporalities the inlet remains there always.

"Besides the Indians (with whom I notice an inclination for a change) have informed me that Magdalena is but three leagues from the shore; it also has an inlet, which, by deepening the mouth, can be entered by the launches, and on account of the proximity those of Mulegé may continue the exercise of fishing in which they are experts and of which they are fond; therefore I am of the opinion that it is very expedient to change the mission to said locality. For this reason it should be strongly represented to his excellency, and he should be petitioned to grant some alms for said work, even though it were from the fund of the missions;[1] and if not, that he should determine what should be done with the Indians in case they cannot maintain themselves at the mission where they now live. If his excellency commands that they move to another mission, the one which appears to me the most agreeable and suitable, because it has enough land and

[1] The Pious Fund.

water, is Purisima; but I always have the misgivings that they will get sick and die, as has happened to those that have been transplanted to other missions by order of the inspector-general.

"Not only is the mission poor in grain, but also in tame cattle, for it has only thirty-two oxen, cows, and calves, four hundred and sixty-four sheep, fifteen tame horses, most of which are useless, twenty-three mares, many wild mustangs which cannot be caught to be counted, and eighteen mules. There are many cattle running wild, but for want of horses they cannot be rounded up for slaughter."[1]

Mission San Ignacio.

"This mission was endowed in the year 1725 by Father Juan Bautista Luyando of the Company of Jesus with $10,000 from his own inheritance, and was established in January, 1728, its first missionary being the same Father that endowed it. It was controlled by the Society of Jesus until January 1768, and in April of the same year Fr. Miguel de la Campa y Cos received it in the name of the College. From that date until August 1771 there have been baptized fifteen children, whilst two hundred and ninety-three Indian children and adults died, and sixty-eight couples were married. They all live at the mission where they were congregated by order of the inspector. In the last month of August one hundred and thirty-six families with five hundred and fifty-eight souls resided very contentedly and happily at the mission, though soon the missionary will find himself obliged to give them permission to go to the mountains in search of food, because on the 14th of August, while I was present, the locusts appeared and put an end to the fields of corn, though all in vain worked hard to stop them; only those, therefore, remain at the mission that are necessary and could be maintained by means of the wheat which had already been harvested. They have planted enough since, and they write me that it is growing well, and if it succeeds they will all return to rejoin the mission.

[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 168-171.

"The mission is situated in twenty-eight degrees north, a day and half's travel from the Great Ocean and the same from the gulf with little difference. At the latter shore it has a good bay called San Carlos, where the launches usually stop which go to and come from the north. It is distant from the mission at Mulegé forty leagues, from Guadalupe twenty-five, and from Santa Gertrudis, toward the north, thirty-five leagues. The mission occupies a pleasant site on a height, whence there is a view over a broad valley with its arroyo containing enough water which is collected by means of a dam and led through ditches to the mission, where it is kept in a large reservoir of masonry. It has enough land; though in the year 1770 the flood from the arroyo carried away the soil, when it destroyed the dam, leaving the land one sandy field, there is still sufficient land left. It has its vineyards, olives, pomegranates, fig-trees, and a field of cotton from which shawls are manufactured to help clothe the Indians, though the locust plague of the preceding year, as I said, laid waste everything and did the same to the vineyards and orchards by devouring everything; the Father writes me, however, that everything is again beginning to grow. The mission has its church of adobe roofed with tules; another church building of masonry is under way, and when it is finished, it will be the best building in California.

"The mission owns eighty-seven tame and a number of wild cattle, one hundred and twelve horses, mares, and foals, twenty mules, thirty-two asses, seven hundred and twenty sheep, and two hundred and forty-three goats, though I later received a letter in which I am told that the Indians had slaughtered some sheep and had done great damage which it was impossible to prevent." [1]

Mission Santa Gertrudis.

"This mission was begun on July 15th, 1752. In the documents which speak of the endowments I have not found any particular endowment for this mission, but only a clause which touches it and reads as follows: 'The Mission of San

[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 171-173.

José del Cabo the Marqués de Villapuente endowed with $10,000, and in case that the said mission does not continue, or the said aid is needed at any time, another shall be founded in the north of California under the name of Santa Gertrudis the Great.' At the departure of the Jesuit Fathers it was discovered that no Father resided at San José del Cabo, whence it can be inferred that the endowment for San José del Cabo was applied to this of Santa Gertrudis.[4] It was governed by the Jesuit Fathers until the month of January, 1768, and Fr. Dionisio Basterra received it from the College on the last of April of said year. Since then until August 1771 there have been baptized two hundred and fifty-four children, four hundred and three children and adults were interred, and one hundred and two marriages took place, so that there are found living in the mission district three hundred and fifty-seven married couples, forty-one widowers and widows, and four hundred and thirty-three boys and girls, who in all compose the number one thousand one hundred and thirty-eight persons. Of all, these families only forty families live at the mission with one hundred and seventy-four souls, and all the rest are scattered in seven houseless rancherías which surround the mission proper in every direction, all looking for wild fruits and changing about according to the seasons. It is not possible for all to live at the mission itself, because of the shortage of the land and of the water to irrigate it. Nor was it less impossible to execute the order of the inspector to remove those that could be spared to the missions of Purísima and San José, because they resisted and gave us to understand that they would go over to the Gentiles.[5]

"The mission is situated in a narrow valley, so that it was necessary to clear land by means of the crow-bar in order to construct a pueblo. It has an adobe church and dwelling which are covered with tules. The work of building up the

[4] Such was the case, as we have related in its place.

[5] On page 57, tom. i, cap. xxii, Palóu says these Indians absolutely refused to be transplanted and grew turbulent, so that the plan had to be suspended, and was finally dropped.

pueblo with huts of adobe for the Indians is finished, and it is interesting. It has vineyards and orchards of figs, olives, pomegranates, and also some peaches. There is little land fit for sowing and the water is scarce. It is situated in twenty-eight degrees and a half north latitude on a spot called La Piedad, about twelve leagues from the gulf, where the shore is called San Miguél de la Peña, and it is there the launches usually stop. From the ocean it is distant about two days' travel; from Mission San Ignacio, thirty-five leagues, and from San Borja somewhat more.

"It has a rancho for both large and small stock where one hundred and thirteen cattle of all kinds graze, besides one hundred and forty-two horses of all kinds, twenty-five mules, two asses with their young, one hundred and forty sheep, and four hundred and seventy goats. There are also some wild cattle on the other coast which it is difficult to control for lack of water, because they subsist on *chuzas* which supply the absence of water. On the last of August the Father wrote me that the mission had on hand one hundred and eighty fanégas of wheat (espinguin), twenty fanégas of barley, but no corn, because one piece of land which had a good growth was destroyed by the locusts, which also did much damage to the fruit-trees and vines."[6]

Mission San Francisco de Borja.

"This was founded on the 27th of August, 1759. In the papers on endowments there is no mention of this one, although through information of some on the peninsula I learned that it was endowed by Don Antonio de Lanza Gorta, citizen of the town of San Miguel el Grande, though others are of the opinion that it was endowed from the heritage of the Duchess of Gandia. It was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers until January, 1768. In May, by order of the College, Fr. Fermin Francisco Lasuen took charge. From that time down to August 1771 there have been baptized four hundred and one persons; of these twenty-six were adults and the rest were children. There have died four hundred and ninety-nine

[6] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 173-175.

children and adults, and two hundred and seventy-three couples were married, as the Father informs me. In the whole mission district there is not one pagan left, as far as known. At the mission itself there are forty-four families and three widowers, or in all one hundred and eighty-four souls. Besides the mission proper there are five rancherías, one called San Juan with forty-six families, three widowers and seven widows, with one hundred and sixty souls; another, named San Francisco Regis, has twenty-three families, five widowers and nine widows, with ninety-two souls; a third, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe with seventy-four families, eighteen widowers and fourteen widows, or in all two hundred and fifty-six souls; the fourth, San Ignacio, with seventy-eight families, twenty-three widowers and twenty widows, or in all three hundred and fifty-seven souls; the fifth, called Longeles, has thirty-seven families, five widowers and fourteen widows, forming a population of one hundred and five souls. All these with those at the mission number together one thousand four hundred and seventy-nine persons. These rancherías have no chapel, nor any house whatever, because the Indians move about and live where they find any wild fruit to eat; nor is it possible to gather more at the mission on account of the shortage of land and the scarcity of water, so that, even to maintain the few families mentioned, it is necessary to do the planting at two places well separated from the mission, called San Regis and El Paraiso. In the beginning of last September the Father wrote me that he had harvested about three hundred fanégas of wheat (espinguin) and eighteen fanégas of barley, upon which they were subsisting since July; but corn, though a piece of land was planted with it, they did not expect to obtain, because the locusts had devoured it.

"The mission has a rancho for the large stock where it possesses five hundred head of cattle of all kinds; there are no wild cattle; in addition it owns seventeen hundred head of sheep and nine hundred and thirty goats, two hundred and fifteen horses of all kinds, forty-three mules, and three asses. It has some vineyards which the Father planted, also fig-trees, pomegranates, and much cotton from which shawls are manu-

factured to help clothe the Indians; of the wool blankets are made.

"It is situated in thirty degrees north latitude, twelve leagues from the ocean, and ten from the gulf where there is a bay called Los Angeles in which the mission's own launch is anchored. From Santa Gertrudis it is more than thirty-five leagues, and from Mission Santa Maria about forty leagues. It has a church and cloistered dwelling of adobe with new roof of tules which Fr. Lasuen has just finished."[7]

Mission Santa Maria de los Angeles.

"This mission was established on October 16th, 1766. I have not found its endowment, but it is said that it was from what was bequeathed by the Duchess of Gandia, as part of it was paid by the California procurator-general's office which was at the College of San Andrés in the city of Mexico, which, as an anonymous paper states, had already received $62,000 of the said inheritance, which it is said was bequeathed for the conversion of Northern California. This mission was in charge of the Jesuit Fathers until the last of December 1767. In the middle of May 1768 Fr. Juan de Medina Beitia took charge of it in the name of the College. He found the mission still in its beginning without a church to which he paid his attention at once. He erected one of adobe roofed with tules, and on the side of it he built a dwelling with two rooms also of adobe and roofed with tules, besides a small barn to keep the implements of the mission.

"Since the College took charge until September 1771 there have been baptized one hundred and ninety-nine adults and ninety-one children; one hundred and eight old and young have died, and one hundred and twenty couples have been married. During the same month of September the books contained the names of five hundred and twenty-three persons, of whom one hundred and eighty-six are married couples, and the rest are single men and women, and boys and girls of all ages. All these live in the rancherías surrounding the mis-

[7] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 175-178.

sion, as was said before, except five families and four single young men who live at the mission.

"It is situated in thirty degrees twenty minutes north latitude, forty leagues from San Borja, eighteen from Velicatá, and about one hundred miles from San Luis Bay on the gulf coast where the launches land that fetch supplies for the frontier.[8] It lies in a narrow pass between high mountains of white rock, which have only a few palms in an arroyo of little water. It is a most dismal and gloomy site. It has a little piece of level, but thoroughly salinous land, which requires but a fanéga and a half of seed wheat; but water in the dry seasons becomes too scarce to irrigate said land. There is lack of pasturage; some trees have been planted, but they withered. The whole surrounding country has been examined, but no place has been discovered suitable for cultivation or for pastures; the little stock it has, twelve head of cattle, three tame horses, and four mares, graze at the rancho of San Borja. It has neither sheep nor goats, though it possesses twenty-six tame mules, which serve to carry the supplies from the bay to this mission and that of Velicatá.

"On account of what has been said, the Father informs me that the said location is not fit for a mission, and the same do those say that went with the first division of the expedition to Monterey, Captain Fernando de Rivera and those that accompanied him. In view of this the illustrious inspector-general determined that said Mission of Santa Maria should be changed to the spot called Velicatá, which order Governor Gaspar de Portolá and the Rev. Fr. Presidente of all the missions, Fr. Junipero Serra, brought along when they marched with the second expedition to Monterey; but on reaching Santa Maria, and after having examined the spot, it seemed to them a pity to move the mission, as well on account of the great distance to San Borja, which is about seventy leagues through an uninhabited region, as on account

[8] Doyle thinks there is error and confusion in the description of the locality of this mission. North in "Sunset Magazine," December, 1906, page 154, locates it in 29 degrees and 42 minutes north latitude, and 114 degrees and 35 minutes west longitude.

of the remoteness in which the mission would be from the coast to receive corn and other aid for the new establishments.

"Having these plans in mind the site did not appear worthless to either, and that with some exertion it could be improved as far as water was concerned; but they overlooked the fact that in dry seasons the water diminished considerably, and that the land on account of the alkali is useless; hence it was that they both wrote to the inspector that it seemed expedient to continue the mission in said locality, to which the said gentleman agreed; but afterward the missionary repeatedly informed me that the mission could never subsist, unless they wanted to maintain it by alms, so that it might be more convenient to receive the supplies for the new missions, though in that case so many families were not necessary, since a smaller number would be sufficient. Your Reverence, enlightened on this point, will notify me what should be done.

"Rev. Fr. Guardian, this is the state of the thirteen pueblos which we have received when we arrived on this peninsula, besides those that the inspector-general suppressed, which are Dolores or Pasion and San Luis Gonzaga. From this report your Reverence will see, that the whole thirteen are composed of only five thousand and ninety-four Indians counting even the infants, whilst when we received California, according to the lists, they contained as many as seven thousand one hundred and forty-nine. It will be found, then, that they have decreased by as many as two thousand and fifty-five by reason of the epidemics that have occurred in the three years and four months, and if they continue to decrease in that degree Old California will be wiped out.

"As to the spiritual and temporal administration, the missionary Fathers have tried to advance the missions as far as it was possible, though the temporalities on account of the locust plague have declined. Nevertheless, the Fathers have endeavored to continue educating and instructing those whom the Jesuits had in charge, and also to feed and clothe them according to the means of each mission, although there are not wanting those that say, that never have they eaten and

been clothed as at this time, though we cannot speak for times past; what can be said is, that the Indians are contented.

"Concerning the undertaking we have on our hands, I cannot do less than to remind you of the many missionaries that are necessary. We need twenty-six for the thirteen pueblos mentioned: two for the new mission of Velicatá, ten for the five missions which are to be located in the country between Velicatá and San Diego, and sixteen for the eight missions from San Diego to the port of our Father San Francisco, which will bring the number up to fifty-four missionaries.[9] There are also needed a few supernumeraries for cases of death or sickness, since recourse to the College requires a long time on account of the distance. Then, seeing such a great number of religious, I think the burden too heavy for one College; therefore it would be expedient to try to ascertain if missionaries from another college or province of our Order or of other Orders could come to take the missions that are farther apart from the region of the pagans; for this purpose Fr. Juan Ramos goes to the College.

"I hope your Reverence will urge this, and in order to facilitate it you could draw attention, besides to the many missionaries who are wanted, to the great harvest which is ready for the College among the pagans of Monterey; that from San Borja to Cape San Lucas there are no people among whom the faith could be spread, which is the work of our Institute, but only to preserve them in it; and that they are not, nor ever will be, in condition for surrender to the bishop, because this unfortunate land does not assist the natives so that they can maintain a curate. Hence, on account of what was said, it seems expedient to do everything possible to get away from these ancient missions;[10] and in case the surrender be not accepted, at least that it become evident for the fu-

[9] This number was never reached during the Spanish mission period. These propositions, however, show that the Franciscans at that time had no intention of withdrawing from the peninsula, as Hittell asserts, much less for the reason he insinuates.

[10] That is to say those proposed for surrender on pages 413 and 414.

ture, what we have represented beforehand, that they are not capable of passing over to the bishop, so that it shall not be said that they have perished on account of the missionaries of this Apostolic College." [11]

[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxvii, 178-183.

CHAPTER XIII.

Mission San Fernando de Velicatá.—More Soldiers Wanted.—Armona and Barri.—Pearl-fishing.—Poverty of the Indians.—The Pious Fund Donations.—How They Were Invested.

FR. PALÓU continues his interesting report on the California Missions, and we prefer to have him give the information in his own words. "From what has been said," he writes to the Fr. Guardian, "I believe you can sufficiently understand the condition of the ancient missions of this peninsula which the Rev. Fathers of the Company of Jesus have founded. Now I will give an account of the new one which has been established by this College in the place called Velicatá,[1] on the road to the port of San Diego.

Mission San Fernando de Velicatá.

"This mission, by order of the inspector-general, Don José de Galvez, the Rev. Fr. Presidente of all the missions, Fr. Junípero Serra, founded on the occasion when he went with the second division of the expedition to the port of San Diego, in company of the governor and commander of the expedition, Don Gaspar de Portolá. For this reason he already brought the missionary in the person of Fr. Miguél de la Campa y Cos, who for that purpose was taken from Mission San Ignacio. Having reached the said site called by the natives Velicatá, it seeming to be suitable for a mission if perchance it were determined to abandon the Santa Maria site, the beginning was made by celebrating the first Mass on May 14th, 1769, which was Pentecost Sunday; and as it was the first among the vast numbers of pagans who are found in the north of this peninsula, with much rejoicing it was agreed to dedicate it as a first-fruit to the holy patron of this Apostolic College, San Fernando, King of Spain.

"It is situated in a valley through whose center runs a

[1] In his "Noticias" Palóu always writes Villacata, whereas in his "Vida" he has Vellicata.

stream of water of some abundance, sufficient to irrigate the land which the valley contains, and they easily succeeded by means of a dam of earth and stone to collect the water. The Father soon set to work cultivating the land in order that he might have wherewith to feed the pagans to win them for God. From its foundation to September of the past year 1771 he baptized three hundred and eighty Indians, that is to say, three hundred and six adults and seventy-four children. Of these twelve have died whilst eighty-six marriages were contracted and blessed. Not all can live at the mission, because, as yet, the land does not yield enough to maintain so many, and for this reason only twelve families have settled at the mission, whilst the rest remain in their rancherías until there shall be enough for them to eat. Nevertheless, every week one rancheria stays in order to learn their prayers and lest they forget their catechism; in addition to this care, in each rancheria the most intelligent is made captain of them, who sees that they assemble every day, and a catechist is appointed who recites the Doctrina with them; and when they come to the mission these give account if any fault or trouble has occurred.

"It has been discovered that the land is very salinous, wherefore it does not yield corn and wheat abundantly; much of it generally spoils. In the last year eight fanégas were sown, but only two hundred were harvested. They have begun to plant fruit-trees, cotton, and vines; but they have produced nothing, because the salpetre withers the plants. This mission is situated in thirty degrees and thirty-six minutes north, is eighteen leagues from Santa Maria, twenty-three from the bay of San Luis on the gulf, and from San Diego, by the old road taken by the expedition, one hundred and nineteen, and by the recently discovered road about one hundred leagues.

"It already has some cattle of its own left to it from those taken from San Borja for the expedition, which have increased so that there are now forty-nine tame cattle, forty sheep, forty-four goats, twelve horses, but no mules. The vestments for this mission have not arrived, so that it has only those taken

from the old missions by order of the inspector; all the vestments except one have already been in use. It has no bell of its own, but one loaned by Mission Santa Maria serves its purpose here. I, therefore, think that efforts should be made before the inspector-general, or his excellency, by likewise representing to him that for this mission the thousand dollars granted for its foundation have not been paid, as had been discussed with the inspector, for which reason the mission finds itself in want of articles for the house and field. Should the grant be paid, with the first invoice might come all that Your Reverence judges necessary; the church and sacristy ought not to be forgotten with regard to the articles indicated on the list which I forward.

"This mission, since it is surrounded on all sides by pagans, needs a sufficient guard which for want of soldiers is rarely complete, wherefore the Fathers cannot go out through the rancherías to search for gentiles and bring them to the mission. It would be well for Your Reverence to represent this to his excellency by adding that for this drawback we cannot begin to found even one mission of the five which his excellency has imposed upon me, though there are here in the old missions the missionaries destined for them without being able to do anything. I have already asked the governor in writing and he has replied to me (that which is true), that he has no soldiers, and that he has already consulted with his excellency. I am convinced that for the same want at Monterey they cannot proceed to found the missions which his excellency has ordered.

"Your Reverence can safely represent that for all the missions, new and old, there are needed two companies of one hundred men each with their corresponding officers, one to act as guards from Cape San Luis to San Diego exclusive, and the other from said port inclusive to the port of our Father San Francisco; and these would not be too many, for there are about seven hundred leagues from Velicatá to the last point in the pagan population, with the circumstance that those between Velicatá and San Diego are very wild and warlike, and if they see the small number of soldiers they

might venture to make some attack as they did at San Diego, about which Fr. Juan Vizcaino, who escaped wounded, would give particulars. As for Monterey, the large Indian population along the Santa Barbara Channel, as you have read in the Diario, must not be overlooked.

"It would be good for the soldiers if their pay were increased, for the reduction made in it was heavy, since from receiving four hundred and twenty dollars a year the pay has been cut down to five reáles a day, and to six reáles for those in the new missions, which does not reach; for out of this they must feed and clothe themselves, furnish their arms, powder, and ball, and keep at least three mules and one horse, which they must also purchase out of their wages, which is not enough. Moreover, being married, as they generally are, they have not wherewith to support their families, and thus they are always in debt to the royal warehouse, which is not to be wondered at, because these articles and others which they need have a very high price.

"When the governor arrived he brought along $22,000 in money to make the payments; out of this he turned over to the mining branch at Santa Ana $8,000 or $10,000; with one-half he paid his salary as governor at $4,000 a year, so that in a short time they found themselves without money, and there was not wherewith to pay the soldiers who had been with the expeditions, who for having been outside and for not having had any expenses for food, which was given them at the cost of the expedition, had their accounts, but could realize nothing on them even when they arrived at the pueblo of Loreto. In view of this and of the necessities which they undergo (and it is sad to hear those that come from Monterey relate the sufferings which they underwent on account of the shortage of food), it is much to find one who desires to be a soldier, whereas formerly to become a soldier it required favor or the word of influence.

"As to the fifth point about which you ask information, whether the last orders, which Governor Armona issued for the welfare of the Indians, are carried out, I have to say that not even his name can be uttered before Governor Barri;

for he says that he came to ruin the peninsula; and in the presence of Fr. Juan Escudero, who may have alrea-, repeated it to Your Reverence, he said to me that he wanted no harmony with me, lest he perish like Armona had perished;[1] and so, unless the information about said orders is demanded by his excellency, there is no hope of seeing them executed; for I do not speak, because I consider it is time lost to increase the resentment.

"As to sixth point, the diving for pearls, I have to say that, as to the Indians of California I know that they are not obliged to dive at any part of the peninsula. There are no other Indians who practise this diving than those of Loreto and Mulegé, and of these those that so desire and ask permission of the Father go and make the effort, and if they obtain anything they sell it and profit by it. Of the Yaqui Indians of the opposite provinces, who with their launches go to dive, I cannot say that they are obliged. In the last year of 1771 two launches came with fifty divers, who went to the bay of Mulegé, and said that they had come to dive on the account of the king; and it was rumored through this town that the divers had grown turbulent; the reason they gave was not that they were made to dive in perilous places, but that poor wages were given them, and because the result of the Sunday diving, as had been the custom, was not given them. About all the other points I believe that with what was said Your Reverence will be sufficiently informed.

"Concerning the last point that you be given account about what I think expedient for the spiritual and temporal advancement of the missions, there is much to say besides what I have intimated to Your Reverence; but as I have given much and the most important in writing to Fr. Ramos, I pass it by

[1] "Digo que ni aun su nombre (Armona) se puede nombrar delante de este gobernador Barri, pues dice que vinó á perder la peninsula, y en presencia del Padre Fray Juan Escudero, que ya lo podrá haber referido á Vuestra Reverencia, me dijo que no queria armonia conmigo, por no perderse como se habia perdido el Sr. Armona." This forces the conclusion that the heat of the dreary peninsula must have affected the mind of this official, inasmuch as his actions and words were those of a madman.

in order not to repeat myself. However, I cannot help repeating to you that you should urge his excellency to restrain the governor, so that he do not meddle any more with what does not concern him, and that he let us civilize, educate, and correct these poor neophytes, for otherwise the peninsula is on the point of destruction, and then it will not be possible to repair the damage.

"Likewise I cannot do less, considering the great poverty of the Indians of these missions, than to point out that it will be very expedient that from the funds of these missions they be supplied annually with some alms of clothing to cover their nakedness, for here they lack the means, and most of the missions never will have wherewith to meet these expenses, and it is a source of much distress to the missions to see the Indians devoid of clothing and not a rag on hand to give them. In support of this petition you could show the necessity which is a true one (and which is evident to all, especially to those that have visited this country), as well as the fact that without burdening the royal treasury in the least, his excellency could bestow this favor upon these poor people, because for that purpose rich funds exist which are a wealth that belongs to these missions. I succeeded in obtaining an unsigned paper which gives account of said funds, and in order that it may assist to that end, I have not failed to copy it and to insert it in this report so that Your Reverence may know of it. I do not know positively whence this paper came; but I judge with some reason that it originated with those that have been commissioners of the College of San Andrés in the city of Mexico at the time of the expulsion of the Fathers, and that there, since it was the office of the procurator-general for California, would be found the documents which give information about the whole matter."

List of the Pious Works Founded by Various Persons for the Spiritual Conquest of California.

Year.		
1698.	Don Juan Caballero founded the first mission, and for that purpose gave the sum of	$ 10,000.00
1699.	The same founded the second mission	10,000.00
1700.	Don Nicolas Arteaga founded the third mission with the same amount	10,000.00
1702.	Various persons through Father José Vidal, Jesuit, founded the fourth mission	7,000.00
1704.	The Marqués of Villapuente founded the fifth mission with the same amount	10,000.00
1709.	The same founded the sixth mission	10,000.00
1713.	The same founded the seventh mission	10,000.00
1718.	His Excellency, Don Juan Ruiz de Velasco, founded the eighth mission	10,000.00
1719.	The Marqués de Villapuente founded the ninth mission	10,000.00
1725.	Father Juan Maria Luyando, Jesuit, founded the tenth mission	10,000.00
1731.	Doña Maria Rosa de la Peña endowed one of the missions through the Marqués de Villapuente	10,000.00
1746.	The Marqués de Villapuente founded the eleventh mission	10,000.00
1747.	Her Excellency Doña Maria de Borja, Duchess of Gandia, in her testament bequeathed for the missions of California, and it is shown that it was received	62,000.00
	Total of Alms	$179,000.00

Funds and Properties Which Existed at the Time of the Expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers.

In money which was found in the procuraduria-general of California at the time of the expulsion	$ 92,000.00
Goods found in the warehouse of said procuraduria, estitimated by commercial men of Spain and Mexico	27,255.06
Merchandise which was found in the warehouse of Loreto, according to the prices charged and for which it was sold	79,377.03
Total amount of funds	$199,033.01

Loans Made by the Procuraduria-General of California from the Funds of the Missions as is Evidenced by the Respective Documents.

To the College of San Ildefonso of Puebla at three and one-half per cent	$ 22,000.00
To the College of San Ignacio of Puebla with revenues of four per cent	5,000.00
To the College of San Pedro y San Pablo of Mexico without indication of the percentage	29,100.00
To the College of San Ildefonso of Puebla at three per cent	23,000.00
To the College of San Geronimo of Mexico at three per cent	38,500.00
To the College of San Ildefonso of Puebla at three per cent	9,000.00
Total investments	$126,600.00

General Summary.

Total of alms donated	$179,000.00
Total of goods on hand	199,033.01
Total invested or loaned	126,600.00
Total amount of the Fund	$504,633.01

Besides this capital there are the plantations called Ibárra, whose administrator told me that in ordinary years they produced twenty thousand dollars income clear, to which amount must be added the revenues from the haciendas of Arroyo-Sarco. *Thus far the paper.*

"Concerning this document I have the correction to make that the said haciendas mentioned at the conclusion, were purchased with the alms of the benefactors that donated them in order to avoid, what was experienced in the beginning, of placing ten thousand dollars with one individual so that he each year might pay the interest of five hundred dollars for the sinodo of the missionary Father. The individual became a bankrupt so that the capital was lost, wherefore they saw themselves compelled to look for another benefactor, or to abandon the mission, as Father Venegas relates in his history. In

order never to be in such a predicament, it was decided to purchase said haciendas and operate them; what was produced went towards the annual sinodo, and the rest was added to the capital in order to be able to send some things in addition to the poor missionaries, as is shown from the mission books, which they kept.

"From what is said I infer that at the expulsion of the Jesuit Fathers there existed only the said haciendas besides the goods and the investments which amounted to $325,633 and one reál. From this whole amount as well as from the revenues of said haciendas you may see that annually some alms of clothing for these poor Indians could be granted; and I do not say for the converted Indians only, but for those that are to be converted to the north of California as far as Monterey; with it they could be attracted to our holy Catholic faith, which was the intention of the benefactors. I hope Your Reverence will employ every possible means to obtain this and all else that is conducive to the temporal and spiritual progress of these ancient missions as well as of the new ones, that you may receive from God the reward, which I ask for in my poor prayers and at the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, and that He guard your life many years in good health and in His grace. . . . Loreto, February 12th, 1772. Fr. Francisco Palóu."[3]

Palóu sent copies of this report to the College both by way of Santa Cruz and San Blas, but long before it reached the Fr. Guardian, Fr. Juan Ramos de Lora had arrived at San Fernando de Mexico. His appearance hastened the transfer of all the ancient missions to the Rev. Dominican Fathers, as we shall see in the next chapter.

From Fr. Palóu's statement it is evident that the missions of California were erected and maintained with the funds which the zeal and labors of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus acquired for the spiritual conquest of that territory. Hence, says Mofras,[4] "What is remarkable in the foundations

[3] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxviii, 183-195.

[4] Mofras, "Explorations" in "Foreign Relations," p. 369. See for the whole subject, "Pious Fund," "Appendix II" in "Foreign

of these missions is that they cost the government no sacrifice. At the beginning of the settlement of Lower California the viceroys furnished some aid. Philip V. during the first years of his reign allowed them thirteen thousand dollars; but in 1735 the Jesuits, having received large donations, knew so well how to employ them that not only were they able to provide for the needs of their missions, but to buy some new lands" (in Mexico), that is to say, they increased the real estate of the Pious Fund.

Relations," United States vs. Mexico, in the Matter of the Case of the Pious Fund of the Californias," pages 349-374, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1903.

CHAPTER XIV.

Dominican Efforts to Reach California.—Objections of the Franciscans, the Viceroy, and Don José de Galvez.—Galvez's Statement.—The Viceroy's Adverse Report.—The Dominicans Succeed.—The Franciscans Cede the Whole Territory.—Copy of the Agreement.—Approval of the Viceroy.—Directions.—Letter of the Viceroy.—The Franciscans Go North.—Donations.

WE have now to relate, what it was not convenient to state in its place, how it was that the Dominicans supplanted the Friars Minor in Lower California. "In the first chapter it was explained," says Palóu,[1] "that without having made the least effort to enter California, my Apostolic College of San Fernando was selected by the viceroy and the inspector-general[2] to take upon itself the administration of said missions, and that it had yielded, notwithstanding that the number of religious which it had for the service of God and our king was so small.

"While the Franciscans were in tranquil possession of said missions, all and every one laboring very contentedly in the mission assigned to him, so that neither the poverty of the country, nor the sterility of the soil, sufficed to dishearten them, on the contrary all toiled amid much hardship in spiritual as well as temporal things, in order that, if they could not advance the missions, they should at least not be wanting in solicitude, the Rev. Dominican Fathers were making efforts to enter the peninsula, doubtless in order that both societies, being religious Orders and united between themselves,[3] might display their apostolic zeal there, and the one and the other might in holy emulation spread the holy Gospel and Catholic faith on said peninsula.

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[1] See Part III, chapter i, this work. On account of the importance of the subject it seemed preferable to let Fr. Palóu state the facts in his own words, which are sufficiently clear.

[2] "Los Señores Exmo. y Illmo."

[3] This alludes to the brotherly relations between the Dominican and Franciscan Orders which date from the days of St. Dominic and St. Francis.

"For this purpose the Rev. Father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, in the name of his province of Mexico, for which he was the procurator at the Court of Madrid, presented himself and asked of his Majesty some missions in California for his province of Mexico, giving as reasons those that may be stated in his Memorials. His Majesty, on November 4th, 1768, issued the royal decree which directed that some missions should be given to the Dominicans, or that the peninsula should be divided between the two Orders. In view of this, the said Rev. Father, appointed by his Most Rev. Presidente and Vicar-General of the missions,[4] collected volunteers and sent ahead some religious whilst he himself remained at the royal court. After they had reached Mexico and had presented themselves to his excellency, the Marqués de Croix, viceroy of New Spain, objected in view of the reports which he had about the peninsula, according to which it was not divisible without one Order getting into trouble with the other. Nevertheless, he did not wish to decide the matter, nor advise the Court until he had more explicit information from the illustrious inspector-general, who, having just finished inspecting the peninsula, could inform him about it in every particular and whether or not there was room for both Orders. To that end his excellency wrote on April 8th, 1769. Galvez in reply wrote what will be seen in the following document a copy of which the inspector-general sent from the town of Álamos."

"Copy of the Report of the Inspector-General.

"Most Excellent Sir:—With the letter of the 8th of last April Your Excellency sends me a copy of a royal decree issued on November 4th of last year, in which His Majesty commands Your Excellency to inform him in every particular and as briefly as possible about the state of the California missions after they were placed, because of the expatriation of the Jesuits, in charge of the missionaries apostolic of the

[4] "nombrado por su reverendisimo padre presidente y vicario general."

Propagation of the Faith of the College of San Fernando at the capital.

"That decree had its origin in the urgent request which the Dominican religious, Fr. Juan Pedro de Iriarte, made before the Supreme Council of the Indies, about which Your Excellency wants me to give you my opinion, in order that you may prepare your report with due knowledge of the facts which I have just finished investigating in person. I must remark from the start that the zeal of said religious, Fr. Juan Pedro de Iriarte, is as laudable as should be involuntary the errors upon which he founded his solicitude. He explained that on the coast of the South Sea, which is to the west of California, there are from the 25th to the 42d degree, and in the interior of the country from the 28th, localities inhabited by a multitude of Gentiles, whereas there is not even one from the 31st degree of latitude down to the Cape of San Lucas, and doubtless neither on the mainland of the peninsula, nor on the many islands near both shores. The truth is that Your Excellency in your report can insist upon this as undeniable and notorious without other restriction than to note that at the mission of San Ignacio, situated in degree twenty-eighth, according to the observations of the expelled religious, there exist as converts the last inhabitants of the Isle of Cedros, which is found in the South Sea in the same latitude.

"Beyond this mission of San Ignacio, which Fr. Iriarte supposed to be the last in California as far as it is occupied,[5] there are established, and not so recently that in Spain there could not have been knowledge of them for the last six years, the three missions of Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco de Borja, and Santa Maria. This is the last on the frontier, situated in 31 degrees, and erected by the Jesuits on soil so sterile that the converted Indians could not be settled nor maintained there. Therefore, I have given orders that the presidente of the missions should be asked to remove it to the locality of Velicatá, which lies in about the 32d degree, as Your Excellency will have seen from the last chapter of the

[5] "California Conquistada."

"Instruction," which Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá prepared, who has gone with the last division of the expedition and journey by land (to San Diego).

"This expedition which Your Excellency has approved, and which you ordered me to send by water, is conducted towards the important objects (if God wills that they be attained) of establishing as a matter of course six missions along the western coast of California from the site of Velicatá to the famous port of Monterey, and likewise of placing a presidio there in order that it may protect the peninsula against the danger with which the persistent attempts of some foreign nations have threatened it, especially against those that the Russians have lastly made, who pretended that they only wanted to familiarize themselves with navigation in the sea of Tartary. Your Excellency knows better than any one, with what reason and timeliness it is explained in the royal decree which has been addressed to you, how supremely important it is to prevent any other power from setting foot in California,[6] and that the spiritual and temporal conquest of that vast territory always deserved the greatest care and attention of our kings and of the Supreme Council of the Indies; for not only in this century, but also in the two preceding centuries, they have devised and given the most effective and well-considered directions for the occupation of the good and advantageous port of Monterey; but until now these have been without result on account of the destructive misfortune which in America besets the true interests of the Crown and the nation.

"In order to make known to Your Excellency, since you were pleased to notify me, the opinion I formed about the claim introduced at Court by the said Father, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, and whether or not it is expedient for His Majesty to permit him to come to California as missioner extraordinary, I believe that in the present state of things his zeal should make no mistake, because the missionaries of San

[6] Here the principal reason for the Spanish occupation of California is plainly stated.

Fernando[7] have all that can be desired in order that the conversion make rapid progress in that peninsula, and especially, since it has been granted them to bring from Spain the missionary band of forty-five priests, of whom I hope some have arrived in the ships of the present fleet, so that two missionaries may be stationed in those reductions, and especially in the new ones which they have gone to establish in aid of the expeditions by sea and land. However, if Father Iriarte, not alone, but accompanied by other apostolic laborers, should come charged by His Majesty to be employed in the holy work of converting the Gentiles, there are on this whole frontier very numerous tribes among which many missionaries could occupy themselves usefully.

"With this I believe to have complied with the order of Your Excellency, if not with the attention that the subject merits and I should like to do, at least as far as the grave occupations permit which at present the military expedition and other important affairs of these provinces cause me, and which admit of little or no delay. May our Lord guard Your Excellency many years. Real de los Alamos, June 10th, 1769. Most Excellent Sir, B. L. M. de V. E., José de Galvez. To His Excellency, the Marquéz de Croix."[8]

After having received Don Galvez's statement, Viceroy de Croix reported to the king that there was no need of the Dominicans in California, and that it was inexpedient to divide the peninsula between them and the Franciscans. Nothing daunted, Fr. Iriarte, who would scarcely have persisted in his demand had he been acquainted with the country, pressed his claim before the king, giving as additional reasons that it was not proper for only one Order, much less for one missionary college, to be in sole possession of so vast a field as the peninsula of California. This view was adopted by the Spanish sovereign, who under date of April 8th, 1770, issued a new decree in which he declared that, notwithstanding the adverse opinion of both the viceroy and the inspector-

[7] The Franciscans, so called from their mother-house in the city of Mexico.

[8] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxix, 196-201.

general, some missions in California should be assigned to the Dominicans without prejudice to the Franciscans, because it was not to the advantage of the royal service that one Order alone, and much less one convent or college, occupy so extensive territory.[9]

Armed with this new decree, Fr. Iriarte collected a number of Dominican friars from the various provinces of Spain and with them arrived at Vera Cruz, Mexico, on August 19th, 1771. The energetic Dominican soon presented the royal document to Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, the new viceroy of New Spain, who, in accordance with it and in view of the fact that the Fr. Guárdian of San Fernando had already proposed surrendering some of the older mission establishments, convoked a council on March 21st, 1772. There it was decided that the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando and the Rev. Vicar-General of the Dominicans should be allowed to agree between themselves upon the division of the missionary territory. Accordingly the two religious superiors deliberated together and finally presented the following agreement to the viceroy as the result of their amicable conferences:

"Copy of the Concordato.

"Most Excellent Sir:—Fray Rafael Verger, at present guardian of the College of the Propagation of Faith of San Fernando, Mexico, and Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, missionary of the holy Order of Preachers,[10] and commissary of the missionary band which by order of His Majesty (whom God may guard) he has brought to this country for the peninsula of California, in obedience to the superior decree of Your Excellency of the month of April of the present year 1772, in which you direct them to divide the missions of the peninsula of California between themselves in accordance with the royal decree dated Madrid, April 8th, 1770, declare, that

[9] "Por no convenir á su real servicio, que una sola religion, y mucho menos un convento ó colegio, ocupe una peninsula tan dilatada como es la de la California." (Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxx, 202.)

[10] Official designation of the Dominican Order.

having deliberated and understood after repeated conferences upon the matter that it is the firm will of our sovereign and Catholic monarch, that the Reverend Dominican Fathers should enter the said peninsula of California with their commissary, the aforesaid Master Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, because he has so commanded in his royal decree of the 4th of November, 1768, and lastly in the said one of the 8th of April, 1770, wherein, after having ordained and commanded the said division, he concludes by repeating the same order, notwithstanding the adverse reports of the most excellent Marqués de Croix, the predecessor of Your Excellency, and of the visitor-general, Don Joseph de Galvez, which holds that it is not expedient for the royal service that one Order only, and much less that one single convent or college, should occupy a peninsula so extensive as is the one in question; and likewise considering that this single college at this day not only has charge over the whole peninsula, but also over the whole territory discovered between the port of San Diego to that of San Francisco, which covers about two hundred leagues of land; and bearing in mind that this division must have, according to the royal decree, distinct frontier boundaries corresponding to the Orders, yet so separated and independent as to roads that the members of one do not embarrass the others and in this way avoid the dissensions which could result from the contrary; and likewise considering that the whole peninsula, on account of the character of the country, does not permit a variety of roads, for it has only one frontier establishment, which is that of San Fernando Velicatá, since the locality called San Juan de Diós, which was thought suitable for another frontier mission (according to said Captain Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, who has repeatedly investigated it thoroughly), is not suitable for even one rancho, which is also the opinion of several Fathers of this College, which in all obedience we submit to Your Excellency, in order that time and the pious donations be not spent uselessly; in view of all that has been said, and wishing to comply punctually with the sovereign will of our Catholic monarch, they have agreed to the following division: That

the Dominican Fathers take charge of the old missions which this College has in California and the said frontier mission of San Fernando Velicatá, and continuing their new missions in that direction until they reach the boundaries of the Mission of San Diego at its port, placing their last mission at the Arroyo of San Juan Bautista, which will have its limits five leagues farther beyond at a point which, leaving the Sierra Madre, terminates before it reaches the coast, and having arrived there they may turn to the eastward with a slight deviation towards the northeast, so that they will have to emerge at the end of the Gulf of California and the Colorado River, and thereafter following the direction which Your Excellency has assigned them at the royal council; and if in the territory between the Rio Colorado and said San Diego a suitable road be found for the north or northeast they may also take it without prejudice to the other Order; and that the Fathers of the College of San Fernando may maintain the establishments they occupy from said port of San Diego following the road they hold to Monterey, the port of San Francisco, and farther beyond.

"In this manner, Most Excellent Sir, it will be arranged that the extensive coast of the South Sea of California and the interior beyond be not in charge of only one Order, which seems to be the principal objection of our sovereign, and that the two Orders of Dominican and Franciscan Fathers may have in California their separate territory; and we do not think it inconvenient for the College of San Fernando to give up the said missions, because otherwise the principal object of His Majesty cannot be realized, for which reason the aforesaid Fr. Guardian most gladly makes a surrender of them, hoping that, with the efficacious provisions which Your Excellency has made, the new missions at the said ports of San Diego and Monterey will be able to subsist, and likewise that you will provide a sufficient number of large and small stock for each of the new establishments, as he has petitioned Your Excellency in the Memorial which he presented under date of October 26, 1771, in order that, since this conquest is of such great importance and consequence, as His Majesty

expresses himself in the royal decree mentioned, you will not withdraw your powerful hand until it is perfectly accomplished, even in case (which God may not permit) that some misfortune should occur at the aforesaid port of San Diego,[11] or at any of the other missions. Meanwhile they humbly supplicate Your Excellency to give your approbation to the said agreement, and at the same time to command that it have its due effect by giving to each an authentic certificate with the decision of Your Excellency in which they shall receive favor, etc. Mexico, April 7, 1772.—Fr. Rafael Verger, *Guardian;* Fr. Juan Pedro de Iriarte, *Vicar-General.*"[12]

On April 24th, 1772, Viceroy Bucareli referred the document to the royal council which met on the 30th of the same month. This body was composed of the viceroy, the two judges of the supreme court, Don Domingo Valcarcel y Fonseca and Don José Rodríguez del Toro, Don José Antonio de Areche, Don Juan Crisóstomo Barrueta, and the following minor government officials: Don Santiago Abad, Don Pedro Toral Valdés, Don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez de Herrera, Don Fernando Mecía, treasurer, Don Fernando Mangino, auditor-general, and Don Juan Antonio Arce y Arroyo. The Concordato was examined and unanimously approved. The council also decided that the Dominicans should receive from the Pious Fund the same allowance granted to the Franciscans, that is to say, three hundred and fifty dollars a year for each missionary; that one year's allowance should be advanced and the time computed from the day they received the missions; that the Franciscans should take a receipt for everything they transferred by inventory at each mission, which inventory signed by the two presidentes of the missions must be forwarded to the viceroy with a full report as to the number of souls and the property in each mission; and that the same method and formality should be observed by both Orders every year, so that the viceroy have a full knowledge of the progress made in the spiritual

[11] Such a disaster occurred at San Diego only three years later.

[12] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum; "Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxx, 204-207; "Vida," cap. xxv, 117-118.

conquest by the respective missionary establishments. Moreover, the council directed that the traveling expenses of the missionaries, the one thousand dollars in aid of each new mission, and the amount necessary to procure the requisite vestments and sacred vessels, should be paid from the Pious Fund of California. Finally, an abstract of these proceedings was ordered to be drawn up and sent to the bishop of Guadalajara for his information. These resolutions were approved by Viceroy Bucareli on May 12th, 1772, and thus became the law that regulated the conduct of the two missionary bodies.[13]

Along with a copy of the Concordato Fr. Palóu received from the viceroy the following communication: "The Rev. Fr. Guardian of the Apostolic College of San Fernando, having explained at this court that there existed in possession of Your Paternity various goods belonging to the new missions which were to be founded between San Fernando de Velicatá and the port of San Diego, but now in charge of the Rev. Father Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, vicar of the Dominican religious, Your Paternity will turn them over to him, taking a receipt, which you will forward to this general office, of the goods in possession, with the statement of their value, which the said guardian tells me has amounted to nine hundred and eighty-eight dollars, the expenses of transportation included, under which assumption charge has been given by the same office to the said vicar. God keep Your Paternity many years. Mexico, May 4th, 1772.—Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa."[14]

Under date of June 10th, 1772, the Fr. Guardian himself informed Fr. Palóu about the transaction. Besides repeating the instructions of the viceroy, he added that he had asked Bucareli to permit four of the Fathers stationed in Lower California to join their brethren in the north, in order to found the missions of Santa Clara and San Francisco, whilst

[13] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.
[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxx, 207-216.

the rest of the friars returned to the College.[15] Later the same Fr. Guardian, Rafael Verger, notified Palóu that the viceroy had granted his petition; that the College discretos had named Fathers Marcelino Senra, José Antonio Murguía, Ramon Uson, and Juan Figuer; that if Palóu himself wished to go to the northern missions, he might take Fr. Senra's place; and that if any of the other three should rather retire to Mexico he could substitute any one of those that might volunteer. The four missionaries were to proceed to San Diego by land, as the viceroy had ordered the governor to provide everything necessary; but if no provisions had been made, they should cross over to San Blas and await an opportunity to go by sea, because the viceroy had also consented to this alternative.[16]

On June 23d, 1772, Fr. Rafael Verger notified Fr. Palóu that he had arranged with the viceroy about the mules and horses which were to be procured from Sonora for Upper California, and also about the large and small stock which was to be furnished by the subjoined missions, and that the governor would receive instructions from Bucareli to the same effect. Palóu gives the different classes of animals, which were mainly intended for breeding purposes, distinctly as to sex, kind, etc. Only the species are named here. The respective missions were taxed to supply the stock as follows:

Mission San Borja: seventy-five cattle, forty-six horses, three mules, sixty-six sheep, and two hundred and twenty goats;

Mission Santa Gertrudis: forty-one horses, two mules, sixty-six sheep, and one hundred and ten goats;

Mission San Ignacio: twenty-one horses, seven mules, one hundred and fifty sheep, and fifty-six goats;

Mission Guadalupe: ten mules, two hundred and forty sheep, and ninety goats.

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[15] It was one of the great drawbacks that in the Spanish dominions the ecclesiastical superiors could not, without the secular government, determine how many missionaries should be stationed in the missionary field; they were only permitted to designate them.

[16] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxx, 216-220. See Appendix H.

All these animals were to be collected in suitable places and driven overland to the north in due time. Swine were to be brought to San Diego by ship directly from Sonora.[17]

The letter with a copy of the Concordato reached California at the end of August, 1772, and, says Palóu, "the news was received with the ringing of bells and a High Mass of thanksgiving for it to God."[18]

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[17] Ibidem, 220-222; tom. iv, 3.

[18] "La que se recibió con repique de campanas y con una Misa Cantada dando grácias á Dios por ello." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxx, 222.

CHAPTER XV.

The Franciscans Rejoice.—Fr. Junipero Serra's Letter.—Fathers Going North.—The Dominicans Arrive.—One of them Dies.—Fathers Retiring.—Drowning of the Dominican Superior.—The New Superior.—Barri Makes Charges against the Franciscans.—Palóu Delivers Mission Documents.—More Dominicans Arrive.—Palóu Formally Transfers Mission Loreto.—Agreement Between Dominicans and Franciscans.—Barri's Animosity.—Fails to Enlist the Dominicans.—Strange Conduct of Fr. Mora.

WHEN Fr. Palóu received the joyful news of the surrender of the missions, he directed the friars to prepare their inventories and the lists of the Indians at their respective establishments, so that when "our brethren and successors" arrived they should have nothing more to do than sign the papers, turn over the property, and embark at the first opportunity. The four Fathers named for the northern missions were told to proceed to San Fernando de Velicatá and on the first occasion to proceed overland to San Diego; but as two of the Upper California missionaries, Fr. Angel Somera and Fr. Pedro Cambon, had already retired from Mission San Gabriel to Lower California for the purpose of making their way to the College on account of ill-health, it appeared that, instead of four missionaries, six would have to go north. Not having authority to decide the matter, Fr. Palóu wrote to Fr. Serra and asked him whether or not more religious were needed. At the same time he reported to the Fr. Guardian and recommended that a few supernumeraries be sent to Monterey, lest in the case of sickness or death a missionary be left alone at his post for a long period. The delay in the arrival of the Dominicans afforded ample time for replies to both letters.[1]

Meanwhile Fr. Serra had found it necessary to present some grievances to the viceroy in person, and therefore Fr. Palóu's letter did not reach him; but from two of the first friars that retired from the peninsula to the mother-house, and whom

[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxi, 222-224.

he met at Tepic, Serra learned the contents of the letter which had gone north, and accordingly addressed the following interesting communication to Fr. Palóu before continuing his journey to the capital:

"Rev. Father and Presidente, Fray Francisco Palou.—Dearest Friend and Sir: If your Reverence has received my letter from San Diego, you will know of my embarkation which through the mercy of God was prosperous; for we dropped anchor at San Blas fifteen days after setting sail, and I disembarked on the fourth of the present month. It was then that I heard the good news that the total surrender of your missions had been accepted. Having arrived here on the seventh at this hospice of Tepic, I learned from Fathers Antonio Martínez and Vincente Imas (the rest have already departed for Mexico), that Your Reverence had despatched a courier to me for San Diego, who must have arrived there a little after my departure.

"Fr. Martínez tells me that the Rev. Fr. Guardian of the twenty and more missionaries, who still remain in the ancient missions, had destined four for the new ones, and that Your Reverence wanted to know from me whether more religious were needed. To this I reply that it seems to me a great pity that the religious must depart who are now on the point of returning from so great a distance at great expense and hardship. Fr. Cruzado has the license for which he asked and which is well due him, because he has labored and can do no more. Fr. Paterna merely at my request may be able to continue, if he take the more favorable view; but he also has his license to depart. I have asked for a third missionary for Monterey so that I can move about, because two Masses are indispensable there on all feastdays, one for the mission and one for the presidio. I shall believe that they will be pleased at the College to have the missions of San Buenaventura and Santa Clara as well as that of our Father San Francisco founded, which with the assistance I hope to obtain ought not to be difficult. On the other hand, it seems to me expedient that at some of the missions which lie far

apart there ought to be one or another supernumerary, especially when there is no need of economizing.

"For all that, to be brief, it would be my opinion that eight or ten should go up there until my return, or until the arrival of the first ship; then those that consider themselves superfluous might depart on that vessel, so that, supposing the return trip is tolerable, as is the case when the wind is favorable, not much would be lost. However, they will say that the maintenance of so many might render my proposition difficult. To this I reply that for the present there is enough to eat, and that the rations need not fail them. I hope to God that in much less than a year, which I believe it might take for the supplies to arrive, they need not perish.

"Fr. Martínez likewise tells me that Your Reverence is one of those that have permission from the Fr. Guardian to depart, though it is left to your choice. If Your Reverence determine that we live and die there, it will be of much consolation to me; but I only say that Your Reverence should act as God inspires you, and that I shall conform myself to the will of God. I also say that my proposition as to said number of missionaries is my wish and I hope that it may come to pass, if the tenor of the letter of the Rev. Fr. Guardian is in terms that are somewhat indifferent, or admit some kind of interpretation so that it take place; for if he commanded peremptorily that four should go there, and that the rest should return to the College, I have no more to say than that God remedy it, and in the meantime let us observe obedience.

"If there had been time to write this to the Fr. Guardian, to receive a reply, and a possibility to put the disposal of the religious in the hands of Your Reverence, all might be easily arranged; but I do not consider this possible. I set out tomorrow with the favor of God in pursuit of my journey. I recommend myself to all my dear brethren, known or unknown to me, and remain praying that God keep Your Reverence many years in His holy love and grace. Hospice of

Santa Cruz, Tepic, November 10th, 1772.—Fr. Junípero Serra." [2]

"It seems that Almighty God listened to the fervent aspirations of His faithful steward, who with so much solicitude sought laborers for the spiritual vineyard," says Fr. Palóu; for along with Serra's letter came one from the Fr. Guardian written on November 11th, 1772, a day later than the preceding one, which was in reply to Fr. Palóu's of September, in which the latter had recommended that at least eight or ten religious proceed from the peninsula to the north on the arrival of the Dominicans. The Fr. Guardian granted the request in these words: "I approve of the plan that the Fathers go to Monterey; I only fear that the government will not be willing to grant the allowance for the one that attends the presidio." [3]

Fr. Palóu, accordingly, decided that besides Fathers Uson and Figuer, who were already on the way, the following eight peninsula friars should go to Upper California: Fr. José Antonio Murguía, named by the College; Fr. Pedro Cambon, who had recovered his health and urgently asked to be returned to the north; Fathers Juan Prestamero, Gregorio Amurrio, Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, Francisco Palóu, Vincente Fuster, and Miguel Campa. The last named had received the appointment of presidente from the Fr. Guardian, which office he was to exercise in the absence of Fr. Palóu. He was to remain at Loreto after the arrival of the Dominicans, in order to receive the livestock granted by the viceroy for the Upper California missions, and with it to make his way to San Diego later. [4]

Meanwhile the Franciscans eagerly awaited the coming of their successors so that they might be able to turn over the missions. At length, on October 14th, 1772, ten Dominicans,

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[2] Palóu, "Vida," cap. xxxiv, 148-149; "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxi, 224-227. There are serious discrepancies between the two copies, and the reprint in Doyle's edition of the "Noticias" like the whole work is full of typographical errors.

[3] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxi, 227-228; "Vida," pp. 149-150.

[4] Palóu, "Noticias," ut supra, 228-229; tom. iv, 4.

nine priests and one lay-brother, arrived at Loreto in the *Lauretana*, and brought the news that their presidente with additional friars would soon arrive on the *Concepcion*, which had sailed from San Blas at the same time. They were all affectionately welcomed by the Franciscans. Several of the new-comers were ill, and one of them so much so that he died ten days after landing. The funeral for the deceased was held with all possible solemnity. Unfortunately for the Franciscans, who were anxious to leave, the Dominicans had brought no papers whatever, nor had any of them received any higher appointment, as they had expected to find their superior, Fr. Iriarte, who alone possessed authority, on the peninsula. For this reason the missions could not be formally transferred. Though the Franciscans at different times offered to withdraw, the Dominicans would not accept the missions, and therefore remained at Loreto merely as guests until their superior should appear. A few days after, on October 19th, the following Franciscans availed themselves of the permission to return to their College: Fathers Antonio Martinez, Francisco Echasco, Angel Somera, who had come from San Gabriel in the north, Martin Palácios, Vincente Imas, and Pedro Arriguibar. They safely reached San Blas eleven days later. On December 2d Fathers Fernando Parron and Manuel Lago followed them in the *Lauretana*.[5]

After waiting in vain a long time for the appearance of the *Concepcion*, the nine Dominicans proposed to let four of their number go to the neighboring missions in order to lessen the expenses of the mission at Loreto. Fr. Palóu readily consented. Two accordingly went to San José de Comundú and two others proceeded to San Xavier, leaving four Fathers and one lay-brother in great peace and harmony with the Franciscans at Loreto.[6] On Holy Thursday night, April 8th, 1773, a barkentine at last brought the sad news that the *Concepcion* had suffered shipwreck, that Fr. Presidente Iriarte and two Fathers had drowned, and that the rest, after

[5] "Noticias," tom. i, 229-230.

[6] "siguiendo con grande paz y union sin haber habido lo mas minimo."

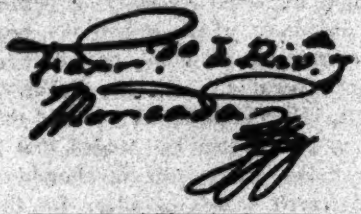
terrible sufferings both by sea and land, had reached Tamazúla. One other Father had died at Guadalajara, so that with the one who had passed away at Loreto the Dominicans lost five of their number before they were able to enter upon their duties in the California missions. Fr. Vincente Mora also received unofficial letters which informed him that he had been appointed presidente of the Dominican missionaries. Fr. Palóu thereupon offered to turn over the missions at once; but Fr. Mora declined to accept them until he had received official notice of his appointment. He agreed to accept the vestments, sacred vessels, and other goods intended for the five new missions which were to be founded between San Fernando de Velicatá and San Diego.[7]

In obedience, then, to the letter of the viceroy of June 4th, 1772,[8] Fr. Palóu transferred everything pertaining to those oft-mentioned missions, which it had not been possible to establish. Everything was minutely described and enumerated with great care, "because," says Fr. Palóu, "the governor of the peninsula, Don Felipe Barri, had told the said Fathers (Dominicans) as soon as they had landed, that we had robbed the missions by taking away from the churches and sacristies vestments and sacred vessels of silver for the missions of Monterey." After making themelves acquainted with the conditions, the Dominicans had found the charge of the malevolent governor to be false and so testified in a document drawn up in the beginning of December 1772:[9] "That to them it was evident that the charge of the governor was a false imputation, for nothing was missing at the old missions, and that all belonging to the new missions was separated in order to deliver it at the same time with the missions, and that the baggage of the two religious,[10] who were retiring, contained nothing more than their bedding, clothing, and some poor articles for their use; that they (the Dominicans)

[7] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxii, 229-232.
[8] See preceding chapter.
[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxiii, 232-235.
[10] The Franciscans Fr. Fernando Parron and Manuel Lago. "Noticias," tom. iv, p. 18.

so certified and if it were necessary they would swear to it upon the word of a priest." The Dominicans who signed the document were Fr. Vincente Mora, Fr. José Ibar, and Fr. José Estéves.[11]

"In like manner," Palóu continues his narrative, "I turned over the inventory of all the mules, horses, cattle, and other things which by order of the inspector had been taken from the missions for the expeditions to San Diego and Monterey by the captain of the presidio, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, together with the original receipt of the said captain, which he had left with his signature for the purpose of complying with or satisfying the command, as also for the purpose of showing who took them and how, so that in case less were found in the respective inventories of the missions



Fac-simile of Rivera's signature.

the said taking away of the horses and cattle might not be attributed to the missionaries."

"For the same reason I made the Rev. Fr. Presidente (of the Dominicans) see that the small flock of sheep which afterwards was taken from San Borja along with some young mares and a few mules of said Mission Santa Gertrudis had

[11] "Que á ellos les constaba era falsa impostura del señor gobernador, pues no faltaba nada de las misiones antiguas, y que lo perteneciente á las nuevas estaba separado para entregarlo al mismo tiempo que las misiones y que las cargas de los dos religiosos que se iban no contenian otra cosa que las camas, ropa y pobres utensilios de su uso, que lo certificaban y si necesario fuera lo juraran IN VERBO SACERDOTIS, firmando la certificacion los dichos tres Padres que fueron los Rev. Fr. Vincente Mora, Fr. José Ibar y Fr. José Estéves." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 19-20.

been entirely paid for by the two missions of San Diego and San Gabriel, with notes from the soldiers which they had given in payment for what they owed the said two missions, and they turned them over to San Borja and Santa Gertrudis, which the Rev. Fr. Presidente himself received to make payment with them at the royal warehouse. With this he appeared satisfied, for we had also been accused of having taken cattle and horses from the northern missions (those south of Velicatá) for the sake of Monterey, though all this had occurred before we had surrendered the said missions, and by order of his excellency, the Marqués de Croix. This was well known to the governor, the author of the misrepresentations; for his excellency in the first chapter of his Instructions, dated November 12th, 1770, had directed him as follows: 'The new governor in accord with the said Fr. Presidente, Fr. Francisco Palóu, will take the steps which may appear to him opportune and effective, in order that the founding of the said missions may be realized, and in order that they may not lack what is necessary for their support, availing himself, if it be necessary, of just measures in order that the ancient missions nearest the frontier aid the new ones.' Despite this command, and although it was known to said gentleman that the inspector-general had communicated to me the same things in the instructions he left me (which I also turned over to Fr. Presidente Mora), the governor spread abroad that we had robbed the missions and had taken cattle away; but through this care which we exercised the practise of the College of San Fernando became manifest." [13]

Fr. Palóu also states that he had turned over all the decrees issued by Inspector-General Galvez, the orders and regulations of Governor Matias de Armona, and copies of all the Memorials presented to the viceroy with the replies and favors received. The account-books showed that the missions had no debts, but that they possessed a fund of "two thousand sixty-three dollars and three and one-half reáles in silver; five thousand nine hundred and twelve dollars, seven reáles, and

[13] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 11-15; tom. i, cap. xxxiii, 235-236.

four cuartillas[13] due them at the royal warehouse for produce delivered there; and two thousand seven hundred and nine dollars and four reáles, and three and one-half cuartillas in notes due them, which altogether amounted to the sum of ten thousand and forty-six dollars, a gain of one thousand and eighty-five dollars over the amount left by the Jesuits five years before."[14]

The worthy presidente of the Fernandinos further explains how even the very alms given the Fathers by private persons were applied, which conclusively proves the disinterestedness of the friars whom Governor Barri and many later officials, besides a number of so-called historians, deemed it profitable to accuse of greed. "Likewise," says Fr. Palóu, "I showed him (the Dominican Fr. Mora) from the books of our síndico that the missionaries had applied the alms received for all the Masses, which had been asked of them, to the mission fund, thus making one amount of whatever was received; that from the account-book it was shown that the said alms during the five years of our administration amounted to one thousand six hundred and forty-one dollars, which sum the missionaries had added to help support the missions, besides all that remained from the sínodos or annual allowance, which had come from Mexico and which had been used in purchasing clothing and implements, whence in the inventories of the respective missions the increase in tools and furniture, as well for the house as for the church and sacristy could be explained, and without which the Indians would have lacked the annual assistance in clothing and ordinary food, which caused the same Indians to confess that they had never fared better."[15]

The *Concepcion* and *Lauretana* with eighteen Dominican friars, all priests, whose arrival the Franciscans had anxiously

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[13] The reál is equal to twelve and one-half cents; the cuartilla is one-fourth of a reál.

[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxiii, 237-238. "The result showed," Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 736, acknowledges, "that all was in perfect order."

[15] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxiii, 239.

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desired,[16] at last reached the port of Loreto, and the Fathers landed on the evening of May 12th, 1773, heartily welcomed by both missionary families. Three High Masses of thanksgiving were offered up; whereupon the Dominicans were assigned to the different missions by their presidente, Fr. Vincente Mora. Eight missionaries went to the establishments in the interior, six turned to the mission pueblos of Todos Santos, Santiago de los Coras, and San José del Cabo in the south, ten proceeded in a bark and two launches to Mulegé to receive the missions of the north, and Fr. Mora with one Father and the lay-brother remained at Loreto.[17]

As soon as the missionaries had been assigned to their respective field of labor, the formal transfer of the missions themselves took place. The beginning was made at Loreto. At the sound of the bell all the Indians assembled in the church, whereupon the roll was called. This was followed by a sermon, probably delivered by Fr. Palóu, though in relating the incident he does not say so, in which the natives were admonished to recognize henceforth in Fr. Presidente Mora and his companion their spiritual fathers and missionaries, who for that purpose had been sent by the king, because the Franciscans were to leave for the new missions of Monterey. Then Fr. Mora addressed the people. He told the Indians that the new missionaries would look upon them and attend to them as children, and he hoped they would all conduct themselves as such by being punctual at the catechism, the prayers, and everything else pertaining to mission order. This function concluded, the church and sacristy were delivered up with all their contents, and in like manner everything in the house or the field. Then three copies were made of the inventories, one for the viceroy, one for the Fr. Guardian, and one to remain in the mission archive, which were signed by both presidentes.[18]

On May 17th, five days after the arrival of the last Dominicans, the following agreement or concordato was drawn

[16] "Deseábamos con vivas ánsias la llegada de los Padres."
[17] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxiv, 240-241; tom. iv, 23.
[18] Palou, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxiv, 241-242.

up and signed by the two superiors, which is ample evidence and typical of the fraternal feeling existing between the two Orders:

"Inasmuch as fraternal union between their sons is in keeping with the will and pleasure as well of God as of our holy Patriarchs, Dominic de Guzmán and Francis of Assisi, finding ourselves in this corner of the world of Old and New California, occupied with the spiritual conquest and the conversion of the infidels, desirous of helping one another, not only for the welfare of the souls of our neighbors, but also of our own souls, in order that this union and assistance may reach even to the other life, before separating for our destination, we have agreed, in order to manifest to the world our true fraternal affection, that, in case any of the missionaries of our Father St. Dominic dies, each one of the missionaries of our Father St. Francis in said Upper California shall offer up for his soul three low Masses; and in case any of the sons of our Seraphic Patriarch dies, the sons of our Cherubic Patriarch shall do likewise. It will be the duty of the Fathers Presidentes of both missionary bands to communicate the death notices to their respective religious. This agreement and proof of our true brotherly feeling we both presidentes sign in the name of all the others, in order that it be evident to all the missionaries, as well to those now living, as to their successors, supplicating them in the name of both Patriarchs to guard this fraternal friendship so much in accordance with the Lord, His servants, and our holy Patriarchs. Mission and royal presidio of Our Lady of Loreto, May 17th, 1773. Fr. Vincente de Mora. Fr. Francisco Palóu." [19]

Two things remained to be attended to before Father Palóu could leave the peninsula. He had obtained permission to take along a number of Indian families and some livestock for the Upper California missions. On the last of December, 1772, the governor had received a letter from the

[19] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum. This Concordato was faithfully observed while there was a Dominican friar on the peninsula, as numerous letters from the Dominican Fathers of Lower California prove.

viceroy concerning both subjects with directions to aid in carrying out the plan, as the livestock especially was of great importance to the new missions. Barri, accordingly, notified Fr. Palóu that he had received such an order from the viceroy, but that it was necessary for him to know how many families were wanted and from which missions they were to be obtained, and likewise what kind and how many of each kind of animals were to be taken away. Fr. Palóu replied that he desired to have twenty-five Indian families who might volunteer from the frontier missions, and he would write to the same missions in order to ascertain how much livestock the respective missions possessed, and then inform the governor.

Fr. Palóu was surprised at the apparent solicitude of Barri in favor of the missions, since up to this time he had only antagonized them, so much so that he had given orders to the sergeant in charge of the guards at San Fernando de Velicatá to let nothing whatever pass from the old missions to the Upper California missions. The sergeant, understanding his master's mind, had accordingly prevented even a fanéga of corn, which the Fathers of San Diego had asked of the Fathers at Velicatá for planting, from reaching the northern mission. When Fr. Palóu expressed his surprise to the Dominican Fr. Mora, the latter, on reading the governor's communication to Palóu, replied, "This is owing to me." Fr. Mora then explained that the tricky governor had summoned him to his presence the day before, and, after communicating the viceroy's order, had said that it pertained to the Dominicans to prevent the execution of the viceroy's command. When Fr. Mora inquired how an order of the viceroy could be impeded, which was already contained in the Concordato between the Dominican and Franciscan superiors, the governor rejoined that this could be done very well, for the viceroy had added the clause "provided there be no obstacles to prevent it."[20] "Well, sir," Fr. Mora replied, "how can it be proved that there exists any obstacle for the missions to sell the cattle which they can spare?" When Barri saw that Fr. Mora could not be gained for his spiteful scheme, he said to

[20] "No habiendo inconveniente que lo impide."

the Dominican: "Well, I thought I was doing your Reverences a service; but now I want you to tell me what I shall do?" "Comply with the orders of his excellency to the letter," Fr. Mora answered, "if you do not wish to draw a reprimand upon yourself." It was after this interview that the governor had sent his communication to Fr. Palóu, but with evil intent, as we shall presently see.[11]

In the beginning of March 1773 Fr. Palóu sent the information demanded by the governor about the Indian families and livestock for the Monterey or Upper California missions; but because the names of the families had not been added, Barri declared he could not furnish any transportation or aid until he knew which families went. Though Fr. Palóu showed him that this was not possible, because the Indians were fickleminded and were liable to go back upon their promises, even though they had volunteered, and that in such a case others might offer themselves at the last moment, Barri refused to do anything. A personal interview at the home of the friars on the occasion when Fr. Mora received notice of his appointment to the presidency of the missions, failed to make him change his mind, except that he offered to furnish the required assistance if the presidente of the Dominicans consented. To the surprise of Fr. Palóu, Fr. Vincente Mora declared that he would first have to become acquainted with the state of the missions. Palóu replied that he already possessed all the latest reports of the missions, and therefore knew their condition; but the Indians might have destroyed a good deal, Fr. Mora objected. Fr. Palóu met this pretext by offering to go with him from mission to mission, but Fr. Mora found another excuse which was that he could not leave Loreto at that time until he had the mission in working order, probably in the month of October.

With good reason Fr. Palóu suspected that the Dominican presidente was acting in concert with the malevolent Governor Barri. Palóu remarks that he might have shown Fr. Mora that he was not obliged to turn over the missions until the terms of the Concordato between their prelates had been

11 Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxiv, 244; cap. xxxv, 245-248.

carried out, especially as it was approved by the viceroy, and that the viceroy had given orders to take the livestock in question to Upper California; but as the instructions of the viceroy contained the clause "provided there be no obstacles to impede it," obstacles could easily be found with the hearty approval of the governor, who at the slightest suggestion would have given a certificate to that effect to convince the viceroy, which would only have created bad feeling. To avoid any trouble or scandal, Fr. Palóu decided to drop the matter for the time, and to leave the task of settling everything under the direction of the Fr. Guardian of San Fernando College with Fr. Campa y Cos who had received the powers of a presidente from the College for that purpose.[22]

[22] Palóu, "Noticias," tom, i, cap. xxxv, 248-250; tom. iv, 3-4.

CHAPTER XVI.

Fr. Palóu Begins Journey to the North.—Death of Two Franciscans.—Palóu at Santa Rosalia.—Strange Action of the Dominican Presidente.—San Francisco de Borja.—Santa Maria.—Mission San Fernando.—The San Carlos Disabled.—Palóu Hastens Northward.—Division Line Between the Territory of the Dominicans and Franciscans.—A Hearty Te Deum.—Palóu Arrives at San Diego.—Fr. Campa's Difficulties.—Fr. Cambon's Long Term of Annoyances.—Palóu's Defense of his College.—Decision of the Viceroy in Favor of the Franciscans.

WHEN Fr. Palóu had concluded the transfer of Mission Loreto and left Fr. Campa there to wind up the affairs of the Franciscans, he in the afternoon of May 24th, 1773, embarked with all the goods belonging to the missions of Upper California, and with all that the retiring Fathers had delivered to him for the missions of Monterey. He was accompanied by ten Dominicans who were to be put in charge of the northern peninsula establishments. After three days the ship reached Mulegé. Here Palóu with seven Dominicans landed, whilst three Dominicans in the San Borja mission launch continued the voyage until they arrived in the Santa Gertrudis mission territory, whence they made their way by land to San Borja and Velicatá, their destination.

At Santa Rosalia de Mulegé Fr. Palóu formally turned the mission over to the Dominicans who had been assigned to the place, and then for the same purpose went to the missions of Guadalupe and San Ignacio. At the last-named establishment he wished to await the arrival of Fathers Murguía and Prestamero, both destined for Upper California; but they notified him that they should not be able to leave Guadalupe until after the feast of Corpus Christi. Palóu, therefore, passed on to Santa Gertrudis which he reached on the eve of Corpus Christi, June 17th. On the next day the feast was celebrated and the mission transferred to the two Dominican friars appointed for it. From here he expected to take some of the Indian families to the north, because the Indians were

numerous and many had volunteered; but when he proposed the matter to the Dominicans, one of them declared it could not be done, as their Fr. Presidente at Loreto had directed them not to allow a single Indian to be led away to Monterey. Fr. Palóu declared that he was surprised at this, as he had been in accord with Fr. Mora on this matter when leaving Loreto; that he had authority to enlist whomsoever he deemed suitable; and that in fact he had already taken along from Loreto itself three single men and one other who had come overland from Mission San José. He determined to remain so that the friars could write to Fr. Mora. The Dominicans replied that he need not be detained; that his word was sufficient; that he could have the Indians he desired, and that they could report to the Fr. Presidente together. If Fr. Mora disapproved, the said Indians should be returned from the frontier.

After selecting three Indian families and two single men, and leaving Fr. Gregorio Amúrrio behind to wait for the delayed friars, Palóu with a Dominican Father and the Indians set out for San Francisco de Borja on June 19th. He reached the mission on the 22d and found that the two Dominicans, who had landed near Santa Gertrudis, had already arrived. With them he experienced the same difficulties mentioned before. They showed him a written order from their presidente directing them not to permit anything whatever, nor any Indian, to be taken away for Upper California until he himself had learned the state of the missions; but after signing a paper the Dominicans let him take seven Indian families and five Indian youths. In the afternoon of the next day Fr. Palóu with Fr. Lasuen, who had had charge of this mission, started out for Santa Maria and arrived there on the morning of the 24th. Here they were welcomed by their sindico, Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega, who had been appointed by the governor to act as guide on their march to San Diego. Ortega had already brought over from Bay San Luis all the goods which Palóu had sent up by water. In order to give every one time to join the expedition, Palóu remained at Santa Maria about three weeks. Fathers Murguía,

Prestamero, and Amúrrio meanwhile came up, and corn was ground to provide food for the long journey through the northern part of the peninsula.

On July 13th he reached San Fernando de Velicatá. This mission, the only one which the Franciscans had been able to found in Lower California, had a church and priest's dwelling of adobe covered with tules. As many as four hundred Indians had been baptized since its establishment. It had a good-sized herd of cattle and sheep; corn and wheat had been planted, and the little wheat field had just yielded thirty fanégas of grain. After Palóu had formally transferred the mission and all its belongings to the Dominican friar, who had accompanied him from Loreto, the College of San Fernando de Mexico had ceded every claim upon the territory.

Palóu now received notice from Fr. Campa that the packet-boat *San Carlos* had arrived at the port of Escondido in such a disabled condition that she would have to be unloaded and go for repairs to San Blas. Her cargo consisted of corn and beans intended for San Diego. In view of this unwelcome news Fr. Palóu ceased enlisting more Indians lest he increase the dearth of food in the north, and determined to leave all the baggage at San Fernando in order to hasten forward to the relief of the northern missions. He therefore collected all the corn and beans obtainable, and begged Governor Barri to have the cargo of provisions left at Escondido and the goods remaining at Velicatá forwarded to San Diego as quickly as possible. Could he have looked into the future, he would have insisted that everything went along at once, and thus he would have escaped years of annoyance, as we shall see later.[1]

With five religious and six Indian families, escorted by fourteen soldiers under the command of Sergeant Ortega, Fr. Palóu left San Fernando de Velicatá at about one o'clock in the afternoon of July 21st, 1773. The whole party camped for the night at a place called Santa Úrsula, and about noon of the 22d they arrived at Viñaraco, where it was determined

[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxvi, 252-256; tom. iv, 24-25; "Vida," cap. xxv, 118.

to make a longer stay in order to rest the pack-mules. The holy Sacrifice was daily offered up in a temporary structure of boughs. Similar huts were erected for the soldiers and Indians. The feast of San Francisco Solano, Apostle of the Indians in South America, was celebrated with a High Mass of thanksgiving for having passed the desert of Lower California in safety. The saint was then chosen as patron for the remainder of the march.

On the 26th three soldiers were sent ahead with letters for San Diego announcing the coming of the expedition and asking for pack-mules to transport the supplies. On the 2d of August, the feast of Our Lady of Angels, or Portiuncula, all received the sacraments in order to gain the famous indulgence, and each of the six priests celebrated Holy Mass in the brushwood chapel. The march was resumed on the next day; but, although the animals had somewhat recuperated, it was found necessary to proceed in easy stages and to take advantage of places where pasture and water abounded. When the weary wanderers had traveled about seventy leagues, about half a league from the spot called San Anteójenes, or Grulla, Fr. Antonio Paterna of Mission San Gabriel and Fr. Tomas de la Peña appeared with a drove of pack-mules. On receiving the letters of July 26th, they had hastily collected all the mules they could procure, and had come to welcome their brethren. After resting a day and a half at San Anteójenes the journey was continued.

"On August 19th," Fr. Palóu relates, "we arrived at the place which in the Concordato, approved by the royal council and confirmed by his excellency, had been designated as the terminus of the missions of the Reverend Dominican Fathers and the beginning of those of the College of San Fernando. Bringing forward a large cross, which had been constructed on the preceding day from the wood of an alder-tree in the Arroyo of San Juan Bautista, the following inscription was placed upon it: *'División de las Misiones de Nuestro Padre Santo Domingo y de Nuestro Padre San Francisco, Año de 1773.'*[2] We then planted it upon a very high

[2] "Dividing line of the missions of our Father St. Dominic and of our Father St. Francis in the year 1773."

rock, which is on the very road, by fastening it in a cleft offered by the rock itself as though it had been prepared for the very purpose of serving as a pedestal for the Cross. While we raised and venerated it, we sang with extraordinary joy[3] the *Te Deum Laudamus* in thanksgiving to God, our Lord, for having already reached the land of our destination. The holy Cross was not placed on the new point of the Sierra Madre which ends before reaching the coast, as is indicated in the Agreement, because said point is more than three leagues from the public highway, but at the end of said sierra, which we religious, who made the examination, and the soldiers with the sergeant who knew said road, judged to be parallel with the said point five leagues distant from the said Arroyo de San Juan Bautista, and about fifteen from the port of San Diego, so that where the Cross marks the dividing line a downward course begins to a very high elevation in the land below until the road is about to reach the place called De los Médanos where we made a stop on the 20th. Thence we continued our journey, tarrying only as long as was necessary to attend to the animals, and arrived at San Diego on the morning of the 30th of August. We were welcomed with demonstrations of great joy by all, and the soldiers saluted by discharging their artillery and other firearms, to which the soldiers who had escorted us replied in kind; and the new Indian Christians greeted us with their sweet canticles in praise to our God whom a little while before they did not know."[4]

Fr. Palóu had sent word to the comandante at Monterey to furnish pack-mules for the purpose of bringing up the supplies from Velicatá; but as no reply had arrived he resolved to wait somewhat longer. On the 19th of September the mules, eighty-two head, appeared, and on the 22d set out from San Diego for San Fernando in charge of Sergeant Ortega, his soldiers, and muleteers to fetch the goods and provisions along with the few missionaries that had remained on the peninsula.[5]

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[3] "Cantamos con extraordinaria alegria."

[4] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxvii, 256-260; cap. xxxviii, 260.

[5] Ibidem, cap. xxxviii, 260; cap. xxxix, 265.

On May 27th, 1773, three days after Fr. Palóu had departed from Loreto, six Franciscans sailed for Mexico from the same port in the *Concepcion* in order to retire to the mother-house. They were the Fathers Juan Gaston, Juan Sancho, Vincente de Santa Maria, Juan Antonio Rioboo, Antonio Linares, and Francisco Javier Tejada. The last-named friar through illness had not reached the peninsula until April 1772. On June 15th Fathers Andrés Villaumbrales and Benito Sierra with the síndico of the Franciscans, Don Manuel García Morales, followed in the same schooner. At Cerralvo the ship took on board the Fathers who had been stationed in the southern missions, so that after that date none of the Friars Minor remained on the peninsula except Fr. Cambon at Velicatá and Fathers Campa and Miguel Sanchez at Loreto. The latter had been stationed at Santiago de los Coras and came up to stay with Fr. Campa temporarily. Fr. Campa, who held the authority of a presidente, as we have already stated, remained in order to settle on the spot all matters concerning the Franciscans.[6]

Of the Fathers that retired to Mexico two died on the way. One was Fr. Juan Leon de Medina Beitia. He had originally come from the Spanish Franciscan province of Cantabria, and on his arrival in Lower California had been stationed at Santa María de los Angeles and then at San Ignacio. When he reached San Blas he found that the crew and passengers of the Philippine galleon, which had just arrived, were stricken with a pestilential disease, but had no priest. He promptly volunteered to assist the sick and administer the sacraments to the dying. While attending to the suffering people Fr. Beitia himself fell a victim to the dread malady and died at Tepic. The body was buried in the Franciscan church of Santa Cruz at the same place. The other friar, whom death prevented from reaching the College of San Fernando, was Fr. Andrés Villaumbrales, who had been in charge of Mission Guadalupe. He had been a member of the Spanish province of Purisima Concepcion before joining the Fernandinos. He

[6] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxxvi, 251-252; tom. iv, 3-4.

attended his sick companion Fr. Beitia until the latter's death. After the burial of his companion Fr. Andrés resumed his journey to Mexico, but fell sick at Guadalajara and died. His remains were interred in the monastery of San Francisco which belonged to the Jaliscan province. He was the fourth friar whom the Franciscans lost in connection with Lower California. The other two were Fr. Juan Moran, who died as a victim of the pest at San José del Cabo, and Fr. José de Herrera, who passed away at Rosario in Sinaloa. Fr. José Leguna may have been a fifth; he apparently passed away before reaching California.[7]

At Loreto Fr. Campa y Cos encountered unexpected difficulties in his efforts to wind up the affairs of the Franciscans on the peninsula. According to the Agreement drawn up between the two superiors of the Dominicans and Franciscans, which was approved and ordered executed by the viceroy, a herd of cattle, horses, and small stock was to be collected from certain missions and driven to Upper California principally for breeding purposes. Fr. Vincente Mora, the Dominican presidente, had objected to the execution of the Agreement until he had visited all the missions; this he hoped to accomplish by the month of October. To avoid unfriendly feeling Fr. Palóu had submitted to the ungracious pretext, but left the settlement of the matter in the hands of Fr. Campa, whilst he himself proceeded on his way to San Diego. No steps, however, were taken, to carry out the order of the viceroy; on the contrary, as Fr. Campa on April 4th, 1774, ten months after the arrival of the Dominicans, reported to Fr. Palóu, Fr. Vincente Mora and the governor wrote to Bucareli for a revocation of the clause in the Agreement relating to the large and small stock to be sent to Upper California. Fr. Campa thereupon determined to proceed to Mexico in order to lay the matter before the respective authorities.

In the meantime Fr. Sánchez, Campa's companion, went to join Fr. Cambon at Velicatá. Fr. Cambon had met with similar obstacles in trying to remove the personal effects of the

[7] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. ii, 12; tom. iv., 4-5.

missionaries and the mission goods which had been stored up there awaiting an opportunity to transport them to the Monterey missions. At the instigation of the Dominicans, it was said, the governor had laid an embargo upon all these goods, even upon the bundles that contained the personal effects of the Franciscans, on the ground that they belonged to the Lower California establishments, thus practically stamping the Franciscans as thieves. When Fr. Sánchez reached Velicatá Fr. Cambon had been hoping for relief for more than a year, as a mere guest of the Dominican Fathers stationed at the mission. Seeing that his presence was to no purpose, Fr. Sánchez seized the opportunity of reaching Monterey, when Don José Francisco de Ortega, his family, and a company of soldiers arrived on their way from Sinaloa to San Diego. On August 23d, 1774, he set out with some of the released goods, and was welcomed by the friars at San Diego on September 26th. On October 28th he reported the situation to Fr. Palóu at Monterey, who in the absence of Fr. Serra acted as presidente of the Monterey missions.[8]

As the Franciscans had been accused of robbing the missions, Fr. Palóu, the superior of the friars in Lower California, thought it incumbent upon him to refute the absurd charge, lest future generations should consider his brethren guilty. He accordingly states the case so clearly and dispassionately that it leaves nothing to be desired. "The honor of my Apostolic College of San Fernando," he writes,[9] "which administered the missions of Old California with so much disinterestedness the five years during which they were in its charge, oblige me to leave in writing some notes very deserving of not being forgotten. In order to be able to offer a defense in case it should be necessary to defend the honor of the holy habit, I cannot but leave them pointed out, enjoining whoever may read them to proper secrecy, and that he aid us to pray God for those that persecute and wrongfully accuse us. Before proceeding to describe what happened to us, as well on said peninsula a little before we departed from

[8] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 3-6; 45.
[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv., 7-8.

there, as after our departure, I solemnly declare this one point, that it is not my intention to blame any one, but only to leave information upon these pages of what has occurred, in order that if some day any one should want to venture to besmirch the religious conduct of my brethren in the administration of these missions, they can vindicate themselves by means of the relation of what has transpired. I shall write only a simple narrative with reference to the embargo on the boxes that contain the utensils, books, and clothing of the religious who had managed the said missions, and omit many other things, because only this was brought before the tribunal of his excellency. If I knew of others, I should do the same in order that for the required defense there may remain information of what happened."

Fr. Palóu then at great length repeats and explains what has already been stated, that Governor Felipe Barri, even before they landed, told the Dominicans that the Franciscans had robbed the missions of church goods and other articles; that he had repeated the charges on two different occasions; that the Dominicans had refused to believe the accusation, and had in writing certified to the fact that nothing was missing at the missions, as the inventories signed by the soldier comisionados plainly proved; that surplus vestments and other church goods had been accepted from different missions by express orders of Don Galvez, the inspector-general, for the purpose of saving expense to the royal treasury which would otherwise have to supply these articles; and that such of the said goods as had not already been transported by sea were packed up and were now at Velicatá awaiting removal to San Diego by land. Next Fr. Palóu shows that after directing that five new missions should be established between San Fernando and San Diego, which the animosity of Governor Barri had prevented the Franciscans from founding, Viceroy de Croix had ordered that these five missions should be furnished with the necessary church goods from the three confiscated colleges and churches of the expelled Jesuits at Guadalajára, Guanájuato, and Zacatécas, and that these vestments, sacred vessels, etc., were packed up separately and were await-

ing at Velicatá the good pleasure of the Dominicans. Fr. Palóu remarks that if it was right for the viceroy to extract these articles from the Jesuit establishments in Mexico for the benefit of the Lower California missions, it could not be wrong for the same viceroy, under whose authority Don Galvez had acted, to remove surplus articles of the same kind from the Lower California missions for the benefit of the Upper California establishments. After all, Galvez had made full compensation for these things to the old missions, as was stated in a previous chapter. Moreover, there lay packed up separately at Velicatá another quantity of goods consisting of household articles and field implements which had been received from the Franciscan College of San Fernando, and which had been purchased with alms amounting to $5000, which Viceroy de Croix had turned over to the síndico of said College for that very purpose, but which likewise would be transferred to the Dominicans, as the viceroy had directed. Finally, Fr. Palóu further says that he had shown the Dominicans before he left Loreto, that there was at Velicatá a fourth lot of chests and bundles which contained books, clothing, pious images, and other articles which had been supplied for the personal use of the Franciscan religious who retired to the College in Mexico, that these friars had not taken them along, because at the College there was no lack of such things, whereas they were needed in Upper California; that many of these things had been purchased out of the savings from the annual allowance of two hundred and seventy-five dollars granted to every one of the twenty missionaries that had been assigned to the Lower California missions; that he had invited the Dominicans at Loreto to see for themselves that the baggage contained nothing else than the personal effects of the friars; and that the Dominicans had declined to make an examination, because they had declared themselves satisfied that the bundles contained nothing more, and that they were convinced of the malice of Governor Barri, who made charges to the contrary.

Palóu, furthermore, relates what has already been stated in a general way, that in the beginning of December 1772 when

Fathers Parron and Lago were about to withdraw from the peninsula, he invited the governor to examine their baggage, since the Fathers were well aware that he had directed two soldiers to secretly question the Indians in the service of the Franciscans, and even to threaten them to say that these friars had carried away goods belonging to the missions; that the governor had declared in writing that the matter pertained not to him, but to the Dominican successors; that thereupon he (Palóu) had urged the Dominicans to examine the baggage, but that they had refused to do so, and moreover, had declared in writing at the foot of Fr. Palóu's letter that "it was true that the governor had told them on three occasions what I referred to, that we had extracted from the churches of the missions vestments and silverware, but that it was evident to them that such was a falsehood on the part of the governor, since nothing was missing from the old missions; that what belonged to the (five) new missions stood apart for the purpose of being turned over at the same time with the missions; that the baggage of the two religious, who departed, contained nothing except their bedding, clothing, and poor articles for their own use; and that they so certified, and if necessary, would swear to it upon the word of a priest." This was signed by the three Dominicans, Fr. Vincente Mora, Fr. José Ibar, and Fr. José Estéves.

When the two Franciscans were at last permitted to depart, Fr. Palóu sent the testimony of the three Dominicans along to the Fr. Guardian with the request that he present it to the viceroy in order that the governor might be instructed to cease delaying the goods belonging to Upper California. The Fr. Guardian thought this action unnecessary, inasmuch as Barri had declared it did not concern him, and as the Dominicans had expressed themselves satisfied, he believed that there would be no further obstacles to the removal of the goods. Lest the malevolent governor, however, cause more trouble, Fr. Junípero Serra, who happened to be in the city of Mexico in the interest of the Monterey missions, embodied the matter in his Memorial of March 13th, 1773, in these words: "Various pious persons of Tepic, Compostela, and

vicinity, having been made acquainted with the necessities which we suffered there, promised me that at my return to the missions they would give me some alms of corn and other provisions for our new Christians. I entreat Your Excellency to be pleased to give orders to the commissary at San Blas that he should admit into the bark what I may collect as alms, after having examined it as he likes, expressing on the invoice that it belongs as private property to the missions, and is not to be examined by the official at the presidio. The same I beg as to the goods which are detained at Loreto, consisting of books, images, missionary crucifixes, and other articles and utensils which are for the personal use of the religious of our College, who have set out and must leave the Old California missions, and go to Mexico where nothing is wanting them, and which they have donated for the new missions where everything is wanting. Having already seen these goods inside and outside, the Rev. Dominican Fathers with their own eyes discovered with what injustice Governor Felipe Barri has proclaimed them to be valuables stolen from the missions. If, perhaps, said bales cannot be transported by land to San Diego, Your Excellency could command said governor to forward them by sea to the port of San Blas, and that the commissary of that port place them on the bark which may sail for Monterey with the same expression on the invoice that they belong privately to the missions."

To this request of Fr. Serra the royal council replied in these words: "Concerning the fourth point, the commissary of San Blas shall always admit into the bark, when there is a ship ready, and after having examined them as he may choose, the *memorias* of alms of corn and other eatables promised to said Fr. Serra for the missionary Fathers with the remark on the invoice that they belong privately to them, and are not subject to the official of the presidio; and concerning the bales which are found detained at Loreto and containing books, images, and other valuables and utensils, the governor of California shall be directed not to impede, but *rather to facilitate their transportation to the missions.*" This resolution of the vice-royal council was confirmed by a decree of May 12th,

1773, and both the commissary at San Blas and Governor Barri were officially notified to that effect, as well as the comandante of the Monterey presidio.

Unfortunately this decree could not reach the peninsula until months later, so that Fr. Palóu and his brethren were subjected to fresh annoyances from an unexpected quarter, as well as from the spiteful Barri. While Fr. Mora was only acting superior of the Dominicans he appeared to be in perfect accord with the Franciscans, and unwilling to aid the governor in vexing Fr. Palóu; but no sooner had he received the document appointing him presidente of the Dominican missions, as we have already indicated, than he seemed to be under the influence of Barri to such a degree that only abject fear can account for his acts. The governor doubtless dreaded the influence of the fearless Fr. Palóu, and therefore, endeavored to shift all responsibility upon the timid Fr. Mora, while the former was still on the peninsula. This will account for the action of the unscrupulous Barri related in the next chapter.[18]

[18] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 8-23; tom. i, cap. xxxiii, 232-235; cap. xxxv, 248-249.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fr. Palóu's Request.—Barri's Last Chance to Annoy.—His Accusations.—Unworthy Conduct of Fr. Vincente Mora.—Fr. Campa's Reply.—Fr. Mora's Lame Excuse.—Fr. Serra Communicates the Viceroy's Decision.—Letter to Fr. Mora.—The Governor's Retreat.—The Dominicans at San Fernando.—Embargoed Goods Released.—Fr. Mora's Remarkable Letter to Fr. Serra.—More Delay.—Barri Blames Fr. Mora.—The Viceroy's Last Orders.—List of Franciscans.

BEFORE his departure from Loreto Fr. Palóu had notified the governor that he had a cargo of goods intended for Monterey, and asked him to furnish a vessel to transport them to Bay San Luis. He also prayed him for assistance to forward the freight from there to San Diego. Barri at once replied in the most gracious terms that the barkentine *Nuestra Señora del Pilár* was at his service. He, moreover, accompanied the note with an open letter to Sergeant José Francisco de Ortega at Santa Maria by means of which, in obedience to the viceroyal instructions, he directed that officer with fourteen soldiers to escort the missionaries and their belongings, and to provide the necessary pack-mules and provisions. After reaching Velicatá, news from the north, as we know, compelled Fr. Palóu to hasten onward with all the provisions which he could collect for the relief of the distressed missions, leaving Cambon behind to come up later with the mission goods and the personal effects of the Fathers. From Velicatá, however, he informed the governor of the situation and notified him that all the pack-mules which he might obtain from the presidio and the missions would hurry down from San Diego for the goods left at Velicatá as well as for the supplies from the *San Carlos*.[1]

"Governor Barri," says Bancroft,[2] "saw here a last opportunity to annoy the Franciscans." On receiving Palóu's let-

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[1] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 23-26. See last chapter.
[2] "History of Texas," vol. i, 737.

ter the wily Barri in all haste despatched an order to Sergeant Pedro Amador at San Fernando de Velicatá [3] commanding him to seize all the mules coming from San Diego, whether they belonged to the presidio or the missions, to load them with the corn and beans brought up from Loreto to Bay San Luis, to convey it to San Diego, but under no consideration to allow anything claimed by the Franciscans to be taken away. In vain did Fr. Cambon plead for permission to send along some chocolate and the underwear of the missionaries, of which they stood sorely in need. The request was the more just as most of the animals belonged to the Upper California missions and many of them had not a full load. The sergeant replied that he had orders not to permit the least article belonging to the Fernandinos to leave Velicatá. [4]

On the last day of December, 1773, Fr. Palóu with amazement received the report of this high-handed action, but he refused to believe that the governor had given such orders, although Fr. Cambon had informed him that an embargo had been placed on the goods stored at Velicatá. He was soon undeceived by a letter from Fr. Campa dated Loreto, November 15th, 1773. Campa wrote that he had been assured that, when Governor Barri and Fr. Vincente Mora were at Purisima Mission, the former, at the instigation of the latter, it was reported, had sent orders to the said sergeant not to let the least piece of Franciscan property pass out of Velicatá; that later Fr. Mora, unasked, had told him that the governor had indeed sent such an order, but that he (Mora) had tried to prevent it, and had consented to examine the articles with the governor secretly in order not to break the harmony with Barri. [5] To this remarkable statement Fr. Campa replied, that this examination could have been made a year before;

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[3] It is significant that Barri waited until Palóu had left the country before giving this order.

[4] "Que de ninguna manera dejase sacar de la frontera lo mas minimo de las cargas que habian dejado los Padres de San Fernando."

[5] "por no quebrar la armonia habia condescendido, pero de palabra."

that both he and the governor had been requested to do so in writing; that now they should rest satisfied as to what the bales and chests contained, because from the inventories it was evident that nothing was missing from the missions which the Dominicans had received by inventory and personal transfer; that whatever was missing from the churches and sacristies had been taken for the Upper California missions by order of the inspector-general, and due receipts had been left for every article; that what was missing from the house or the field had been removed as early as 1768 and 1769 by Don Fernando de Rivera by order of the same authority, the receipts had been given, and all was now in Upper California for the last four years; that for those articles search would be made in vain at Velicatá; that what was accepted from the missions near the frontier in the shape of church goods and had not been transported by sea to San Diego was now at Velicatá in virtue of the same authority; that the receipts for such goods were in the hands of the Dominicans, as he (Mora) well knew, and, therefore, why permit the scandalizing of the poor Indians who knew naught of this? What opinion must they form of the Franciscans without a shadow of reason accused of stealing church and other property?[6]

The Dominican presidente endeavored to appease the indignant Fr. Campa with the lame excuse that he had asked for nothing; that he had done nothing more than to consent in order to preserve harmony with the governor, and in order that the latter might convince himself that among the embargoed goods there was no property belonging to the old missions; that for this reason he had advised an examination between themselves only; and that even if there had been the least article, he would have seen to it that the holy habit suffered no disgrace. "This he said," Fr. Campa remarks, "as though it were necessary to gratify said governor, or as though there were no other remedy."[7] That it was not neces-

[6] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 27-30.

[7] "Esto dijo como si fuese necesario satisfacer á dicho gobernador ó no hubiese otro medio."

sary to convince the governor, nor even the Dominicans, was evident, says Palóu; for the decree of the viceroy directed that the missions should be turned over to the Dominicans and receipts demanded for everything so transferred without giving an account of what had been consumed or removed; but account had been given nevertheless, and Barri was well aware of it. Thus it was that by reason of the governor's malice, to which Fr. Mora through unworthy fear acquiesced, the Franciscans were made to suffer vexations, humiliations, and painful inconvenience for many months, and two of them were detained on the peninsula for nearly two years! In view of the information received Fr. Palóu instructed Fr. Cambon not to resist the examination of their own as well as of the Monterey mission property, but to have every piece numbered and described as in the inventory, to demand a certificate that the examination had taken place, and to ascertain whether the goods might be removed to the north; if the answer were in the negative, he was to deposit the goods in writing and then to come on to San Diego.

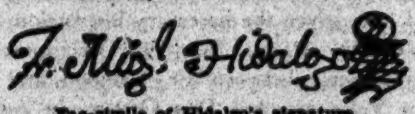
At this juncture, May 11th, 1774, Fr. Junipero Serra arrived at Monterey from Mexico and resumed charge of the missions. He at once communicated the viceroy's decision concerning the detained goods to Don Rivera y Moncada, the comandante of the presidio of Monterey, and asked him to send mules, muleteers, and soldiers down to Velicatá for all the property belonging to the northern missions and Fathers. Rivera promptly agreed, but suggested that Governor Barri be notified of the viceroy's action of May 12th, 1773, lest any trouble be experienced with the subordinates at Velicatá. Rivera accordingly wrote to Barri and informed him that, if he had no objections, pack-mules would be sent after the embargoed property. At the same time Fr. Serra addressed a letter to the Dominican presidente, Fr. Vincente Mora, thanking him and his brethren for the charity which they had manifested in keeping Fr. Cambon so long at their mission of Velicatá, and asked him to allow the Father to continue there until the embargoed goods could be removed, which

would take place soon, as the viceroy had commanded that their removal should not be impeded, but facilitated; that he knew the poverty of the mission; and that all expenses incurred on account of Fr. Cambon would be paid by the College síndico to the procurator of the Dominicans in Mexico. Moreover, he inquired whether Fr. Campa, on departing for Mexico, had left information regarding the herd of thirty cows and fifteen mares, which had been purchased and paid for by the Franciscan síndico, Manuel García Morales, besides other things obtained from the Loreto warehouse, for which he (Fr. Mora) had received checks from Fr. Palóu and part of which, amounting to eight hundred dollars, he (Serra) had caused to be paid at Guadalajara through the síndico of that city.

The governor must have received an order from the viceroy, and he must have given the necessary instructions to his lieutenant at Velicatá, Alférez Don José Velásquez; for after some correspondence between Fr. Cambon and Velasquez, and between Velasquez and Don Ortega, in August, 1774, Velasquez declared that he had no orders to detain the personal and the mission property of the Franciscans. Then a new difficulty arose on the part of the local Dominican missionaries, Fathers Miguel Hidalgo and Pedro Gandiaga. The former showed Fr. Cambon three different orders from his superior, Fr. Vincente Mora, which under obedience commanded him under no condition to permit Fr. Cambon to remove a thread from the goods detained at Velicatá; and if the attempt should be made, he should invoke the aid of the soldiers in order to prevent it.[8] On learning that Velasquez could not detain the embargoed property, Fr. Hidalgo found

[8] "Todavia ocurria otra dificultad para poder sacar dichas cargas, y era acerca de los Padres ministros de Velicatá, Fr. Miguel Hidalgo y Fr. Pedro Gandiaga, por hallarse el principal de los ministros con tres ordenes de su P. Presidente, Fr. Vincente Mora, en que le mandaba con precepto de reserva, que de ninguna manera permita que el P. Cambon saque una hilada de las cargas que estan detenidas; y en caso de intentarlo pida en forma de derecho el auxilio de la tropa."(Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 42.)

himself in a dilemma, and therefore asked Fr. Cambon to wait until he could communicate with Fr. Mora, so that the latter might revoke his command as the governor had done; but just then he received a letter from his superior notifying him that Fr. Serra had given notice that Fr. Cambon would stay at the mission a while longer, and that he had no objection. No mention was made as to the goods, though Fr. Serra had informed Fr. Mora regarding the viceroy's decision. By implication, therefore, the Dominicans concluded that Fr. Mora intended that his orders should remain in force. An escape from this unpleasant situation was, however, discovered. Fr. Hidalgo had been told to invoke the aid of the military in case of necessity. He now questioned Velásquez whether he would assist him in detaining the property. That officer declared he would not assist him, inasmuch as he had orders not to



Fac-simile of Hidalgo's signature.

prevent its removal. Fr. Hidalgo asked him to state as much in writing, and Velásquez agreed. Then Fr. Hidalgo decided that he was not bound to execute what he could not effect without the soldiers when they refused to aid him. With this the trouble created by the malicious governor had an end.[9]

For want of more pack-mules, Fr. Miguel Sánchez, who had come up from Loreto after Fr. Campa had sailed for Mexico, loaded only three of the animals with the most necessary articles belonging to the friars, and then accompanied Don Ortega and the Sinaloa troops[10] to San Diego. He remained there with Ortega whilst the immigrant settlers and their families continued on their way to Monterey, which they reached on October 28th. At about the same time Rivera received a letter from the governor in which Barri threw all blame for the exasperating delay of the mission goods and

[9] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 30-44.

[10] See preceding chapter.

the effects of the friars upon Fr. Vincente Mora, and declared that it was Fr. Mora who had commanded the Dominican missionaries at Velicatá to prevent the removal of the cargoes, and to call upon the military for assistance to execute the order; that he (Barri) had done nothing more than send directions to the officer in command to lend his aid to the missionaries when they demanded it.

The letter of Fr. Mora in reply to Fr. Serra's, however, presents a totally different version of the affair. It reads as follows: "Very Rev. Fr. Presidente, Fr. Junipero Serra:—Very Dear Brother and esteemed Father.—I received the letter of Your Reverence dated June 3d of the current year, in which you communicate to me the information which upon returning to your beloved mission you received with regard to the *cargas*. I have felt it very much. Let it not be thought by any of my brethren that I have been the cause of the long delay, as some have supposed, a matter which in truth has been to me a source of similar keen sorrow, since I have done nothing whatever which was not directed to reflect credit upon the Seraphic Order, which the certificate proves that I gave to the Rev. Fr. Francisco Palóu, and many other things which I transacted with this *caballero gobernador* before our taking possession was accomplished, in order that the said *cargas* might not be detained as he wanted. This is all known to the Rev. Fr. Palóu and many other religious who were at this mission of Loreto; but why tax the patience of Your Reverence? You shall be convinced how far the malice and spite against every one extends who opposes the destructive maxims of this caballero.

"One day we found ourselves very much frightened by his proceedings. He had come twice with his armed soldiers against the Fathers, and at one of these visits he placed himself at the very door of our habitation, he acting as public crier, to publish a very scandalous[11] proclamation, convoking at the sound of an instrument all the soldiers, settlers, and Indians, and announcing the penalty of the gallows to all that

[11] "un bando bien escandalso."

would not take up the arms prepared when he should affix the call. He then at once commanded the soldiers to prepare the lances and to provide themselves with powder and ball. Against whom was this armament? The impression was left that it was against the Fathers;[12] but God must have willed and our holy Patriarchs that it turned against the governor himself.

"Concerning the presence of Fr. Cambon at the frontier to guard the *cargas*, there is no objection whatever on my part; with the greatest pleasure, without any compensation, he may share what the poverty of that mission offers, for it does not look well that among brethren there be such severe formality. I have charged the Fathers of San José Comundú with the care of the mules which Fr. Palóu left there; in what condition they will be I do not know. There are about thirty cows, which were purchased from Gerardo. I was given charge of them by agreement with Fr. Presidente Palóu, in order that I might have wherewith to stock the rancho of this mission; they will be replaced from the most northern missions after you have given me timely notice for the necessary orders.

"May Your Reverence rest assured that what contributes to the welfare of your missions I shall do without repugnance (although some think otherwise); but works will tell, which are a surer indicator of a tender affection with which I devote myself to Your Rev. Paternity and to all my[13] brethren,

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[12] Fr. Serra and Fr. Palóu must have smiled at reading this statement of the over-timid Fr. Mora. The latter, it is plain, was driven through mortal fear of the bluffing Barri to act with so little consideration and justice towards his predecessors. Barri knew that he was not dealing with a man like Palóu, Serra, or Lasuen.

[13] That is to say, the Franciscans. St. Francis and St. Dominic both are spoken of as "our fathers" by the members of either Order. Nor did the unworthy treatment received at the hands of the frightened Fr. Mora make any difference in the affection with which the Franciscans regarded the Dominicans, as we shall have occasion to show later. They well understood who was the cause of these years of annoyance to themselves and of scandal to the poor neophytes.

whom I wish every happiness, and I pray the Almighty to give them strength to continue with their apostolic zeal in the conversion of these souls, and that Your Reverence may enjoy your life many years, and that you may not have a life which passes in vain, but be occupied in things to your liking. —Mission of Loreto, July 30, 1774. Your Rev. Paternity's, etc.—Fray Vincente Mora."[14]

Fr. Cambon now entreated Fr. Serra to put an end to his exile by sending down the necessary pack-mules for the removal of the goods. Unfortunately there was more delay. Don Rivera declared that he would first have to execute the viceroy's order which commanded that another examination of the port of San Francisco should be made; but that on his return he would give his attention to the matter. Fr. Francisco Dumetz was accordingly sent with the train of pack-mules which left Monterey on January 13th, 1775. Governor Barri must have been frightened at the turn things were taking, for before Dumetz arrived at Velicatá Fr. Cambon received a letter from Barri dated February 28th, 1775. The governor again affirmed that not he but Fr. Vincente Mora had been the cause of the delay, as the copy of a letter from the viceroy addressed to Fr. Mora would show. A copy of this letter accompanied the governor's communication. Bucareli wrote, "In accordance with the opinion of the fiscal and by decree of this date I have acceded to the request of Your Reverence which you made in your communication of October 10th of the past year as to opening, viewing, and examining the *cargas* which are detained at the mission of San Fernando de Velicatá, which belong to the Rev. missionary Fathers of the College of San Fernando, and in consequence I command the governor of the peninsula, Don Felipe Barri, to carry out my determination. This notice requests and charges Your Reverence for your information and execution under this condition that whatever the packages may contain must be forwarded to those Fathers, as it is all to serve in the recently established missions of San Diego and Monterey.

[14] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 44-50.

May God keep Your Reverence many years. Mexico, August 24th, 1774.—Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa." Governor Barri here adds the remark, "This is a copy of the original of His Excellency Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa, which the Rev. Fr. Presidente, Fr. Vincente Mora, has let me see today, on the day on which he forwarded it to me, the order of His Excellency, which it is said herein that he sent to me, not having as yet come to my hands. In proof of its exactness I sign at the royal presidio of Loreto on February 28th, 1775. D. Felipe Barri." [18]

When Fr. Cambon presented this document to the Dominican Fathers Miguel Hidalgo of Velicatá, Galisteo of Mission Rosario de Viñaraco, and Manuel Garcia of San Francisco de Borja, who happened to be at the mission, they would hear of no examination of the property, and insisted, what is evident to the intelligent reader, that the wily governor, and not Fr. Vincente Mora, was the cause of the whole trouble. When Fr. Dumetz arrived soon after from Viñaraco with the herds mentioned in Serra's and Mora's letters, Fr. Cambon had everything placed upon the mules, and then with his companion hastened out of the country which had been such a source of pain to him and his brethren. The train reached Monterey on June 13th, 1775, after two years of delay.

Fr. Campa, as we have seen, had gone to Mexico to appeal to the viceroy. With regard to the cattle and small stock which were to be sent as contributions from several missions, the viceroy informed Fr. Campa that the Dominicans had pleaded that the Franciscans should cede their claim, in view of the fact that the great mortality among the herds had reduced the stock so that there was no surplus. It seems that the Franciscans willingly granted the request of the Dominicans, as there is no record of any further proceedings. With regard to the animals, which had been purchased by the Franciscans and referred to in Serra's letter, Bucareli gave orders

[18] The crafty Barri omitted to say how much pressure he had brought to bear on the timid Fr. Mora until he consented to make the request.

to the governor that they should be sent to Monterey. This, it seems, was the herd which Fr. Dumetz brought from Viñaraco. When this business had been settled all connection of the Fernandinos with the peninsula ceased.[18] The result of their efforts in the missions of Upper California will be found in the next volume.

The following list gives the names of all the Friars Minor that were appointed for Lower California from July, 1767, to August, 1773. Those not marked went to Upper California.

Amúrrio, Gregorio.
Arriguibar, Pedro.*
Basterra, Dionisio.*
Cambon, Pedro.
Campa y Cos, Miguel.
Crespi, Juan.
Echasco, Francisco.*
Escudero, Juan.*
Figuer, Juan.
Fuster, Vincente.
Gaston, Juan Ignacio.*
Gómez, Francisco.
Herrera, José. d*
Imas, Vincente.*
Lago, Manuel.*
Lasuen, Fermin Francisco.
Legomera, José.*
Leguna, José. d (?)*
Linares, Antonio.*
Martinez, Antonio.*
Moran, Juan. d
Murguía, José Antonio de.
Palácios, Martin.*
Palóu, Francisco.
Parron, Fernando.
Peña, Thomas de la.
Prestamero, Juan.*
Ramos de Lora, Juan.*
Rioboo, Juan Antonio.
Sánchez, Miguel.
Sancho de la Torre, Juan.*
Santa Maria, Vincente de.
Senra, Marcelino.*
Serra, Junipero.
Sierra, Juan Benito.*
Somera, Angel.
Tejada, Francisco Javier.*
Uson, Ramon.
Veitia, Juan Leon de Medina. *d
Villaumbrales, Andrés. *d
Villuendas, Francisco.*
Vizcaino, Juan.

* Retired to Mexico.
d* Died before reaching California.
*d Died on the way to the College.
d Died in California.

[18] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 50-57; 63-67.

PART IV.

THE DOMINICAN PERIOD.

1773-1855.

CHAPTER I.

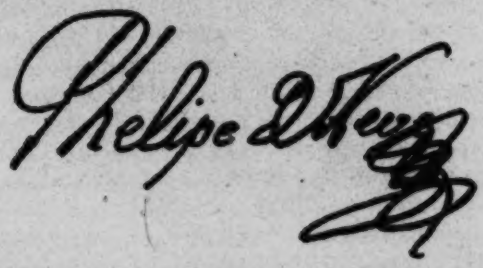
Lack of Dominican Material.—Governor Barri's Removal.—Neve Appointed.—His Instructions.—Pay of the Soldiery.—Royal Declaration.—Neve Meets Difficulties.—Neve Transferred to Monterey.—Rivera Lieutenant-Governor for Lower California.—Rivera Disputes with the Dominicans.—He is Transferred.—His Death.—New Reglamento.—Soldiers' Pay.—Pedro Fages Made Governor.—Arrillaga.

COMPARATIVELY little can be said about the labors of the Dominican Fathers on the peninsula of Lower California. "Salvatiérra, Venégas, and the rest," Bancroft observes,[1] "have furnished a copious account of the Jesuit period; Palóu and his associates have left satisfactory material for the Franciscan occupation; but the Dominicans have left no account of their labors. It would appear that they accomplished nothing in California worth recording, even in their own estimation. To make matters worse, the secular archives are here singularly barren of information. In fact there was little to be recorded; nowhere was life more monotonously uneventful than in Baja California."

To begin with secular affairs, we have to state that Governor Barri's constant quarrels with the Franciscan missionaries and especially his last spiteful delay of their mission and personal goods; likewise his perpetual dissensions with Comisario Toledo; and lastly his falling out with the Dominican Presidente, Fr. Vincente Mora, who lived in dread of the unscrupulous Barri, could have but one result: his removal. This took place in October, 1774, before the last Franciscan had left the peninsula. Don Felipe de Neve, major of a Querétaro regiment of provincial cavalry, was appointed governor for both Californias on October 28th, 1774, but a month before, September 30th, Viceroy Bucareli had already prepared a set of instructions for the new governor. According to this document the change of governors was made in order that the

[1] "History of Texas and Northwestern States," vol. i. p. 744

country might be under a ruler of wisdom, zeal, and administrative ability, not disposed to create scandal by quarreling with the missionaries, which implied that Barri had not proved to be such a man. Neve was to follow Galvez's instructions when not conflicting with the Reglamento or later orders; he was to maintain peace with the missionaries and to report on their work, but not to interfere in their legitimate duties: the care, instruction, and punishment of the Indian neophytes. The Indians were to be protected and well treated, but by no means allowed to lose respect for the secular authorities. Neither must the Fr. Presidente in any way impede the legal acts of the governor or his subordinates. The governor had no direct authority over the comandante in Alta California, though nominally his political superior and entitled to respect



and full reports from the upper country. Every possible precaution was to be taken to prevent the entrance of foreign vessels, and likewise all trade with the Spanish vessels, not excepting the Manila galleon. Owners of cattle must be compelled to brand them, in order that the herds of wild cattle might be appropriated for the use of the troops, the navy, and the Indians. Accounts must be strictly investigated and regulated; and especial attention was to be given to the Santa Ana mines, which, though worked at his majesty's expense, had yielded not an ounce of silver for the treasury. Owners of private mines were to be compelled to pay the royal fifths, which they had not regularly done. Finally the governor was commanded to preserve peaceful relations with the comisario and other royal officials which his predecessor, always in quar-

rel with Toledo, had failed to do. After receiving these special instructions directly from the viceroy, Neve left the capital for his destination on October 29th, the day after his formal appointment, and arrived at Loreto on the 4th of March, 1775. He immediately took possession of his office, and ex-governor Barri set sail for San Blas on the 26th, to the great relief of the missionaries and doubtless of every one else except his henchmen.[2]

The Reglamento mentioned before was the result of representations made by Fr. Junipero Serra in Mexico on March 13th, 1773. A clause relating to Lower California fixed the expenditures for the government officials of the peninsula. According to this regulation there would be a governor at a salary of $4000, one lieutenant at $500 annually, one sergeant at $400, three corporals at $350 each, thirty soldiers at $300 each, and one comisario in charge of the royal warehouse at a salary of $1,500. The governor and comisario might collect their salaries when they pleased, but the soldiers were paid in goods at a charge of one hundred per cent for the peninsula, and one hundred and fifty per cent for Monterey, which left the actual cost to the royal treasury only $5,475, or with the amount the governor and comisario drew in full, $10,975.[3]

The second clause in the Reglamento stated that the condition of the royal treasury and of the Pious Fund did not permit a greater expenditure of money for the missions, and that each could be provided with only one corporal and five soldiers;[4] yet, in the royal order of September 10th, 1772, in which the king issued a series of instructions (reglamento) for the presidios on the frontier of his possessions in America, his majesty says: "I declare that the presidios of California are to continue for the present on their actual footing according to the provisions made by my viceroy after the conquest and reduction has been extended to the port of Mon-

[2] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 738-739; "History of California," vol. i, 237-238; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 521.

[3] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iii, 89-90, 108; Bancroft, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 211; "Hist. Texas," vol. i, 737.

[4] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iii, 96.

terey; and on the supposition that he has provisionally assigned the annual sum of thirty-three thousand dollars for the needs and protection of that peninsula, I order and command that this sum be still paid at the end of each year from the royal treasury of Guadalajara, as has been done of late; and that my viceroy sustain and aid by all possible means the old and new establishments of said province, and inform me of all that he may deem conducive and useful to their progress, and to the extension of the new reductions of Gentile Indians."[5] This shows again that the kings of Spain sincerely wished the progress of the missions and the country, and were willing to make sacrifices of money and men; but their desires were often thwarted at the capital of Mexico.

Governor Neve soon discovered the difficulties of his position. A few days after his arrival he complained to the viceroy that the country was destitute of everything necessary. Ships, horses, clothing, and especially arms were needed. Whereupon under date of May 24th the viceroy wrote to Rivera that two hundred mules and one hundred horses might be purchased in Sonora. On July 24th, 1775, Neve reported that the force of thirty-four men at Loreto was too small, and asked that it be increased. After paying a visit to Todos Santos and the secularized missions in the south, the governor wrote to the viceroy that it was impossible to support them, as the land was barren and there was no one competent to till the soil. Besides deploring the fact that the town of Loreto had not been improved, as Galvez had directed, Neve related that Galvez had, indeed, left elaborate rules for the management of the royal revenues from tobacco, quicksilver, salt, the king's fifths of bullion, pearl-fisheries, and from other sources, in all estimated at $34,000; but that these rules could not be carried out, because the whole income amounted to no more than $200, which was received from pearl-fishers and the salt-mines. The plan for appropriating unbranded cattle proved impracticable; fifteen head were, indeed, slaughtered, but the expense was greater than the beef would have

[5] Bancroft, "Hist. Calif.," vol. i, 206-207.

cost at the missions. Governor Neve's complaints were heeded to some extent; for the viceroy ordered a formulary to be drawn up with the aid of Fr. Vincente Mora for the better government of the missions. The Fr. Presidente was also directed to carry out Galvez's orders as to the transfer of native Indian families from the north to the south to work the land in the secularized missions, though the scheme, as we have seen, had proved a failure even while Don Galvez was still on the peninsula.[6]

Meanwhile Don Rivera had become involved in troubles with the Franciscans of Upper California, and as the Spanish government had apparently decided to make Monterey, instead of Loreto, the capital of both Californias, Governor Neve in the latter part of 1776 was directed to take up his residence at Monterey; Rivera, with the title of lieutenant-governor, was ordered to take charge of the peninsula with headquarters at Loreto. Leaving Lieutenant Cañete in charge, Neve, accordingly, in November set out for the north by land, and arrived at Monterey in February, 1777. Somewhat later Rivera started out for Loreto.[7]

It was with little regret that the Dominicans saw Don Felipe de Neve depart from Lower California, if we may believe Bancroft, who says:[8] "It was evident that Neve, despite the viceregal injunctions, was already on bad terms with the friars, who were not willing to be deprived of their absolute control of mission products by the Indians being made self-dependent, as had been the aim of Galvez. Neve, therefore, claimed that the natives would never be freed until decisive steps were taken toward secularization." What Neve proposed had been tried by Galvez, and it proved a failure, because the Indians would not till the land on their own account. The governor must have known that the natives, as yet, could not maintain themselves, much less their wives and children. He himself saw the results at the secularized missions of San José del

[6] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 741-742, 745.

[7] Bancroft, "History of California," vol. i, 237; "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 741-742; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 522.

[8] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 741.

Cabo and Santiago de los Córas. How he could, nevertheless, advocate secularizing the missions and making the shiftless Indians independent, passes understanding. His subsequent conduct in the north, however, shows that he was little in sympathy with the spread of religion, but a valiant theorist, and as a Frenchman doubtless somewhat tainted with the infidel notions of contemporaneous French Encyclopedists.

Rivera in Lower California also became engaged in disputes with the Dominicans, but these troubles were cut short by Inspector-General De Croix, who sent Rivera across the gulf to recruit soldiers and colonists for Upper California. Whilst he camped on the Colorado River near the present Yuma City with a troop of soldiers on the way to Monterey, he and his men were massacred on July 18th, 1781.[9]

After the death of the lieutenant-governor, Alférez José Maria Estrada, who in 1780 at the recommendation of Governor Neve had been appointed comisario in place of Francisco Álvarez y Osório, assumed temporary command at Loreto, but at the end of 1783 Captain José de Arrillaga was promoted from a Texas presidio to the command of Loreto.[10]

On October 24th, 1781, the king approved the new Reglamento prepared for the military establishments by Neve two or three years before. It had gone into effect provisionally in the beginning of the same year by order of De Croix. An important change from the Reglamento of Echeveste of 1773 was that the former profit of a hundred and fifty per cent was relinquished by the government; supplies were furnished to the men at what they cost in San Blas, and no charge was made for their transportation by sea; on the other hand the pay of the soldiers was reduced about one-third. A sergeant's pay, for instance, was reduced from $400 to $262; the corporals received $225 instead of $350; the soldiers were paid $217.50 instead of $300; but a lieutenant was to have $550 instead of $500; an alférez or ensign was paid $400; a sur-

[9] "The Franciscans in Arizona," 140, 143-144.

[10] Bancroft, "History of California," vol. i, 339-342; "History of Texas," vol. i, 746.

geon's pay was fixed at $450; and a mechanic received $180. They were, however, obliged to submit to losses and damage incurred on the voyage, and were to pay two per cent to the *habilitado* or royal storekeeper. This last named official took the place of the old *guarda-almacen*, or storekeeper, and had charge, subject to inspection of his comandante, of the reception and distribution of pay and rations and the keeping of the company accounts. The *habilitado* was chosen from the subaltern officers by each presidial company, and the company was responsible for any deficit in his accounts. Supplies of all kinds were as before shipped from San Blas, purchased in accordance with the annual *memorias* of articles demanded, which had been forwarded through the governor to the viceroy, and delivered to the soldiers and servants in payment of their wages.[11]

When in 1782 Governor Neve was appointed inspector-general for Mexico, Don Pedro Fages became governor of the two Californias. He visited Loreto in the next year, when he endeavored to regulate military matters and the relations between the Indians and the soldiers.

Early in 1785 Arrillaga made a tour of inspection. Distress, the result of a drought which had ruined all the crops, reigned everywhere; meat was the only food; mining had been entirely suspended; and the prices fixed by the tariff were so high that no wild cattle had been sold for eight years. In May, 1787, Jose Francisco de Ortéga was appointed to a command in Upper California; his place was taken by Lieutenant Diego González.[12]

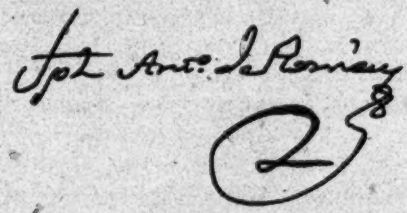
Nothing worthy of note occurred for several years, but in March, 1791, José Antonio de Roméu succeeded Fages as governor of both Californias. He had been appointed by Viceroy Revilla Gigedo and arrived at Loreto in the spring of 1791.[13] About this time Lieutenant González, dissatisfied

[11] Bancroft, "History of California," vol. i, 333-335; "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 746.

[12] Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 747-748; Palóu, tom. iv, 249.

[13] Roméu to Lasuén, Loreto, April 17th, 1791. ("Santa Barbara Archives.")

and involved in a quarrel with the missionary of San Vincente, was removed. Roméu died at Monterey on April 9th, 1792. He had filled the office a little more than nineteen months. Lieutenant-Governor José Joaquin de Arrillaga then assumed command as governor ad interim. Leaving José Francisco de Ortéga in charge of the peninsula, he took up his residence at Monterey. On June 10th, 1793, Diego de Borica was appointed governor, but he and his family did not arrive at Loreto until May 13th, 1794. Arrillaga returned to Loreto and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1795. Alférez Estrada died in 1791, and was succeeded by Ildefonso Bernál, who had taken part in seven campaigns against the Apaches of Texas. Early in 1795 Bernál made a tour of inspection in the south. On his return Sergeant



Luis López was placed in command of the southern district with the significant clause in his instructions that he should "observe good conduct, or at least pretend to." During the years 1795-1796, owing to a royal order, considerable correspondence was carried on in behalf of education, which apparently resulted in the opening of a primary school at Loreto.[14] Other civil and military matters will be related in connection with the missions, or in the volume on Upper California with which Lower California generally had rulers in common.

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[14] Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 545-549; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 750-752.

CHAPTER II.

New Missions.—Mission Rosário.—Mission Santo Domingo.—Mission San Vincente Ferrer.—Neve's Meddling.—His Crude Ideas.—Indians Turbulent.—Rivera Declines Fr. Mora's Request.—The Viceroy Grants Some Petitions.—Smallpox Epidemic.—Fr. Miguél Hidalgo, Presidente.—Disquieting Rumors.—Disasters.—Mission San Miguel.—Reports of Fages and Hidalgo.—Fr. Sales's Letters.—Arrival and Departure of Missionaries.—Mission Santo Tomás.—Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gómez, Presidente.—Fr. Caietano Pallás, Presidente.

THERE is little on record of Dominican activity in Lower California, as we have already stated in the beginning of the preceding chapter. They took up mission work where their predecessors had left it, and continued it very much after the same system. In compliance with the royal commands, the Fathers founded five missions which Governor Barri's malice had prevented the Franciscans from establishing, but they applied other names than those under which the Franciscans had been directed to organize them. Viceroy De Croix in a letter to Fr. Francisco Palóu dated Mexico, November 12th, 1770, wrote concerning the five missions which were to rise between San Fernando de Velicatá and San Diego, "They must bear the names of San Joaquin, Santa Ana, San Juan Capistrano, San Pascual Bailon, and San Felice de Cantalicio."[1]

The first mission was established at Viñaraco one hundred and seventy-three leagues northwest of Lóreto, in latitude thirty degrees three minutes, and longitude one hundred and fifteen degrees forty-five minutes. The foundations were laid in 1774 by Fathers who are not named, and the mission was called Nuestra Señora del Rosário. According to Palóu,[2] Fr. Francisco Galisteo was stationed here in March, 1775.

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[1] "Deben tener estas advocaciones de San Joaquin, Santa Ana, San Juan Capistrano, San Pascual Bailon, y San Felice de Cantalicio." Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, cap. xxi, 107.

[2] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 55.

The next mission was founded by Fathers Manuel García and Miguel Hidalgo on or about the 30th of August, 1775, and named Santo Domingo for the founder of the Order. It was situated twenty-three leagues northwest of Rosário and one hundred and ninety-four leagues northwest of Loreto, in latitude thirty degrees forty-four minutes, and longitude one hundred and fifteen degrees fifty-five minutes west of Greenwich.

The third mission, Governor Neve reported to the comandante-general on October 24th, 1780, began its work in October of the same year. It was named for the Dominican saint San Vincente Ferrer. The founders were Fathers Miguel Hidalgo and Joaquin Valero. It lay twenty leagues to the north of Santo Domingo, and two hundred and fourteen leagues northwest of Loreto, in latitude 31 degrees 19 minutes, and longitude 116 degrees and 50 minutes.

Mission San Miguél, the fourth in point of time, was established under the direction of Fr. Luis Sales in March, 1787, at or near a place known as San Juan in latitude 32 degrees 6 minutes, and longitude 116 degrees 47 minutes. The fifth, Mission Santo Tomás, was founded four years later, in 1791, by Fr. José Loriente, in latitude 31 degrees 34 minutes, and longitude 116 degrees 29 minutes. The details about these two missions and two others, which the Dominicans organized, will be given in due time, though but little can be said of any of them.[3]

Governor Neve, who seems to have been a theorist imbued with wild notions about liberty and equality for the Indians, soon after his accession to the office, despite the viceroyal injunctions, tried to meddle with the control of the missions. What the trouble exactly was, it is difficult to state authoritatively; but it was he who first proposed the compulsory secularization of the missions in order to "free" the Indians and make them self-supporting, though Galvez himself to his cost and chagrin had learned that under such a system the Indians would not provide for themselves, nor make any progress

[3] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 741, 745.

morally or intellectually. The missions of Santiago and San José del Cabo had already been secularized, but the result was that Neve found the land untilled and the liberated Indians fast dropping back into barbarism. He, therefore, endeavored to carry out the futile plan of Galvez to secure natives to cultivate the soil in the south by forcibly removing thither Indians from the northern missions. After ruling two years, the meddlesome theorist was ordered to make his headquarters at Monterey, where Rivera had been excommunicated for his infringement of "Church Asylum,"[4] and consequently had made himself impossible. Rivera was transferred to Lower California as lieutenant-governor.

Soon after his arrival at Loreto in the spring of 1777 the new lieutenant-governor became engaged in disputes with the missionaries on account of the turbulent Indians in the northern part of the peninsula. The savages had become very troublesome; those of missions Santa Gertrudis and San Francisco de Borja, the same from among whom Fr. Lasuen had been ordered to transplant a number of families to the south, were planning to plunder and burn the missions. The viceroy in 1776 had repeated Galvez's unwise order to Fr. Vincente Mora, and it is probable that the neophytes were incensed at the prospect of having to leave their country. In May, 1777, Fr. Mora, therefore, asked for more guards to protect the frontier establishments. Rivera refused to comply with the reasonable petition on the ground that he would first have to consult Governor Neve in Upper California. Rivera's excuse drew forth a sharp letter from the Fr. Presidente, who declared to have the right to obtain such military aid as he needed. He threatened to abandon the frontier missions if the guards were not reenforced; but Rivera paid no attention to the appeal. Fortunately the Indians did not execute their plans, so that Fr. Mora was not forced to make good his threat.[5]

Bancroft intimates that the dissatisfaction of the Indians

[4] Particulars will be found in the next volume.
[5] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 741-744.

was due to severity on the part of the Dominicans. "The fact is," he says,[6] "the Dominicans were harder task-masters than either the Jesuits or the Franciscans, and administered severer punishments, and the natives were weary of excessive labor and the lash. An example had to be made, however, and several of them were tried at Loreto, found guilty of rebellion, severely flogged, and the leaders were also banished to the south." For his charge Bancroft offers not the slightest evidence. From the mission routine, as explained in Part II, we know that the work allotted to the neophytes was not excessive either in time or kind. They labored considerably less than eight hours a day. The truth is, there was little work of any kind to do, inasmuch as the land was tilled in a few spots only. The punishment, too, was such as a kind father might apply; for this there is abundant evidence.

About the year 1779 Fr. Mora succeeded in moving Comandante-General[7] De Croix to grant a few petitions for the relief of the missionaries. The concessions were that no one should interfere with the mission servants and the crews of mission vessels, except in case of urgent necessity; that the mission ships should be allowed to carry goods for others on

[6] Ibidem, 742-744.

[7] In 1776 the seven northern provinces of Mexico, including both Californias, were withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the viceroy and placed under a comandante-general with headquarters at Arizpe, Sonora. Theodoro De Croix was the first to hold the office. The change was not a blessing for the missions. The news reached California in 1779. See next volume.

payment of the duties; that the Guaymas and Tamazúla missions in Sonora should be ceded to Lower California, one friar to be stationed at each; that the missions should be paid for the supplies furnished; and that the Indians should be excused as far as possible from courier service.

The year 1781 was made memorable by a terrible visitation of smallpox. Many missions were entirely deserted by the frightened neophytes, while the mountain caves and cañons were filled with the dead and dying. Many who escaped the plague, fell victims to starvation. The disease raged for almost a year. The favorite remedies applied by the natives were burning the pustules with torches and bathing with cold water. Fr. Crisóstomo Gómez is said to have saved many Indians at San Ignacio by means of inoculation. Fr. Sales reports that the friars were not allowed to visit the mountains as often as they wished, otherwise more lives might have been saved. [8]

About the middle of 1781 the Dominican provincial in Mexico appointed Fr. Miguel Hidalgo presidente of the Dominican missions to succeed Fr. Vincente Mora who had resigned on account of illness. [9] On October 24th, of the same year, the king commanded that some new missions should be established immediately to connect the peninsular settlements with those of Alta or Upper California. About that time Lieutenant Diego González, who had succeeded Velásquez, was stationed on the northern frontier with headquarters at Mission Rosário. His force consisted of half a dozen picked soldiers. [10]

During the year 1783, and somewhat later, both the Dominicans of Lower California and the Franciscans of Upper California were seriously disturbed by reports of plans forming in Mexico which threatened the very existence of the former on the peninsula. Fr. Antonio de Reyes of the Apostolic College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, which belonged to the Friars Minor, was consecrated bishop of Sonora and the Cali-

[8] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 745.

[9] Letter of Fr. Hidalgo to Fr. Serra, Loreto, July 2d, 1781. "Sta. Barb. Arch."

[10] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 746.

fornias at Tacubaya on September 15th, 1782. The Fr. Guardian and the venerable discretory of the College of San Fernando assisted at the ceremony. The bishop-elect had come from Spain two months before accompanied by nineteen Franciscans whom he had enlisted in the mother country for the purpose of establishing a custody in Sonora under the patronage of San Cárlos. After organizing this custody he intended to pass over to Loreto to remove the Dominicans and substitute Franciscans with whom he expected to found the Custody of San Gabriel which was to comprise the Franciscans of both Californias. The new bishop claimed to have the authority of the king and as apostolic delegate that of the Pope also.

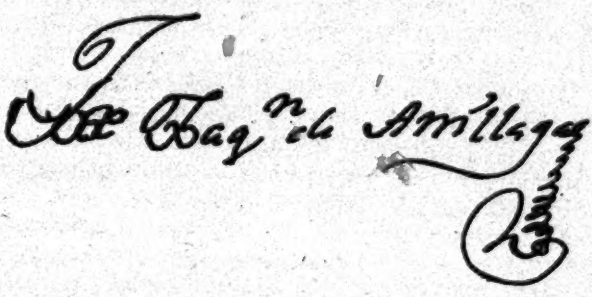
When Bishop Reyes reached Guadalajara and proposed his plan to the provincial of the Jaliscan province, the latter at first opposed the project. Later on, however, he commanded his religious in Sonora to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of the new custody. The bishop then proceeded to organize the custody in Sonora with the friars whom he had brought from Spain. The missionaries belonging to the Jaliscan province and the College of Santa Cruz, Querétaro, submitted to the strange proceedings with the utmost reluctance. Bishop Reyes, indeed, succeeded for a time, but after the lapse of a few years the new organization formed by an outsider against the will of those concerned, and not in line with the Constitutions of the Order, disbanded, and the friars all returned to their respective jurisdictions. Nothing came of the chimerical plan in California.[11]

Although the life of the missionaries in Lower California in the most favorable circumstances was a hard one, during the year 1785 their lot became more trying than ever. One ship was lost, and only a small launch remained for the supply service. All classes were reduced to destitution.[12] When

[11] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. iv, 250-252; Arricivita, "Crónica Apostólica," 562-575; "The Franciscans in Arizona," 170-178.

[12] "La Mision de Loreto no ha contribuido cosa alguna de Donativo por su pobreza," Fages writes to Fr. Serra from Velicatá, September 20th, 1783. ("Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.)

Captain Arrillaga in 1783 arrived at Loreto as lieutenant-governor, he found the soldiers wearing any kind of clothing they could obtain; and many families were unable to visit the church for want of absolutely necessary covering. In the warehouse there were only forty fanégas of corn. Neither money nor supplies had been received in 1781, very little in 1782, and none in 1783. Attempts were made to remedy this deplorable state of things, but failed. In vain the Indians were moved from one part of the peninsula to another, in order to equalize the population and the resources; the poverty of the country made reforms well nigh impossible. In November, 1783, Arrillaga went to work energetically to relieve the distress. Another transport was secured, and in



1784 provisions to the value of $8000 were obtained from across the gulf.

Despite the wretched condition of the missions, the Dominican missionaries [13] contemplated the erection of new missions in order to fill up the gap between those of Lower and Upper California. Early in 1783 Governor Fages had chosen a place called Encino, near the boundary and the west coast, as suitable for a missionary center; and in April, 1785, Fr. Luis Sales of San Vincente Ferrer, with a party of soldiers under Lieutenant Ortega, made a trip into the mountains where he

[13] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 747, nevertheless would have us believe that the Dominicans through disaffection prevented reforms and neglected the Indians! For Bancroft as a historian see Appendix J.

discovered another favorable spot, which later became the scene of activity for Mission Santo Tomás. Owing to the hostile attitude of the savages nothing was accomplished until March, 1787. In that year Mission San Miguel was founded by Fr. Sales at or near San Juan. Rough fortifications were constructed and garrisoned by six men under Sergeant Ignacio Alvarado from the presidio of San Diego and five men furnished by the comandante of the frontier. When in May Ortega was given command of San Diego, he was succeeded by Lieutenant Diego González.[14]

In 1786 by order of the viceroy, both Fr. Presidente Hidalgo and Governor Pedro Fages forwarded reports on the state of the missions in Lower California. Fages's able report is a very lengthy document which it is impossible to reproduce here; but the following extracts afford an intelligent view of the situation on the peninsula at this time. Writing from Monterey under date of October 20th, 1786, the governor says: "The Indians of the last missions (Velicatá and Santa Maria) live among the mountains in this manner. They have a certain district allotted to them where a certain number reside in settlements called rancherías. These elect a chief (capitano) and one sub-chief who are instructed and directed by the missionary. At sunset those of the ranchería assemble to recite the Rosary or to listen to the Doctrina. On certain specified days they go to the mission to hear Mass. In nearly all the missions, owing to various causes, there is only one missionary. The Fr. Presidente removes them as he sees fit, but he notifies the government. The missionaries preach in Spanish, for the majority of the Indians understand it. The sínodo of the missionaries, which is annually paid in Mexico, amounts to $350 for each one. The churches are nicely decorated and well kept. All have been erected by the Jesuits,[15] except the magnificent temple at San Ignacio which has been built through seven years of continuous labor by Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gómez.

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[14] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 747-748.

[15] All those founded before the advent of the Franciscans and Dominicans, of course.

"The Indians of every mission recognize one of their number as gobernadór, who is elected when all are assembled on January 1st. The missionary proposes the candidate, and when he is chosen his election is announced to the commander of the presidio at Loreto, who approves him in the name of His Majesty. This gobernadór only attends to minor matters with the counsel of the missionary. No town organization is possible on account of the backwardness of the natives.

"The revenues or funds of the missions consist of the product of the field and stock. The property is held in common, and the missionary manages it for all. The missionaries keep the accounts; the superior makes visits and inspects everything, and at the close of the year a report of the state of the missions is sent to the governor of the territory.

"All the Indians of California are alike lazy, incapable, and stupid. Their only aspiration is to rove about the country. The women do some weaving and knitting, but under the supervision of the missionaries. The grain which is harvested scarcely suffices to maintain the inhabitants. Diving for pearls is the principal source of wealth, but it does not prosper for want of people. If the Indian had the land to himself, he would not be capable of cultivating it, so lazy is he.[16]

"That the missions have deteriorated, is beyond question; but account must be taken of the alms which the founders received and of the donations of $116,000 which the first eleven missions enjoyed, whereas the present missionaries are reduced to their allowance or sínodo; even this without question they share with the Indians.

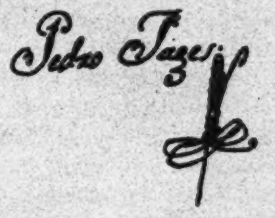
"The frequent change of missionaries is prejudicial to the progress of the mission interests; but the principal cause of ruin is the lack of water. San José del Cabo, Santiago, Todos Santos, San Francisco Javier, Loreto, San Jose de Comundú, Purisima Concepcion de Cadegomó, Nuestra Señora de Guad-

[16] "Si el Indio tuviera tierras propias, no seria capaz de cultivarlas; tal es de indolente." This sane view is the reverse of Neve's notion, who would have the land turned over to the Indians, and the missions secularized. The result could only be what it was when later the measure was carried out.

alupe, and Santa Rosalía de Mulegé, with giant strides are going to total destruction.

"The transfer of the people from the missions of the north to those of the south is inexpedient; for though all the Indians have identical customs, they would contract venereal diseases and disappear." [17]

Fages furthermore states that epidemics, and especially venereal diseases, had greatly reduced the population; that deaths outnumbered births three to one; [18] that there were few cattle except at two or three missions; that besides the fact that the fertile lands were very limited in extent, for two or three years there would be no rain, and then a flood would come to destroy the crops; that no new missionaries had come



to the peninsula for fifteen years, though many had died and some had lost their reason, so that now there were but twenty-one Fathers in charge of sixteen missions; but that, nevertheless, some improvements had been made at several places to the value of $24,000. Fages finally recommended that Mis-

[17] Fages, unlike Neve, shows that he understood the situation, and was no dreamer.

[18] "Las misiones de San José, Santiago, Todos Santos, San Javier, Loreto, Comundú, Cadegomó, Guadalupe, y Mulegé van á pasos gigantes á su total extincion. La razon es de tal evidencia que no deja duda. El mal gálico domina á ambos sexos y en tal grado, que ya lás madres no conciben, y si conciben, sale el feto con poca esperanza de vida. Hay mision de las citadas, que á mas de un año y meses que en ella no se ha bautizado criatura alguna, y la que mas no llega á cinco bautizados, siendo cosa digna de admirar que esceden los muertos en el año pasado de los de edad de 14 años para abajo á los nacidos. Con todos los adultos, son triples los muertos que los nacidos."

sion Guadalupe be closed and that its neophytes be added to the missions of Santa Rosalia and Purisima.[19]

Fr. Presidente Hidalgo, who had gone to Mexico in the interest of the missions,[20] wrote his report to the viceroy on March 20th, 1786. As his statements substantially agree with those of Governor Fages, it is unnecessary to dwell upon them further. Hidalgo, however, added an elaborate set of regulations in one hundred articles which he had prepared for the benefit of the missionaries and their neophytes.[21]

Considerable feeling was aroused in 1788 among the Dominicans by an order which Governor Fages addressed to Arrillaga on April 17th, 1788. The lieutenant-governor was directed not to grant any missionary a permit to retire from the peninsula, as the governor himself in each case must first be notified by the superior. When on June 23d, 1788, Arrillaga communicated this order to Fr. Hidalgo, the latter on the same date replied in a lengthy protest. Hidalgo declared that he did not need such a permit from the governor, and that, at all events, the superior of the missions should be free to send his subjects out of the country, for which there might be urgent reasons, or to permit them to leave after the lapse of their ten years of service,[22] without having to make application to far-away Upper California. Fages thereupon modified his autocratic prohibition, so that the lieutenant-governor could grant the required license and thus avoid delay.[23]

Among the Dominicans who left the country in 1788 or the

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[19] Fages, "Informe del Estado de las Misiones," "California Archives, State Papers, Missions."

[20] Fr. Sancho to Fr. Lasuen, Mexico, April 1st, 1786. ("Sta. Barb. Arch.," ad annum.) Fr. Francisco Galisteo meanwhile acted as presidente of the missions. Letter of Fr. Galisteo to Fr. Lasuen, Loreto, April 19th, 1786. ("Sta. Barb. Arch.")

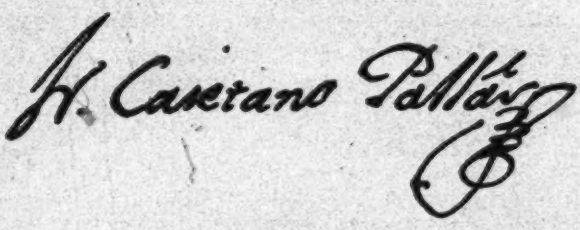
[21] Bancroft, "Hist. of Tex.," vol. i, 748-750.

[22] Franciscans and Dominicans were sent to California to serve ten years, after which, in case of sickness, they were free to leave.

[23] Arrillaga to Fages, June 23d, 1788. "Archbishop's Archives," vol. i, no. 32. Hidalgo to Arrillaga, June 23d, 1788, ibidem no. 32b. Fages had no authority to issue such an order. The question will be ventilated in the next volume.

next year was Fr. Luis Sales, author of the only work on California published by the Dominicans. According to Bancroft the book consists of three lengthy letters which Sales wrote to a friend and which were printed at Valencia in 1794. The letters are largely descriptive and do not purport to present a connected historical narrative even of the Dominican period. The first and second letters were written at Mission San Miguel, Lower California, though no date is given; the third was written from San Miguel, Azores Islands, whither the author had gone as chaplain of a man-of-war from Vera Cruz.[24]

Nothing worthy of note occurred at the missions for several years until 1791, when a reenforcement of four Dominican friars arrived. With them came two scientists, Jaime Sensebe and José Longinos Martínez, who had been sent by the king to make observations. This addition of four missionaries made it possible for the Fathers to start a new mission. On April 24th, 1791, therefore, they established Mission Santo Tomás de Aquíno at a place called San Solano, between San Vincente Ferrer and San Miguel. Fr. José Loriente was given charge of the new establishment, and he was there still in December, 1794.[25]



From a letter which Fr. Fermin Lasuen of Mission San Gabriel, Upper California, on May 20th, 1791, addressed to Governor Roméu, we learn that Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gómez

[24] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 750.

[25] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 751; "Archbishop's Archives," vol. i, no. 79.

was the presidente of the Dominicans; but when he was appointed or how long he served it is impossible to determine.[26] Fr. Caietano Pallás succeeded him as presidente probably early in 1793, since on April 10th he reports to the Franciscans the death of Fr. José Vidaurreta, which occurred at San José del Cabo on March 22d of that year.[27]

[26] Lasuen to Roméu, "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

[27] Death Notice, Loreto, April 10th, 1793, "Santa Barbara Archives."

CHAPTER III.

Mission San Pedro Mártir.—Mission Santiago and Guadalupe Closed.—Governor Borica.—Explorations.—Mission Santa Catalina.—Fr. Apolinario's Defense.—Arrival and Departure of Missionaries.—Governor Borica Retires.—Change of Presidente.—Mission Reports Demanded.—Formula for Reporting.—The Peninsula Separated from the Jurisdiction of Monterey.

DURING the year 1792, while Arrillaga acted as governor at Monterey, eighteen Dominican friars, whose names are unknown, arrived from Mexico, and although thirteen Dominicans obtained leave to retire, enough remained to make the founding of a new mission practicable. Fr. Presidente Caietano Pallás reported the event to Governor Arrillaga as follows: "In compliance with the order of the most excellent Lord Viceroy of New Spain, dated March 27th of last year (1793), to found a new mission in the sierra between the missions of Rosario and Santo Domingo, we accomplished said founding yesterday, which was the 27th of the present month, by taking possession of a site in the sierra mentioned and called by the natives *Casilepe*, but now San Pedro Mártir de Verona by the neophytes, east of the nearest mission which is twelve or fourteen leagues distant from it, and by planting the holy Cross and celebrating the first Mass on the same day. God keep you many years. San Pedro Mártir, April 28th, 1794, Fr. Caietano Pallás."[1] Owing to troubles with the pagan Indians, the mission, before the end of the year, was removed a short distance to a place where the natural defenses were stronger and the soil more fertile. Santo Tomás Mission was also moved somewhat higher up the Cañada of San Solano.[2]

On December 28th, 1793, Viceroy Revilla Gigedo decreed

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[1] Fr. Pallás to Gov. Arrillaga, "Archbishop's Archives," no. 60. It was situated in latitude 30 degrees 45 minutes, and longitude 115 degrees 20 minutes.

[2] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 751.

the suppression of two feeble missions, Santiago in the south and Guadalupe north of Loreto; but owing to Governor Arrillaga's absence from the peninsula the measure was not carried out until April, 1795. The few neophytes of Santiago were transferred to San José del Cabo, and those of Guadalupe were allotted to Mission Purisima. The mission property of Guadalupe was put in charge of Luis Aguilar and his heirs on joint account of himself and the government.[3]

While Fr. Crisóstomo Gómez was presidente of the Dominicans he urged the necessity of missions in the Colorado River country, and solicited aid to establish them. In 1791 the viceroy addressed a communication to Governor Roméu in relation to the matter; but by the time the letter reached its destination Roméu had died. Lieutenant-Governor Arrillaga answered the viceroy in favor of the project. It was then decided to found at least three missions and a presidio in the territory indicated. Meanwhile some explorations were made in the direction of the Colorado River. In October, 1794, Sergeant Ruiz and Fr. Tomás Valdellon examined a site called Santa Catalina, midway between Santo Tomás and the head of the Gulf of California, and another spot near it called Portezuelo. Ensign Bernál continued the explorations in 1795 until the region was fairly well known.

In June, 1796, Arrillaga himself set out from Loreto by sea to examine the Colorado River district. After landing at Bahía de San Luis and visiting the missions of San Fernando de Velicatá, Rosário, and Santo Domingo, he arrived at Mission San Vincente Ferrer on July 13th. Much excitement prevailed there on account of some troubles with the pagan Indians during which some soldiers had been wounded and a few savages killed. The neophytes of San Pedro Mártir, Bancroft asserts, had also been aroused and deserted their mission in a body with the declaration that they would not return until another missionary was appointed. Who the

[3] Fr. Pallás to Gov. Arrillaga, June 23d, 1794. "Archb. Archives," no. 65; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 752; Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 555.

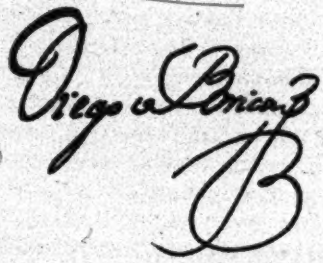
opposed friar was Bancroft neglects to say. At Santa Catalina Arrillaga, accompanied by eleven soldiers, found five hundred Indians already waiting for the opening of the promised mission. The lieutenant-governor then returned to San Vincente to make preparations for a more extended tour to the northeast of Santa Catalina. Leaving San Vincente on September 5th, 1796, he reached the Colorado on October 18th, and found himself opposed by a band of savages. A battle ensued during which one soldier was killed and seven were wounded. The Indians lost seven warriors. From there Arrillaga turned to the northwest and on October 27th arrived at San Diego. After a rest he led his men back to Loreto. His leading object had been to learn if it were practicable to open communication by land with Sonora, the dream of Fathers Kino and Salvatierra a century before. He found it useless to open such a route unless it could be protected by a strong garrison, for which purpose he suggested a presidio at the mouth of the Colorado. As a base of supplies for the proposed presidio it was necessary to establish the new mission of Santa Catalina Mártir, about twenty leagues northeast of San Vincente Ferrer. The founding of the mission was ordered by the viceroy and the governor, but as the military post demanded fortifications and a strong garrison, it was delayed.[4]

The ceremony of founding at last took place on November 12th, 1797, and Fr. José Loriente on the next day reported to Governor Borica as follows: "I inform Your Honor that having been notified by the Fr. Presidente, Fr. Caietano Pallás, that he had been authorized to found a mission in the sierra of the frontier towards the Rio Colorado, and that, since it was impossible for him to do so personally, he commissioned me to perform the ceremony of the founding, I in consequence and in accord with Sergeant José Manuel Rúiz, comandante of the frontier, and accompanied by the Rev. Fr. Tomás Valdellon, I proceeded to establish said mission with

[4] Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 554, 602-603; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 752-754.

the usual ceremonies on the 12th of the present month on the spot called by natives *Jaca-Tobojol*, between the missions of San Vincente and Santo Tomás and the frontier sierra towards the Rio Colorado, in the presence of many Gentiles of both sexes. I blessed the water, etc., the site, and a Cross which we venerated and planted. I then intoned the Litany of All Saints, sang a High Mass, and preached, after which we sang the *Te Deum*." An Indian mother on the same day offered a girl child for baptism. The infant was given the name of the patron saint of the mission, Santa Catarina, as directed by Governor Borica. This was the seventh and last mission the Dominicans were able to establish on the peninsula. [5]

Some excitement prevailed in Lower California during the last years of the century, as it was feared the English, with



whom Spain was then at war, might seize the peninsula. There were only fifty soldiers in the whole territory, and not enough inhabitants to furnish more, in order to meet an attack from a number of British vessels which occasionally appeared in sight of the coast; but the enemy probably thought the barren stretch of land not worth the trouble. [6]

Throughout the mission period deserters were a source of much annoyance. To make matters worse there always were

[5] "California Archives, State Papers, Missions," vol. ii. The mission was situated in latitude 31 degrees 35 minutes, and longitude 115 degrees 45 minutes.

[6] Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 754-759.

those malicious enough to blame the devoted missionaries. The Dominicans fared no better than either the Jesuits or Franciscans. It seems that in 1796 complaints of this kind were brought to Governor Borica, and that Borica mentioned the subject to Fr. Mariano Apolinario of San Miguel. This matter frequently recurs in the history of both Californias. It is well, therefore, to quote Fr. Mariano's reply, in order that the reader may be aided to form a just judgment on a point which has been made the pretext for endless wilful misrepresentation.

Writing from San Miguel under date of January 7th, 1797, Fr. Apolinario says, "To the contents of your letter I have to say in the first place that I do not know how it is that the paternal jurisdiction[7] (as Your Honor expresses it in your communication) should extend only to twenty-five lashes,[8] for as we see every day a father at times inflicts a slight punishment, and at other times a grave chastisement according as the misdeed demands. Can it forsooth be said that such a father does not love his sons?

"In the second place, the motive for the running away of the Indians does not, as Your Honor says, rise from too much chastising. Considering the character of these Indians I dare say that they run away for lack of punishment rather than for punishing them in keeping with the guilt. I prove this by telling Your Honor that when my companion, Fr. Mariano Yoldi, received charge of this mission, he at the same time received from the Fr. Presidente a list of the Indians. It showed that there were then forty deserters, and had they forsooth run away because of too much chastising? Your Honor knows very well the kind and affable character of our Rev. Fr. Presidente.[9]

"Finally Your Honor may question all the soldiers that are in this ancient mission, who have always lived in the

[7] The missionary towards the Indians stood in the relation of a father to his children. This was recognized by the government.

[8] Twenty-five blows was the limit; the punishment was applied by some Indians who held a position.

[9] Fr. Caietano Pallás was then presidente.

neighborhood of this mission. They will tell you that since the founding of the mission until the present moment the Indians have always run away. Now, in fact, we perhaps have fewer runaways than any of the Fathers that have been stationed here. I may be wrong, but the cause of so many desertions is the neglect of going in search of them, as is evident from their own declaration which the Indians have made to us. When an Indian was asked one day why they ran away, since they were not whipped, and they were regularly given food and clothing, he told us that they deserted because they saw that no one went after them, and that not the slightest solicitude was manifested for the runaways. This, as Your Honor tells me in your letter, is not found in the report;[10] well, many other things pertaining to the royal service are not found in the report; but when the Fathers are accused that is quickly put into the report."[11]

In August, 1797, the following Dominicans arrived at Loreto to aid in mission work and relieve some of the older religious who wished to retire: Fathers Jaime Codina, Antonio Lázaro, Juan Rivas, Raimundo Escolá, Sigismundo Fontcuberta, José Caulas, Eudaldo Surroca, and Placido Sanz. During the next year Fathers Rafael Caballero, Antonio Caballero, Antonio Concepcion, Ricardo Tejeiro, and José Loriente departed for Mexico. Fathers Juan Maria Salgado and Jorge Coello retired in 1799, and Fr. Caietano Pallás took leave of California probably in 1800. Loriente was especially praised by the governor as a very able missionary, who, probably as chaplain of a ship, had also extended his travels as far as San Francisco in Upper California.[12]

Fr. Vincente Belda became presidente and vicario provincial about the end of 1798. In reply to congratulations from

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[10] "Diario," presumably daily accounts from the various military officers.

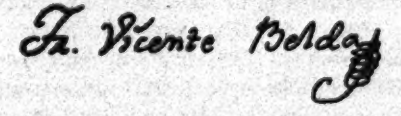
[11] Fr. Mariano Apolinario to Gov. Borica, "California Archives," vol. 148, pages 677-678. The United States Government in late years had numbers affixed, from 1-300, according to the number of volumes in the archives.

[12] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 756.

Fr. Lasuen, the Franciscan Presidente of Upper California, Fr. Belda wrote, "Though I am contented in the holy habit of my patriarch, I have a like or greater affection for that of St. Francis, obliged thereto for being a friar, for having been on the eve of putting it on, and for having in said Order two uncles, who are definitors, two cousins, who are lay-brothers, and other relatives.[13]

In January, 1800, Governor Borica on account of illness retired from California to Durango where he died on July 19th. He had held the office for nearly six years. Arrillaga again became acting governor, but continued to reside at Loreto. The population of the peninsula at the close of the century was about 4500 souls, including from four to eight hundred Spaniards and mestizos. The grain crop in all missions combined varied between 3500 and 13,000 fanégas a year. Some wine, brandy, and fruits were also produced.[14]

According to Fr. Lasuen's circular, dated Mission Carmélo, or San Carlos de Monterey, October 19th, 1800, Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gómez, the Dominican, passed to his eternal reward during the summer of that year. No dates or particulars are reported.[15] From San Ignacio on July 22d, 1802, Fr.



Rafael Arviña informed Fr. Lasuen that, owing to the resignation of Fr. Belda, he had been appointed vicario provincial and presidente of the Dominican missions, and that he had taken possession of the office on April 28th of the same year.[16]

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[13] Fr. Lasuen to Fr. Belda, March 10th, 1799; Fr. Belda to Fr. Lasuen, Loreto, May 16th, 1799. ("Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.)

[14] Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 604-605; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. i, 762-763.

[15] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

[16] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Dominicans desired to extend their missionary efforts eastward and northward, but the intractable nature of the Indians, the barreniness of the soil, their own poverty, and trouble in their immediate surroundings, had such a discouraging effect that they abandoned the project.[17]

As early as April 30th, 1772, the viceroyal council in Mexico[18] decreed that the missionaries should send annual reports on the state of their missions to the governor, who was directed to forward them to the capital, whence they were transmitted to the king. The accounts received from Lower California were considered so unsatisfactory that under date of February 19th, 1776, Viceroy Bucareli complained to Governor Neve, and at the same time took occasion to lay down regulations which formed the basis for the minute reports drawn up by the missionaries ever after, and which afford such a clear view of mission work in its spiritual as well as material aspect in Upper California down to the end of the year 1834. The document is important enough to be reproduced.

"I have notified Your Honor," Bucareli writes, "under date of the 14th of the present month, of the receipt of the reports on fourteen missions to which Your Honor added an accompanying letter dated January 5th previous. I now act upon them after due examination, except as to the one entitled Santa Maria de los Angeles, of which I need to know whether it is a mission station only or some other aggregation. The confusion and lack of method with which these documents are drawn up scarcely give an idea of the state of the missions. When they were turned over to the Reverend Dominican Fathers, I directed that in each year detailed reports concerning their condition should be forwarded to this government, since the account of their progress must be given to the king. In view of the reports relative to the year 1773, under date of September 21st of the same year, I informed the Rev.

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[17] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 705-706.

[18] Letter of August 23d, 1782, in "Santa Barbara Archives."

Fr. Vincente Mora of the propriety of instructing the missionaries charged with the missions, that in the statements they express clearly and distinctly everything pertaining to each along with the increase, or decrease, or diminution experienced. In a general way, it is perceived those rules are observed by some of the Fathers; but in most reports there is wanting an indication of the lands under cultivation, of the product of the harvests, and of the efforts that have been made towards an increase; nor do they distinctly show the kind and number of the livestock which they possess. It will be necessary that in future reports these formalities be observed so that this government may have complete information as to the progress of each mission and may transmit the same to His Majesty.

"In order to obtain this object I judge it much to the purpose that each Father begin to describe the location and the latitude, and to express the time of its founding, or that of the transfer made by the religious of San Fernando;[19] that a description be made of the church, sacristy, furniture, and the rest of which there is knowledge, and to place in a separate paragraph the more notable improvements of the year, doing the same at the end in describing the dwelling and whatever pertains to the farm, in order that at first sight the increase due to the care and industry of the missionaries be perceived. In the reports on the land which is cultivated it will be expedient to observe great exactitude in the future, for since this and the increase in the livestock constitutes the vigor of each mission, it is proper to have knowledge of what each possesses and what it adds thereto. Hence it is expedient that in the reports it be stated what land in reality there is under cultivation, what has been planted, and the produce obtained by giving the number of fanégas of corn, of wheat, of beans, etc., without forgetting whether the mission has any vineyards, how many vines, how many fruit-trees and the amount of fruit they have yielded, for which purpose it will

[19] The Franciscans of the College of San Fernando.

be useful to draw up a formula exhibiting this important information in separate columns.

"Nearly all the reports received, in giving the number of people and the number of livestock, suffer from confusion. This could be overcome by enumerating the males separately and stating how many are married, how many are widowers, how many single, and how many boys; in like manner by observing the same care in distinguishing the number of the females, whence we shall come to the knowledge of the whole number of souls. The like system could be practised at the end of the Padron,[30] which is to be arranged, by mentioning those that existed in the previous year, in order to learn the difference which may be noted by decrease or increase.

"Concerning the livestock, the separation according to kind and number is most important; without this no judgment can be formed as to what exists. Besides it is easy to express this, and likewise it is expedient at the end to indicate the number of each kind which existed in the preceding year in order to conclude the progress. Some of the religious already mention the most notable improvements in the lands and plantations, but it is necessary that all observe this with clearness and after proper method, as nothing affords a more complete idea of their zeal and of the progress which can be expected from such information. Much more than I can explain the instructions, Your Honor can advance the matter so as to facilitate exact documents concerning what is in the country; nor can the importance of these informations be concealed to you. I hope that Your Honor will place yourself in accord with the Rev. Fr. Vincente Mora, in order that, after he also is made acquainted with it, he may direct that the rest of the Fathers in future observe the regulations which I prescribe, and those that Your Honor may consider opportune for the greater clearness and understanding of the reports by drawing up a formula, if it be necessary, so that all may follow one and the same method and style, of which results Your

[30] The general record containing the names of all the Indians with age, sex, antecedents, and condition of each one.

Honor will furnish me with the corresponding information. God keep Your Honor many years. Mexico, February 19th, 1776. Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa." [21]

The annual reports of the various missions were sent by each missionary to the Father Presidente at Loreto, who forwarded them to the governor at Monterey, Upper California, until the peninsula, by royal order of March 26th, 1804, was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the Monterey official in order to enjoy a government of its own. In the same month Arrillaga was promoted to the governorship of Upper California, but ruled Lower California until the arrival of its own governor, Captain Felipe de Goycoechea, formerly comandante of the Santa Barbara presidio. The latter was appointed in 1805, but did not reach the peninsula until July, 1806. The Arroyo de Barrabas, or Arroyo del Rosário, between fifteen and twenty miles below San Diego, was assigned as the dividing line between the two territories. [22]

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[21] "Sta. Barbara Archives," ad annum.

[22] Hittell, "Hist. of Calif.," vol. i, 607; Bancroft, "Hist. of Texas," vol. ii, 705.

CHAPTER IV.

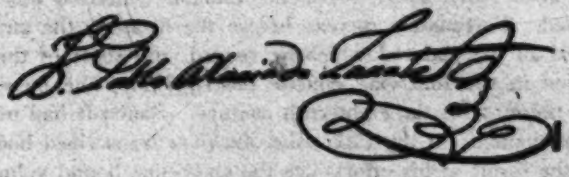
The California Archives.—Reports on the Missions of San José del Cabo, Santiago de los Córas, Pueblo of Santa Ana, Todos Santos, San Francisco Javier, Loreto, San José de Comundú, Purísima Concepcion, Santa Rosalía, Guadalupe, San Ignacio, Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco de Borja.

IN obedience to Viceroy Bucareli's instructions, reports on the missions were made in triplicate. One copy was sent to the viceroy through the governor, another was forwarded to the superiors in Mexico, and a third was retained at Loreto. When the missions were secularized or confiscated most of the papers were collected by the governors of the respective territories. Those of Lower California dated after the separation were lost. Most of the documents in Upper California, including the reports from the peninsula up to 1804, later became the property of the United States Government which had them bound in three hundred volumes and placed in charge of a custodian at the United States Surveyor's office, San Francisco. These bound volumes of Spanish manuscripts constitute the *California Archives*. During the great conflagration of April 19-22, 1906, this valuable collection was destroyed. Fortunately, a year before the disaster, the author copied all the material which he needed, and some of this is utilized in the following concise description of the missions near the close of the eighteenth century. Bancroft had much of the contents of the *California Archives* transcribed bodily, and the result of his efforts are the sixty-nine bound volumes now at California Hall, University of California, Berkeley.

From the mission reports we learn that the Dominicans, despite the many drawbacks of the country, exhibited activity similar to that of the Franciscans in Upper California of which more is on record. We have seen what the missions effected under the administration of the Jesuits and Franciscans, we now proceed to describe the state of each mission

under the management of the Dominicans, as far as could be gathered from the fragmentary documents examined.[1]

Mission San José del Cabo, the first of the peninsular establishments beginning at the south, reports that in 1799 a large building of adobe was erected. It measured fifty-eight varas in length, seven varas in width, and five varas in height, and was roofed with tules. Twenty varas of this structure served for a church and sacristy until a more suitable edifice could be raised. Another small building ten varas long, six varas wide, and four varas high, had been constructed of adobe and roofed with tules for the purpose of lodging the unmarried men and serving as a kitchen for the neophytes. The former church had been destroyed by the floods of 1793. From twenty-eight souls in 1782 the Indian population rose to two hundred in 1800. The livestock varied considerably. Cattle decreased from 535 to 388 head; horses increased from 163 to 546 head; sheep and goats decreased from 572 to 282 head, and mules from 68 head to only one. The yield of grain in four years for which there are any reports varied between 180 to 259 fanégas. The missionaries stationed at San José del Cabo from 1768-1773 were the Franciscans Juan Moran and Juan Antonio Rioboo. Their immediate successors are not known; but Fr. José Lafuente was in charge during 1788, and



Fr. José Vidaurreta, who presumably followed him, died on March 22d, 1793.[2] Fr. Pablo Zárate was in charge until 1798, and during 1797-1798 had as assistant Fr. Eudaldo Surroca.

[1] "California Archives, State Papers, Missions"; Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 760-763.

[2] Letter of Fr. Caietano Pallás, Loreto, April 10th, 1793. ("Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.)

In 1794 there is mention of a library which contained fifty volumes.

Mission Santiago de los Córas. The neophytes of this small establishment by 1772 had become so poor that they lived on the flesh of stray cattle. Ten Indian families with forty-three souls are reported for 1782. In 1794 there were altogether seventy Indians nominally attached to the mission; these by order of Governor Borica were removed to Mission San José del Cabo. Santiago in 1795 was abandoned and the estate turned over to Salvador Castro. The crops had varied between thirty and one hundred and fifty fanégas a year. In the year 1782 thirty-four fanégas of corn were harvested. Horses and mules nevertheless increased from ninety-two head in 1782 to 250 in 1794, cattle from 280 to 600 head, and eighty head of sheep and goats were counted in 1782. The Franciscans José Murguía, Juan Rioboo, and Francisco Villuendas, and the secular priest Rev. Baeza had charge of the mission from 1768 to 1773. Which of the Dominican friars succeeded them it is impossible to say; but Fr. Francisco Hontiyuelo was stationed here from 1790 to 1794.

Santa Ana Pueblo. This was a mining town, but the mines were regarded as exhausted in 1772. It had a garrison of thirty-six men in 1776. The Rev. Isidro Ibarzábal, a secular priest, was the curate from 1768 to 1776. The report for 1790 gives the population as consisting of 381 males and 314 females, of whom three were Europeans, 133 Spaniards, 198 Indians, 157 mulattoes, and 204 of mixed races, besides one Dominican friar, or in all 696 souls. Fr. José Lafuente served as curate in 1794 and 1795. Fr. Rafael Arviña took his place in 1796. His allowance was two head of cattle a month.

Mission Todos Santos in 1793 reports the existence of an adobe church twenty-four by nine varas in size which had been erected in 1786. It also had a separate adobe chapel dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary. The corridor of the missionary's dwelling was of stone. The same report also mentions a sugar-mill, a forge, and a small distillery. The sugar was made of sugar-canes. The Indian population increased from twenty-one families and one hundred and thirty-five souls in 1782 to

one hundred and eighty-one souls in 1800. Horses increased from 462 in 1782 to 751 in 1793, and decreased to 390 head in 1800; mules increased from 113 in 1782 to 125 head in 1800; sheep and goats decreased from 270 head to none in 1800; and cattle decreased from 888 in 1782 to 729 head. Fourteen head of swine are reported for 1782. The mining town of Santa Ana twelve leagues distant was attended from this mission in 1794. From 1768-1773 the Franciscans Juan Ramos de Lora, José A. Murguía, Juan Figuer, Marcelino Senra, and Miguel Sánchez were in charge of the mission. The names of the Dominicans who followed them are not known; but Fr. Mariano Fernández was the missionary from 1790 to 1798; Fr. Francisco Hontiyuelo assisted him in 1797.[3]

Mission San Francisco de Javier in 1793 had a church of masonry forty-one by seven and one-half varas in size with a transept surmounted by a cupola. The tower had three stories. On either side of the church was a sacristy which measured eight by four and one-half varas. The baptistry was three and one-half by four and one-half varas in size. The sanctuary had the width of the church. The church contained many paintings, and it was well supplied with vestments. The house of the missionary was also of stone. Locusts and drought did much damage to the vines, fruits, and corn. In 1782 forty-two families with one hundred and sixty-nine souls were reported; these dwindled to one hundred and eleven in 1800. Horses and mules increased from 122 in 1782 to two hundred head in 1800, cattle from 218 to 300, sheep and goats from 290 to 600 head. The harvests yielded from 245 to 350 fanégas of grain. In 1782 twenty-eight fanégas of beans were gathered, and sixty tinajas of wine, each containing seventy quartillas, were manufactured. There was a forge at the mission, and a library is reported for the missionary's house. The Franciscans in charge before 1773 were Francisco Palóu, Juan Escudero, Ramon Uson, and Fernando Parron. Who their immediate Dominican successors were is not on record. Fr. Gerónimo Soldevilla was stationed here from 1790 to

[3] For the "Lord's Prayer" in Guaicuro see Appendix I, no. 1.

1798, and during that time Fr. Miguel Gallego in 1794, and Fr. Tomás Marin in 1797, were his assistants.

Mission and Presidio of Loreto. In 1793 the church is reported as being fifty-six varas long and seven varas wide and richly decorated. It had a sacristy whose dimensions were six by eight varas. The house of the missionaries was built of masonry and roofed with tiles. It contained a sala, or reception room, twelve varas long and six varas wide, and another room six by seven varas in size. The library consisted of four hundred and sixty-six volumes. In 1794 the yard was paved to protect the foundations of the church. The Indian population of the mission in 1782 was composed of sixteen families with seventy souls. In 1800 the report shows a population of about six hundred souls, of whom more than half was of Spanish or mixed blood. In fact only thirty-seven Indians are reported for the year 1798. In 1782 the mission owned 73 horses and 122 cattle; in 1800 there were 50 horses and 350 cattle; but the reports mention no sheep. The presidio owned a few hundred horses and cattle. The crops, which could not be large, are not reported. From 1768 to 1773 the Franciscans in charge were the Fathers Junipero Serra, Fernando Parron, Vincente de Santa Maria, José A. de Murguia, and Francisco Palóu. Their Dominican successors were the Fathers Vincente Mora, José Armesto in 1790, Caietano Pallás in 1794-1798, Miguel Gallego, Pedro Acebedo in 1795, Placido Sanz in 1798, and Vincente Belda.

Mission San Jose de Comundú. The church, built of stone, measured thirty by thirteen varas, and was therefore the widest in the territory. It had an arched ceiling, and the interior was divided into three naves richly decorated. There were three altars, twenty-five paintings, and six images. The vestments were of the finest. The spacious dwelling of the missionary was also built of stone, and contained a library of one hundred and twenty-six volumes. In 1798 the foundations for a building, nineteen by six varas, were laid and another corral prepared. The Indian population in 1782 counted only fifteen families with eighty souls, and these dwindled to twen-

ty-eight in 1800. In 1782 the report has 125 horses, 98 mules, 375 sheep, 128 cattle, and 24 swine. In 1800 the mission claimed about 1000 sheep, few cattle, 200 horses and mules, and forty swine. In 1782 about 600 fanégas of wheat, 70 fanégas of corn, 3 fanégas of beans, 3 fanégas of garbanzos, and 150 arrobas of figs were harvested. Seventy tinájas of wine, each holding 100 cuartillas, were manufactured. The reports after that are meager, but the grain crop never exceeded 400 fanégas. From 1768-1773 the Franciscans Antonio Martínez, Juan Prestamero, and Tomás de la Peña had charge of the mission. The names of their immediate Dominican successors are not in the records which we have; but Fr. Ricardo Tejeiro followed from 1794 to 1796 and possibly later. After him came Fr. Jorge Coello in 1797 and 1798, and Fr. José Antonio Sánchez.[4]

Mission Purísima Concepcion de Cadegomó in 1793 reports an adobe church twenty-five by six and one-half varas, and poorly furnished. The priest's house was a spacious adobe building with a library containing two hundred volumes. In the following year two additional houses were erected. The Indian population dwindled from seventeen families with eighty-one souls in 1782 to sixty-one souls in 1800. In 1782 the harvest yielded 200 fs. of wheat, 60 fs. of corn, 8 fs. of beans, 2 fs. of garbanzos, and 600 arróbas of figs. In addition thirty-eight tinajas of wine, each containing 100 cuartillas, were obtained from the vineyard. This was about the average product of the farm and garden down to 1800. The mission owned 90 horses, 74 mules, 60 cattle, 400 sheep, and 30 swine in 1782; in 1800 there were 263 horses and mules, 422 head of cattle, 896 sheep, and 40 swine. The Franciscans in charge from 1768-1773 were Juan Crespi, Juan Ignacio Gaston, Francisco Echasco, and Martín Palácios. Their immediate Dominican successors are unknown. The reports for 1794-1798 give only the name of Fr. Antonio Sánchez as missionary of Purísima.

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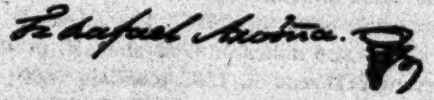
[4] For the "Lord's Prayer" as said at this mission see Appendix I, no. 2.

Mission Santa Rosalia de Mulegé in 1770 had been damaged so severely by floods that the Dominicans found it almost deserted. They spent $3000 on irrigation works before the year 1786. The Indian population in 1782 consisted of but twenty families with seventy-five souls. In 1800 there were ninety Indians on the mission list. The report of 1782 has 83 horses, 30 mules, and 457 sheep and goats, but no cattle; in 1800 the livestock consisted of 148 mules and horses, 100 head of cattle, and about 275 sheep and goats. From 400 to 500 fs. of grain were harvested annually. Wine and cotton in small quantities were also obtained. Building activity is shown in that a kitchen for the Indians was erected in 1794, and during the year 1798 six cottages of adobe having a flat earthen roof were built for the Indians. Another adobe structure was added in the same year. From 1768-1773 the Franciscans were the Fathers Franc. Gómez, J. Benito Sierra, and Pedro Arriquibar. The Dominican Fr. José Herrera was stationed here from 1783-1794, Fr. Miguel Gallego in 1795-1798, and Fr. Domingo Timon in 1800.

Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe in 1793 had an adobe church whose dimensions were thirty-two by seven varas. The report of 1782 shows thirty Indian families with one hundred and five souls, 109 horses, 59 mules, 243 cattle, 800 sheep, and 60 goats. In 1794 the livestock consisted of 108 horses and mules, 500 cattle, and 486 sheep and goats. The yield of grain amounted to 75 fs.; it sometimes reached 200 fs. In 1795 the mission, which then had only seventy-four neophytes, was closed. The Franciscans Juan Sancho de la Torre, Andrés Villaumbrales, and Manuel Lago had charge



from 1768-1773. Fr. Rafael Arviña is the only Dominican mentioned in connection with this mission. He was stationed there in 1794.[5]

[5] For the history of Our Lady of Guadalupe, see Appendix E.

Mission San Ignacio in 1782 had a neophyte population of sixty-seven families with two hundred and forty-one souls; this decreased to one hundred and thirty souls in the year 1800. The livestock, however, increased somewhat. There were 99 horses and mules in 1782; in 1800 there were 340 head; 500 head of cattle are reported for both years, but sheep and goats advanced from 900 to 1000 head. The mission in 1800 also owned 20 swine. The yield of grain varied between 750 and 1000 fs. a year, and from 90 to 400 tinajas of wine were manufactured. Some cotton was also raised. The mission, unlike many others on the peninsula, had good land and raised much fruit. The report of 1793 tells of 800 fig-trees, 50 date-palms, and 150 pomegranate-trees. A church of stone with arched ceiling was completed in 1786; it measured forty-four by seven and five-tenths varas in size, and was considered the finest in the country. It was well furnished with vestments, some of which were costly. The house of the Fathers had two reception rooms, besides nine other rooms. There was a separate house for the widows and orphans. In 1799 various Indian dwellings were renovated, and at one rancho two houses and a chapel were erected. The Franciscans stationed here from 1768-1773 were Fathers Miguél Campa y Cos, Juan de Medina Beitia, and José Legomera. Their immediate successors are not on record; but those in charge later were Fr. Juan Crisóstomo Gómez until 1793, Fr. Joaquin Calvo in 1794 and 1795, Fr. Domingo Timon from 1795 to 1798, and Fr. José Loriente in 1796.[6]

Mission Santa Gertrudis, one of the most populous in 1768, reported only sixty-six families with three hundred and seventeen souls in 1782, and this number further dwindled to two hundred and three souls in 1800. The livestock varied between 146 horses and mules in 1782 and 150 in 1800; cattle decreased from 212 head in 1782 to 80 in 1800; but sheep and goats multiplied from 777 to 2770 head. In 1782 wheat yielded 200 fs. and corn 88 fs.; in 1800 only 126 fs. of grain

[6] For the Lord's Prayer as recited at this mission, see Appendix I, no. 3.

were harvested; 100 tinajas of wine were obtained from the vineyard in 1782; for the other years the reports are silent. There was but little good land, and water was not plentiful. The church in 1793 is reported as of adobe and roofed with tules. In 1794 a carpenter-shop and a smithy were erected. In 1798 a building seven by six varas in size was constructed of masonry. During the following year a reservoir and trench were built with lime and stone, besides two walls each fifteen varas in length and five varas in height. Two years later a large building arose to shelter the girls and unmarried women, and four dwellings for Indians were erected. Thus Santa Gertrudis showed considerable activity. The Franciscans in charge from 1768 to 1773 were Fr. Dionisio Basterra, Fr. Juan Sancho, and Gregorio Amurrio. The name of only one Dominican is recorded, Fr. José Espin, who was stationed at this mission from 1794 to 1798 and probably longer.

Mission San Francisco de Borja was the most populous founded by the Jesuits. In 1782 the lists showed one hundred and sixty-eight families with six hundred and fifty-seven souls. In 1800 four hundred still remained. Horses and mules decreased from 183 to 130 head; cattle dwindled from 366 head to only 31 in 1800; sheep and goats decreased from 1691 head to 1000 in 1800. There were 30 swine in 1782, but in 1800 they had disappeared. The harvest in 1782 yielded 280 fs. of wheat, one fanéga of barley, 60 fs. of corn, 3 fs. of beans, 2 fs. of garbanzos, or horse-beans, and 22 tinájas of wine. In 1800 the average was about the same. The report of 1793 describes the old church as of adobe and covered with tules. It was thirty-two by seven varas in size. The interior, besides having three altars, contained twenty pictures. The report of 1801 tells of a stone church under construction and nearly finished.[7] The habitation of the priest was of stone. The Franciscans stationed here from 1768 to 1773 were Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen and Fr. Marcelino Senra. The names of their immediate Dominican successors are not given

[7] "Una Iglesia de cal y piedras, la cual está en punto de sentar las cornizas." See also "Archbishop's Archives," no. 86.

anywhere; but in 1775 Fr. Manuel García labored here, and Fr. Martín Zavaleta attended San Borja in 1783. Fr. Melchor Pons was stationed there in 1794 and 1797, and he may have dwelt there in the intervening years. Fr. Antonio Lázaro is in the reports for 1797-1798 and possibly later. Fr. Juan María Salgado seems to have been in charge in 1795-1799.[8]

[8] For the "Lord's Prayer" as said at this mission, see Appendix I, no. 4.

CHAPTER V.

(Continued.)

Missions San Fernando de Velicatá, Rosário, Santo Domingo, San Vincente Ferrer, Santo Tomás, San Pedro Mártir, San Miguel, Santa Catalina.

Mission San Fernando Rey de Velicatá, to which the neophytes of Mission Santa Maria de los Angeles had been removed, in 1782 reported one hundred and seventy-nine families with six hundred and forty-two souls. The number decreased gradually, so that in 1794 there were five hundred and twenty-five, and in 1800 only three hundred and sixty-three neophytes on the rolls. The mission owned comparatively little livestock at any time. In 1782 only 12 horses, 19 mules, 110 head of cattle, 178 sheep, and 65 goats belonged to the establishment. In 1800 the reports have about the same number of animals besides 13 swine. The crops in 1782 amounted to 368 fs. of wheat, 410 fs. of corn, and 107 fs. of barley. In 1800 only 660 fs. of all kinds of grain were harvested. Some cotton was raised at San Fernando, but the yield did not amount to much, it seems. The church, in 1793, thirty-three by five and one-half varas in size, was built of adobe and poles, and poorly furnished. The house of the missionaries was of the same material, but spacious. In 1798 an adobe building, measuring seven by sixteen varas, was erected. It had a flat roof constructed of reeds and mud. The structure was intended for a store-room. The Franciscans in charge from the founding to 1773 were Fr. Miguel Campa y Cos, Fr. Vincente Fuster, Fr. Antonio Linares, and Fr. Pedro Cambon. As far as the records and casual remarks in Fr. Palóu's "Noticias" show, the Dominicans stationed here were Fr. Miguel Hidalgo and Fr. Pedro Gandiaga in 1773-1774, Fr. Jorge Coello in 1794, Jose Caulas in 1795-1797, and Fr. Rafael Arviña in 1795-1799.

Mission Nuestra Señora del Rosário, the first mission established by the Dominicans, in 1782 reported fifty-three Indian

families with two hundred and fifty-one souls. In 1793 there were three hundred and ninety neophytes enrolled. After this date the Indian population decreased so that in 1800 the mission counted only two hundred and fifty-seven Indians. In 1782 74 horses, 19 mules, 140 cattle, 358 sheep, and 70 goats belonged to the mission. At the close of the century there were ninety horses and mules, 200 cattle, 700 sheep and goats, and about 60 swine. In 1782 the crops amounted to 9 fs. of wheat, 200 fs. of barley, 401 fs. of corn, and 14 fs. of beans. In 1800 about 2554 fanégas of all kinds of grain were harvested. The report of 1793 describes the church as consisting of adobe and poles and, including the sacristy, measured forty-six by nine varas in size. It had only one altar and the interior was poorly furnished. The house of the priests was an adobe structure. In 1798 a building eight varas in length was erected in addition to others built in former years of which we have no reports. In 1794 a new cemetery was laid out. In 1799 a building containing several rooms was constructed at San José, a ranch in the district where the grain was raised. Moreover, an oratory measuring six by sixteen varas in size was erected. The walls were of adobe and the roof was made of reeds and covered with earth. During the year 1800 four rooms were added to the mission buildings, one was twelve by six varas and served for a store-room; the others measured six by ten varas and were used as kitchen, forge, and weaving room respectively. All these structures were of adobe, and the roof consisted of poles covered with earth. As far as known Fr. Francisco Galisteo was in charge in 1775, Fr. Pedro Gandiaga in 1790, Fr. Vincente Belda in 1794-1797, and Fr. Juan Rivas in 1797.

Mission Santo Domingo in 1782 reported only twenty families with seventy-nine souls; but the population increased to two hundred and fifty-seven in 1800. Horses and mules increased from 80 to 166 head for the same period, cattle from 167 to 500, sheep and goats from 53 to 1100, and swine from 20 to 30 head. The grain crop varied between 410 and 1620 fs. Considerable activity was displayed at Santo Do-

mingo during the last years of the eighteenth and the first years of the nineteenth centuries. In 1793 the church building was a poor structure of adobe and poles, and measured but eight by eighteen varas. The priest's house was of the same material. In 1794 a new cemetery was laid out, a corral of adobe constructed, and a small building of adobe erected. At the Rancho of San Anselmo, a league from the old mission site, the Fathers in 1798 put up a large building which contained a chapel for celebrating holy Mass, private rooms, a kitchen, all the workshops needed at a mission, and a granary, apparently with a view to remove the mission to the new site. Sufficient land was also plowed to plant eight fs. of corn, as water was abundant. During the following year, 1799, a corrál of adobe posts was constructed at San Telmo for the wild cattle. A house for the Fathers and one other for cowherds were also built at the same place. Moreover, say the reports, the water pool was surrounded with adobe pillars to prevent the cattle from soiling the water, and all the buildings erected at San Telmo in the past years were whitewashed. A dam and water ditch were built to irrigate the land. In 1800 a few more rooms were added, besides a smithy and a carpenter-shop, and all the buildings of the mission itself were whitewashed. During the year 1801 a fever epidemic visited the mission and carried off many of the Indians. Nevertheless, a house for the mission guards was constructed. The Dominicans stationed at Santo Domingo were Fr. Manuel García in 1775-1776, Fr. Miguél Hidalgo in 1775, Fr. José Aivar in 1790, Fr. Miguél Abad in 1794-1798, and Fr. Jaime Codina in 1795.

Mission San Vincente Ferrer in 1782 had fourteen families with but eighty-three souls. The highest number reached was two hundred and fifty-seven in 1785. In 1800 there were still two hundred and forty-six natives attached to the mission. The livestock was not numerous. Horses and mules varied between 46 in 1782 and 161 in 1800. Cattle increased from 56 head to 750, sheep and goats from 141 to 1300 head. The harvest in 1782 yielded 200 fs. of wheat, 25 fs. of barley, 120

fs. of corn, and 2 fs. of beans. In 1800 the crops amounted to 904 fs. of grain. The church building in 1793 was a poor adobe structure twenty-two by six and three-fourths varas in size, and roofed with tules. The Dominicans in charge were Fr. Miguél Hidalgo, Fr. Joaquin Valero, Fr. Luis Sales in 1785, Fr. Miguél Gallego in 1790, Fr. José Manuel Rúiz, Fr. Caietano Pallás, Fr. Tomás Valdellon in 1794 and 1795, Fr. Ramon López and Fr. Sigismundo Fontcuberta in 1797 and 1798 and probably later.

With regard to Mission San Vincente, which he erroneously calls San Sebastian, Pattie[1] in 1828 writes: "On the 18th

(April) we started under the conduct of a file of soldiers, who led us two days' travel over high mountains, a southwest course, to another mission, called St. Sebastian, situated near the sea coast in a delightful valley, surrounded, like the other (Santa Catalina), by lofty mountains, the sides of which present magnificent views of the ocean. This mission contains six hundred souls. This mission establishment, though much richer and neater than the other, is, however, built on a precisely similar plan. Here they have rich vineyards, and raise

[1] "The Personal Narrative of James O. Pattie of Kentucky," Cincinnati, O., 1831. Republished and edited by Reuben G. Thwaites, Cleveland, O., 1905, pages 222-223. On his arrival at Mission Santa Catalina, Pattie was arrested with his companions, sent to San Diego, and all held as spies. When he returned to the East he gave vent to his bitter feeling as well as his ignorant bigotry in the book which he wrote from memory. It is unreliable for various reasons. However, as it is the only local information available of that period, the few scraps are inserted to describe the respective missions.

a great variety of the fruits of almost all climates. They also raise their own supplies of grain and have a tolerable abundance of stock, both of the larger and smaller kinds. A sergeant has the whole command." Fr. Tomás Mansilla was the missionary in charge in 1829 according to the "California Archives."

Mission Santo Tomás was founded on April 24th, 1791. According to the report of 1793 the church was a poor adobe structure roofed with poles and mats. Its size was only five by twelve varas. The house of the missionary was of the same material. In June, 1794, the mission was removed to another site. The new church building was an adobe structure and roofed with poles and tules. Likewise the priest's house and the kitchen were built with the same material. The Indian population increased from ninety-six souls in 1791 to two hundred and sixty-two in 1800. Horses and mules advanced from 172-187; cattle from 350 to 1070; and sheep and goats varied between 650 and 2400 head. The yield of all kinds of grain amounted to 652 fs. in 1791 and 1550 fs. in 1800. The Fathers proved very active builders at the close of the century. In 1799 they put up four buildings; one was twenty varas in length, another fourteen, a third, seven, and finally a fourth, six varas long. In addition they laid the foundation for a new church. This latter edifice could not be built at the time, because it was found impossible to procure the necessary lumber which had to be brought from a great distance. A jacal, or wigwam of poles and sticks, ten varas long, was the last work done in this line during the said year. Two carts were made for the transportation of material.

In 1800 efforts were made, without success, to finish the church, sacristy, corridor, spinning-room, and barn, which were all under construction; but the church was not completed until the following year. This building was thirty varas long and six and three-fourths varas wide. The roof was flat and covered with earth. The sacristy measured seven by five and one-half varas! Two store-rooms, one ten varas the other eight varas in length, roofed with tules, and a similar structure, six by nine varas, to shelter the girls and unmarried

women, were built in the same year. The walls of these buildings consisted of poles, as the nearest timber land was situated eighteen leagues from the mission. The Dominicans stationed at Santo Tomás were Fr. José Loriente apparently from 1791 to 1797, Fr. Miguél López in 1797-1798, and Fr. Sigismundo Fontcuberta.

Santo Tomás must have flourished in later years, if Pattie tells the truth. "At night" (April 2d, 1828), he says, "we arrived at another mission, situated in a charming plain. The mission is called St. Thomas (Santo Tomás). These wise and holy men mean to make sure of the rich and pleasant things of the earth, as well as the kingdom of heaven.[1] They have large plantations, with splendid orchards and vineyards. The priest, who presides over this establishment, told me that he had a thousand Indians under his care. During every week in the year they kill thirty beeves for the subsistence of the mission. The hides and tallow they sell to vessels that visit the coast in exchange for such goods as they need."

Mission San Pedro Mártir de Verona was founded in 1794 with sixty Indians who increased to only ninety-two in 1800. The reports are silent about the livestock and harvests of the early years. In 1800 the mission owned 140 horses and mules, 600 cattle, 700 sheep and goats, and 50 swine. The grain crop for the same year amounted to 435 fs. During the year 1801 the Fathers erected a new church, apparently of adobe, which measured six by twenty-five varas. At the same time they built a long structure which contained a sala, or reception-room, fourteen by seven varas, two rooms each seven by eight varas, and a dispensary or store-room for the eatables seven by twelve varas. The Dominicans in charge down to 1800 were Fr. Caietano Pallás and Fr. Juan Pablo Grijalva in 1794, Fr. Antonio and Fr. Rafael Caballero in 1795, Fr. Juan Rivas in 1797, Fr. Mariano Apolinario in 1797-1798, and Fr. José Caulas in 1798.

Mission San Miguél Arcangel, founded in 1787, for the

[1] This is a mild specimen of Pattie's flings. They show that he did not understand the situation. "Personal Narrative," page 226.

year 1788 has only the following meager information: 20 horses, 27 mules, 59 cattle, 120 sheep, and 371 goats, and 550 fs. of grain. The report of 1793 speaks of an adobe church twenty-six by seven varas in size and roofed with tiles. The interior had two altars. The house of the missionaries was built like the church of adobe. The number of Indians in the same year was one hundred and seventy-one. They steadily increased to two hundred and twenty-four in 1800. Horses and mules increased from 100 to 328; cattle from 152 to 1350; sheep and goats from 644 to 1651 in 1800. In 1798 three rooms and two granaries were erected, and in 1800 a new house was built for the Fathers and their servants. The missionaries in charge of San Miguél were Fr. Luis Sales in 1787, Fr. Mariano Apolinario in 1794-1795, Fr. Mariano Yoldi in 1794-1798, and Fr. Raymundo Escolá in 1798. In subsequent years San Miguél grew to be one of the most populous missions of the peninsula, if we may believe James O. Pattie,[3] who made a visit there in April, 1828. "This day" (April 23d), he writes, "we arrived at a mission situated immediately on the seaboard, called St. Michael (San Miguel). Like the rest, it was surrounded with splendid orchards, vineyards and fields; and was, for soil, climate and position, all that could be wished. The old superintending priest of the establishment showed himself very friendly, and equally inquisitive. He invited us to sup with him, an invitation we should not be very likely to refuse. We sat down to a large table, furnished with various dishes of the country, all as usual highly seasoned. The priest informed us that the population of his mission was twelve hundred souls, and the weekly consumption fifty beeves and a corresponding amount of grain. The mission possessed three thousand head of domesticated and tamed horses and mules. From the droves which I saw in the plains, I should not think this an extravagant estimation.[4]

[3] "Personal Narrative," p. 227.

[4] We should say it is very extravagant, and also the estimate of the number of sheep further below; but it is in keeping with the figures superficial writers scatter about the missions of Upper California.

In the morning he presented my father a saddle mule, which he accepted, and we started. . . . In the evening we arrived at a ranch called Buénas Aguas, or Good Water, where we encamped for the night. We started early on the 25th purchasing a sheep of a shepherd, for which we paid him a knife. At this ranch they kept thirty thousand head of sheep, belonging to the mission which we had left."

Mission Santa Catalina (*Catarina*) *Virgen y Mártir*, the last mission founded by the Dominicans, had one hundred and thirty-three neophytes in 1800. In the same year it possessed 145 horses and mules, 315 head of cattle, and 312 sheep and goats. The harvest amounted to only thirty-one fs. of grain. During the year 1798 a house with two rooms, each five by six varas, was built of adobe. In the next year a building five by seven varas was erected of the same material and a yard walled in for the protection of the girls and single women. Another structure, six by six varas, followed soon after. In 1802 an addition of adobe was built which contained two rooms five varas square. The missionaries in charge were Fr. José Loriente in 1797 and Fr. Tomás Valdellon in 1797-1798.

Concerning Santa Catalina Pattie[5] writes: "This mission is situated in a valley surrounded by high mountains with beautiful streams of water flowing from them. The natives raise sufficient corn and wheat to serve for the subsistence of the mission. The mission establishment is built in a quadrangular form; all the houses forming the quadrangle contiguous to each other; and one of the angles is a large church, adjoining which are the habitations of the priests; though at this time there happened to be none belonging to this at home. The number of Indians belonging to the mission at this time was about five hundred. They were destitute of stock on account of its having been plundered from them by the free, wild Indians of the desert. The air is very cool and temperate,[6] and hard frosts are not uncommon. This cool temperature of the atmosphere I suppose to be owing to the immediate proximity of the snowy mountains."

[5] "Personal Narrative," page 222.

[6] Pattie claims to have been there in the month of April, 1828.

CHAPTER VI.

Lower California Neglected by the Government.—Murder of Two Dominican Missionaries.—Bancroft's Charges.—Death of Some Dominicans.—Arrival of Five Franciscans.—The Peninsula Escapes the Horrors of the Hidalgo Revolt, but the Missions Suffer.—The Missionaries in Some of the Missions.—Deaths Among the Dominicans.—Indian Troubles.

THE political separation of Lower and Upper California in 1804 not only resulted in ever-growing neglect of the peninsula by the government, but it deprived historians of the means to obtain exact information concerning the Dominican activity. Beyond some death notices communicated to the Franciscans of Alta California, very little is on record. The Dominicans observed almost absolute silence about their work. With few exceptions, the very names of the missionaries and their respective field of activity, or the time when they served, is unknown.

An atrocious crime, the victim of which was a Dominican friar, occurred at Mission Santo Tomás at the beginning of the century. Fr. Rafael Arviña, the presidente of the Dominican missions, in a letter to Fr. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, presidente of the Franciscans, relates the particulars as follows: "Loreto, June 18th, 1803. My most esteemed Brother and Sir: Under date of the 19th of last May I have received the unhappy notice that Fr. Eudaldo Surroca, missionary of Mission Santo Tomás, has been found dead in his bed, and although he was at first believed to have died a natural death, it is now known that it has been a violent one perpetrated by four Indian servants.[1] Of these three have been arrested one of whom immediately confessed to the parricide.[2]

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[1] "Se sabe ahora no haber sido sino violenta, y perpetrada por quatro Indios los mas domesticos."

[2] "De estos se han apresado tres de los quales uno ha declarado luego al parricidio." Bancroft asserts, "a woman confessed to the deed under torture, and was executed together with two accomplices." ("History of Texas," vol. ii, 706.) It is to be observed that the friars never had woman servants, and Fr. Arviña expressly has "uno," not "una." For Bancroft as a historian, see Appendix J.

The body was found beaten all over and full of bruises and fractured bones; and from some signs, which were observed about the room, it may be believed that the deceased must have made a strong defense to save his life. I communicate all this to Your Reverence in order that, according to our agreement, you may inform all those of my[3] beloved Brethren and most religious Fathers that they may have the goodness to relieve the soul of this unfortunate religious by means of the customary suffrages, and that at the same time it may serve them as a useful lesson to guard themselves against the treachery of the Indians, and escape such a terrible catastrophe.[4] I beg God, etc. Fr. Rafael Arviña."

"P. S. I do not know whether or not Your Reverence has received the other notice in which I communicated the death of Rev. Fr. Miguél López, missionary of the same mission, on January 13th of this year, and who it is suspected was also a victim of the Indians. Fr. Arviña."[5]

True to his anti-missionary principles, Bancroft attributes these outrages to the tyranny of the Dominicans without offering the slightest evidence. According to the same author, Fr. Rafael Arviña, who had succeeded Fr. Belda on April 28th, 1802, when the said Father had resigned, by general request in 1804 was removed from the office of presidente on account of his scandalous conduct, which Bancroft does not specify.[6] Fr. Miguél Gallego from Loreto on February 22nd,

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[3] The Franciscans.

[4] Only nine years later a Franciscan met a similar fate at Santa Cruz.

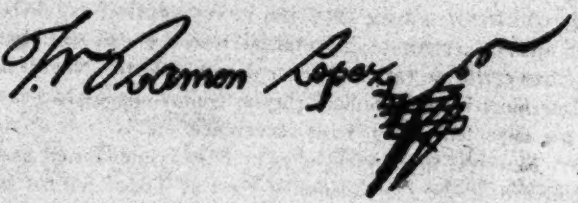
[5] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

[6] The same author, upon the authority of Mariano Vallejo, J. B. Alvarado, and Vega, makes similar not specified charges against Fathers Gabriel (?) of Loreto and Caballero; but no reputable historian will take the unsupported statements of these three Upper Californians with shady records as authority for anything on the missions or missionaries. Fr. Gabriel's surname is not given, so we have no means to identify him; there were three Fathers Caballero; to which one Bancroft's scribes refer it is impossible to say, even if the accusation were true, of which we have found no trace elsewhere.

1804, notified Fr. Estévan Tápis, the Franciscan presidente at Monterey, that on January 30th he had taken possession of the office of vicario-provincial and presidente of the missions by direction of the Dominican Province in Mexico. There must have been some cause, as Fr. Arviña had served only little more than half his term; but Fr. Gallego gives no reasons.[7]

On August 31st, 1805, Fr. Gallego from San Ignacio notifies Fr. Estévan Tápis that Fr. José Espin, the missionary in charge of that mission, had passed away on August 29th after a short, but painful, illness, during which he received all the sacraments.[8]

A new presidente for Lower California was appointed towards the end of 1808 in the person of Fr. Ramon López of Loreto. Replying to the congratulations of Fr. Tápis on



March 20th, 1809, López communicates the news of the death of Fr. Manuel del Águila, which occurred at Mission San Vincente on February 21st, 1809, at the age of only thirty years. In addition Fr. López says, "such is the scarcity of missionary laborers which we suffer that his (Águila's) mission remains in charge of the guards; but already one is going there." It seems Fr. Águila had been destined for Santa Catalina, but fell sick at San Vincente, where he received all the sacraments before he passed away.[9]

In January, 1810, Fr. López reported two deaths among his subjects. The first was that of his predecessor, Fr. Miguél

[7] "Santa Barbara Archives."
[8] Ibidem.
[9] Ibidem.

Gallego, who died from a sudden fit of sickness at nine in the evening of January 2d while at the presidio of Loreto. There was barely time enough to administer extreme unction; but he had made his confession only the day before. The other was the death of Fr. Plácido Sanz, who on the 17th of January passed away at the town of San Antonio in the southern part of the peninsula, after he had been fortified by the sacraments. Fr. Sanz had been temporarily in charge of the place. His death, Fr. López remarks, was precious.[10]

A missionary of great merit, Fr. Gerónimo Soldevilla, died at San Francisco Javier on November 18th, 1810. He had labored in the missions of Lower California for forty years, during twenty-six of which he had been stationed at San Javier. "He was so full of virtues, which accompanied him constantly during the whole course of his life," Fr. López writes, "and so patient in suffering the most grievous pains, with which for a long time the mercy of God regaled him, that, nearly certain of his eternal rest, we can say that we ought to celebrate rather than deplore his death. Nevertheless, as our most holy Catholic Religion commands us to pray for all the departed, I beg Your Reverence, etc."[11]

Fr. Mariano Fernández, who in 1794 is mentioned as vice-presidente of the Dominicans,[12] died at Todos Santos in the evening of June 19th, 1811, as a victim of dropsy.[13]

An unusual event was the arrival at Loreto about April 25th, 1812, of five Franciscans on their way from the College of San Fernando, Mexico, to Upper California. They were the Fathers Fernando Martin, Antonio Ripoll, Jayme Escudé, Joaquin Nuez, and Ramon Olbés. All were suffering from scurvy as the result of a long sea voyage. One other, Fr. Vincente Oliva, had to remain behind at Acapulco on account of a severe illness.[14]

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[10] López to Tápis, "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

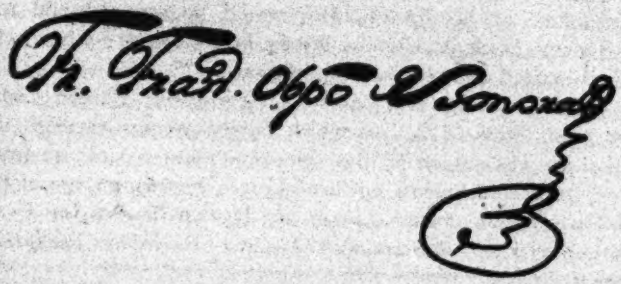
[11] López, Loreto, November 27th, 1810, to Tápis. "Santa Barb. Archives."

[12] "Archbishop's Archives," San Francisco, ad annum.

[13] Letter of Fr. Ramon López, Loreto, August 17th, 1811. "Sta. Barb. Arch."

[14] López to Tápis, Loreto, April 25th, 1812. "Sta. Barb. Archives."

Irreparable damage was inflicted upon the missions of California, as well as upon religion in Mexico, through the revolt which Miguél Hidalgo, the curate of Dolores, in the State of Guanajato, inaugurated on August 16th, 1810. California, indeed, escaped the horrors of the war, but the missions could procure no supplies, inasmuch as the insurgents blocked the roads, and the missionaries were deprived of their annual allowance. How the friars managed to live and maintain their neophytes in a country which permitted little agriculture, especially in the central and southern parts of the peninsula, we have no means to know; but much distress must have been the result. Naturally the missionaries, the majority of whom were Spaniards, felt little sympathy with a war which caused ruin to their establishments and their wards, and made advance in either religion or civilization impossible. They rather felt relief at the news of the downfall of the insurgent leaders,[15] as we learn from a letter addressed to Fr. Tápis by Fr. Ramon López from Loreto on September 25th, 1811.[16]



"By order of our most worthy prelate, the Illustrious and Most Rev. Lord Bishop of Sonora, Don Francisco Rouset de Jesus," López writes, "I forward to Your Reverence a copy of the satisfaction which the Bachelor Don Miguél Hidalgo,

[15] Hidalgo and other leaders were executed at Chihuahua on July 31st, 1811. His remains for a time were buried in a side chapel of the Franciscan church, Chihuahua, and later on transferred to the capital, where they are preserved in a chapel of the cathedral.

[16] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

the head of the late insurrection, has given and of the pardon he has asked.[17] All goes in haste and in poor condition, because a multitude of official papers, which I have to translate and circulate, have been tied up with it. Through Fr. Peiri[18] you will receive the news which we have had by the last European mail, which are satisfactory as far as they concern our Spain. We have had no Mexican correspondence, because the insurgent bands do not let it pass, notwithstanding that they are not in possession of any city, town, or village of importance whatsoever; but as they hold the sierras, they descend and do considerable damage, despite the havoc which the viceroy's troops create among them wherever they meet them."

It is but just to the memory of Hidalgo to state that he doubtless would never have risen in revolt, nor carried the banner of Our Lady of Guadalupe in battle, could he have foreseen that his action would result in the anti-Christian laws which enslave religion in Mexico. Hidalgo himself, should he appear now in his native country carrying the banner of Guadalupe as he did in 1810, would be arrested and imprisoned. Such is religious liberty in the country which was Christianized and civilized by religious.

From a circular sent out by Fr. Presidente Ramon López on April 26th, 1812, and which on its passage through the missions was signed by the respective missionaries, we learn that the establishments north of Loreto were in charge of the following Dominicans: *Loreto*, Fr. Ramon López; *San Francisco Javier*, Fr. Romantino de la Cruz; *Purisima Concepcion*,

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[17] Mexican historians and writers, who look upon Hidalgo as an heroic leader and as the father of Mexican independence, claim that he made no such declarations and admissions; but Bancroft, who naturally favors him, says: "I have found many statements therein contained corroborated or supported by other authorities of reliability, and to ignore entirely the 'Declaracion del Cura Hidalgo' and the accompanying papers would scarcely be wise." (Bancroft, "History of Mexico," vol. iv, 287.)

[18] Fr. Antonio Peyri, O. F. M., was the missionary of San Luis Rey in Upper California from 1796 to 1831.

Fr. Antonio Sánchez; *Santa Rosalía*, Fr. (?) Portela; *San Ignacio*, Fr. Pedro Gonzáles; *Santa Gertrudis*, Fr. Sigismundo Fontcuberta; *San Francisco de Borja*, Fr. Ramon de Santos; *San Fernando*, Fr. Bernardo Solá; *Rosário*, Fr. José Caulas; *San Vincente*, Fr. Antonio Fernández; *Santo Tomás*, Fr. Josef Miguél de Pineda; *San Miguél*, Fr. Tomás de Ahumada;[19] *Todos Santos* in the south, Fr. Jacinto Tiol.[20]

How close the most northern Dominican mission lay to San Diego, the most southern Franciscan establishment, may be gathered from the following incident. When Fr. José Pedro Panto fell suddenly and mortally ill at San Diego, it was found advisable to send for Fr. Ahumada at San Miguél to administer the last sacraments rather than to await the arrival of the Franciscan Father from San Luis Rey. Fr. Panto passed away on June 30th, 1812, only twenty-eight hours after he had fallen sick.[21]

Fr. Bonifacio Gómez de la Peña died at the presidio of Loreto on September 27th, 1813; he had been anointed, but on account of his infirmity he could not receive holy Viaticum.[22]

Some trouble was experienced at Mission Santo Tomás, where early in 1815 the savages within three months killed two inoffensive and pious attendants of the missionary.[23]

Nothing else of note seems to have occurred about this period, except that in 1814 a new governor for Lower California was appointed in the person of José Arguello, who succeeded Felipe de Goycoechea.[24]

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[19] "Guia," or Circular. ("Santa Barbara Archives.") There may have been other friars in the missions; usually only the senior signed.

[20] López to Tápis, Loreto, July 25th, 1812. ("Sta. Barbara Archives.")

[21] Tápis to López, Purisima, July 4th, 1812. ("Sta. Barbara Archives.")

[22] López to Tápis, Loreto, October 8th, 1813. ("Sta. Barbara Archives.")

[23] López to Señan, Loreto, March 16th, 1815. ("Sta. Barbara Archives.")

[24] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 708; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 632.

Under date of July 1st, 1816, from San Ignacio, Fr. Pedro Gonzáles, presidente ad interim, informed the Franciscans that Fr. Ramon López, for many years presidente of the Dominicans, had died. Neither date nor particulars are given.[35] It is this habit of the Dominican friars of writing as little as possible about their brethren and their missions which renders the compilation of their history so exceedingly unsatisfactory. The practice is laudable for the hermit and contemplative; but when the religious occupies a position of trust in the Church, and especially when he is a missionary, it is not of advantage for the Church of Christ and religion in general to hide the light under a bushel. As a missionary the religious represents Mother Church in his sphere, and as such his conduct is judged. In view of the fact that the enemies of religion never cease to make it appear that religious Orders are of little or no benefit to human society, it is reprehensible to provide them with weapons to vilify the religious and the Church by concealing the good effected in the world by religious. The Dominicans have doubtless been scarcely less active in California than the Jesuits or Franciscans, but so far it has not been discovered.

[35] Letter, July 1st, 1816. ("Santa Barbara Archives.")

CHAPTER VII.

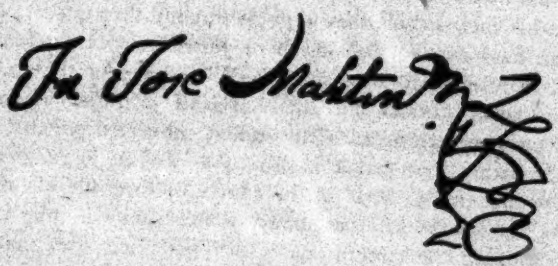
Petition from Lower California.—Fr. Sarriá's Circular.—Action of the Franciscans.—Meager Information.—Some of the Friars.—Chilean Rebels Plunder Some of the Missions.

FROM a circular which Fr. Vincente de Sarriá, the comisario prefecto of the Franciscans in Upper California, addressed to his subjects in behalf of a Dominican Father, we see that the state of the peninsula missions in the second decade of the nineteenth century must have been deplorable, inasmuch as the missionary of San Francisco de Borja found himself compelled to appeal to the Franciscans for relief. The circular, moreover, so well sets forth the affection which the Friars Minor harbored for the sons of St. Dominic, and withal contains other beautiful lessons, that it is reproduced here entire.

"Viva Jesus![1]

"My esteemed Fathers and colaborers, the Missionaries from Soledád to San Diego.[2]

"With the mail which reached this mission about the middle



of August I received a letter from the Rev. Fr. José Martín, in which he explains to me that he finds himself unable to con-

[1] "Live Jesus!" This is the usual beginning of circulars and other documents.

[2] A duplicate usually went to the missions north of Soledád.

tinue his spiritual labors, because he has not wherewith to feed his own person nor the occupants of his mission of San Francisco de Borja in Lower California; that to leave it abandoned he would appear derelict in his obligations to the sacred ministry which he exercises there through obedience; and that for this reason he has recourse to me to solicit through me among Your Reverences, his brethren, some alms in the form of cattle, mules, and cloth or dressgoods to cover the nakedness of those veritable effigies (as he expresses himself) of our first parents, so that he need not abandon the said mission which has been the mother of all, in that it assisted, as far as possible, and even furnished sacred vessels and vestments for the founding of these missions" (in Upper California), etc.

"Well, Fathers and Companions of mine, Your Reverences are not unaware that it has been the custom from primitive times for the churches to come to the relief of one another, and even, it may be said, for some missions to assist the others in their necessities. We know from the *Acts of the Apostles* that in the famine which the Prophet Agabo[3] foretold, and which came to pass according to Calmet in the fourth year of Emperor Claudius, the faithful of Antioch despoiled themselves of a part of their property, each according to his means, and they sent their alms through St. Paul and St. Barnabas to the church of Jerusalem, whose faithful found themselves in sore straits. What were at that period the church of Antioch and the church of Jerusalem if not so many missions composed of those first converted pagans, who already formed one people in charity as well as in religion?

"I do not doubt, what in the course of time the history of holy Church tells us, that many of her saints in like cases, on examining the circumstances, stripped their own material churches and temples for the maintenance and subsistence of the living temples of the Lord, that is to say, the faithful of Christ. The documents which we possess are numerous, known almost to all, as to what on similar occasions holy

[3] "Acts," chapter xi, 28; xxi, 10.

bishops and prelates have done, not even sparing the sacred vessels in order to succor the need and want of others. However, it is of renown what St. Jerome relates of St. Exuperio, bishop of Toulouse in France. Of all the praises which he bestows upon this saint, and which are many, his charity towards the poor it is which he eulogizes most. He says[4] that his charity had no limit; that he sought the objects of it even in the remotest parts, and the very hermits of Egypt had a share in his bountiful kindness; and having given away all his wealth to the heart of Christ, that is to say, to His poor, he declared gracefully and beautifully that his poverty made him truly rich, since thereby he even found himself obliged to bear the Body of the Lord (the Most Holy Eucharist) in a case of willow-work,[5] and His Blood likewise in a cup of clay or glass, according to Lohner.[6]

"I am well aware that by later regulations of the Church this is forbidden us now; however, our missions need not be reduced to such extremities, nor do I propose it in order to furnish an alms in keeping with the necessity which our distinguished brother exposes to us.

"Of course I see that only the manner of how to proceed, in order that the contributions which will be donated may reach the mission whence it is asked of us, embarrasses Your Reverences. For that purpose you may read what I said in my reply.[7] Nevertheless, if another more suitable means presents itself to Your Reverences, it will be much to my satisfaction. Writing to the Father himself and acting in accord with him could also be done in regard to what your missions intend to offer. If it be not feasible to give in kind what the appeal indicates, then money will be an equivalent, or any other thing that could be of use at said mission. I had this much already

[4] "Vease Butler, tom. ix, page 440."

[5] "Una cesta de mimbres."

[6] "Nihil illo ditius (pone este), qui Christi Corpus canistro vimineo, Sanguinem portat in vitro."

[7] San Borja lay inland at a distance of more than two hundred leagues south of San Cárlos. The reply was embodied in Sarriá's circular; it is omitted here.

on the blotter, when having seen the governor (Solá), and having spoken to him about the matter, he not only agreed to the determination of giving the alms for the mission of San Borja, but he himself wanted to have the principal part in a work, so much in accordance with charity and the welfare of souls, by donating with edifying generosity one hundred dollars for it from his own purse, and by giving his orders to whom it concerned to furnish effective means for its transmission. In view of this it seems there is no more liberty left to us (to express myself thus) than to choose the kind which may appear more convenient to the conditions of the respective missions, as well to quantity as to quality. What I enjoin upon you is that you carry it out, if it can be easily done, at the opportune time in order that the bark may transport it which sails down for San Diego. Your Reverences will please pass this without much delay to the nearest missions, and from the last one please to return it in time, signed at all the missions by one of the missionaries. God keep Your Reverences in His grace. Mission of San Carlos, September 25th, 1815. Fr. Vincente Francisco de Sarriá." [8]

Accordingly, Fr. Juan Amorós of San Carlos, Fr. Antonio Jayme of Soledád, and Fr. Juan Bautista Sancho of San Antonio, despite the fact that these missions, particularly Soledád, had no other income than the unsalable product of field and pasture, promised to send donations for their afflicted sister mission in Lower California.

Fr. Juan Martin of Mission San Miguél at once declared that his mission would donate and fetch to the port of Santa Barbara twelve bolts of cotton cloth and twenty-five hundred pounds of wool. Fr. Antonio Rodríguez of Mission San Luis Obispo in the name of his mission contributed one hundred blankets. Mission Purisima Concepcion, through Fr. Mariano Payeras, sent down six mules and two hundred and fifteen sheep. Fr. Francisco Xavier Uria had Mission Santa Inéz give eight mules and one hundred sheep. Santa Barbara Mission, through Fr. Ramon Olbés, who had enjoyed the hos-

[8] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

pitality of the Dominicans for several months in 1812, as cheerfully as the others contributed thirty young cows, one hundred sheep, fifty blankets, and twelve pack-saddles. Fr. Marcos Antonio Victoria for his mission of San Buenaventura donated two hundred cows and one hundred heifers. Fr. Vincente Oliva of Mission San Fernando Rey had the mission give fifty head of cattle and six mules. Fr. Joaquin Nuez, another who had come up by way of Lower California, in the name of his mission of San Gabriel turned over to distressed San Borja three hundred sheep, fifty blankets, and twelve mules. Fr. Gerónimo Boscána of Mission San Juan Capistrano promised to give what the poor Dominican mission needed most. Fr. Antonio Peyri expressed himself in the same manner in behalf of Mission San Luis Rey. Fr. José Sanchez of San Diego Mission wrote that his mission just then was itself in straitened circumstances, but it would nevertheless contribute. The last three missions were closer to the border, and thus could first communicate with Fr. Martin of San Borja.[9] The missions north of Monterey were excused from contributing on account of the great distance, which would have made transportation too expensive. The generosity displayed is the more noteworthy, inasmuch as the missionaries had received neither goods nor stipends from Mexico since the year 1811 by reason of the guerilla war which devastated that country.

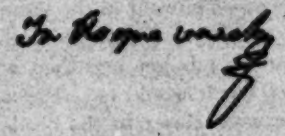
In a letter dated San Francisco Borja, January 15th, 1816, Fr. José Martin expresses his cordial thanks for the grand contributions which made it possible for him to continue at said mission.[10]

For the six subsequent years the records concerning the Lower California missions are a total blank, except for the

[9] Circular of Fr. Sarriá already mentioned. "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

[10] "Siendome imposible el poder remunerar tantos y tan grandes veneficios, pediré á Dios reintegre el ciento por uno y así con todos mis feligreses dia por dia elevo mis clamores á lo alto dando gracias al Dios de las misericordias, porque se ha dignado abrirme las puertas de la caridad para que no desmaye en mis santos propositos, etc." "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

following few death-notices. From a reply to a death-notice sent him by Fr. Mariano Payeras, O. F. M., we learn that Fr. Pablo María de Zárate was stationed at San José del Cabo on May 4th, 1819. He probably was the presidente of the Dominicans.[11] Fr. Pedro González of San Ignacio and Fr. Presidente Pablo Zárate from San José del Cabo, the latter on January 16th, 1820, announce the death of Fr. Jacinto Tiol of Mission Todos Santos, which occurred on January 15th, 1820, after he had received the last sacraments.[12] Fr. Zárate himself died at his post, Mission San José del Cabo, at one o'clock in the morning of September 24th, 1821, well fortified



by the sacraments. Fr. Roque Varela, who had been appointed presidente ad interim by the deceased, communicated this news to the Franciscans on September 27th from San José; but he does not state where he himself is stationed.[13] Fr. Josef Pineda from Santo Tomás on October 27th, and Fr. Pedro González, who styles himself presidente interino,[14] from San Ignacio on October 15th, 1821, sent out the death-notice through two circulars which both were signed by the Franciscans at the missions reached by the respective document.[15] From a circular of Fr. Pedro González of San Ignacio, dated July 7th, 1822, we learn that Fr. Presidente José Antonio Sánchez passed to his eternal reward at five o'clock in the evening of July 5th, 1822. The place is not

[11] Inasmuch as he uses the expression that he communicated the news "á los Padres de mi mando." "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

[12] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

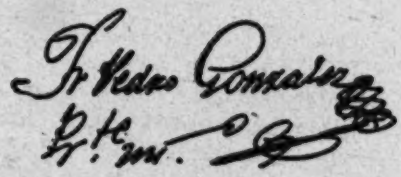
[13] Ibidem.

[14] Fr. González held the appointment from the provincial for just such an emergency.

[15] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

indicated. Fr. González at the same time gives the information that he has been appointed presidente of the Dominicans by his provincial.[16] Fr. Josef Duro of Mission Todos Santos, and temporary curate of the town of San Antonio, through Fr. Felix Caballero of Mission San Vincente, and by direction of Fr. Presidente Pedro González, reports officially the death of Fr. Antonio Fernández, which occurred on May 5th, 1822.[17]

Great distress visited the southern missions early in 1822 through Chilean freebooters. Two vessels of Admiral Cochrane's fleet, the *Independencia* and the *Araucano*, in the service of the Chilean revolutionists, but in the guise of whalers, were despatched to make observations along the northern coast of Mexico, and to sound the people while purchasing provisions. On February 17th, 1822, the *Independencia* entered the harbor of San José del Cabo, sacked the mission and the church, and captured the brig *Alcion*, which was laden with tallow, and on her way from Alta California to the mainland. A lieutenant and eight men of the Chilean ship were then ordered to Mission Todos Santos with instructions



to plunder the church, make the missionary prisoner, and to burn and sink a schooner which had lately been built there. These orders were carried out on the 19th. The terrified people dared offer no resistance while the pirates were destroying the ship and desecrating the church; but, when the lieutenant and two men attempted to lay hands on the women, the suppressed feelings of the spectators burst forth. They

[16] Ibidem.

[17] Letter of Caballero, May 5th, 1822. "Santa Barbara Archives."

attacked the three Chileans, who were on the beach, with stones and other ready missiles, and killed them. Made fearless by this success, the enraged crowd hurried off to the mission and suddenly fell upon the other six robbers, killed two and seriously wounded three; the sixth man surrendered. The captives and three messengers from the hostile ship were taken northward to the town of San Antonio, but given their liberty when the captain of the *Independencia* threatened to destroy both San Antonio and Todos Santos. Meanwhile the other Chilean vessel, the *Araucano*, had moved up the gulf to Guaymas, and thence crossed over to Loreto, whence the people, warned by the occurrences at Todos Santos, fled, leaving the enemy to plunder the town and the church. Governor Arguello on this occasion lost his silver plate and other property.[18]

[18] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 707-708; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 664.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mexico Independent.—Emperor Iturbide.—Arrival of Government Agent.—His Regulations.—Indians Grow Turbulent.—Ruin.—Appeal of the Lieutenant-Governor for Aid.—Iturbide Forced to Abdicate.—He is Executed.—Mexico a Republic.

MEANWHILE great changes, which affected California, had taken place in Mexico. In February, 1821, Agustin Iturbide, a colonel in the royal army, had raised the flag of revolution against Spanish rule. In September of the same year he had forced Viceroy O'Donoju to surrender the capital to the insurgents, had declared the absolute and complete independence of New Spain, had established an empire, and on May 21st, 1822, had taken the oath as emperor of Mexico under the name of Agustin I.

Some anxiety was felt at the capital as to the sentiments of both Lower and Upper California with regard to the new order of things. Even before Iturbide had been declared emperor, it had been deemed advisable to send over an agent, or comisionado, of the regency in order to ascertain the feelings of the Californians, to awaken a spirit of independence, to obtain an oath of allegiance, to raise the new national flag, and in general to put the new conditions into working order. The mission required high and peculiar abilities, which Iturbide believed were embodied in the Rev. Agustin Fernández de San Vincente, canon of the cathedral of Durango. This priest was accordingly appointed, probably in April, 1822. The Dominicans received the news of his appointment and mission with mixed feelings.[1] The comisionado sailed from San Blas for Loreto in the warship *San Carlos* about the middle of June. When he arrived he found that the people yielded to all his directions. His task was facilitated by the

[1] "Ahora mismo salgo para Loreto á conferenciar con el Sr. Canónigo Don Agustin Fernández, plenipotenciado por la Corte de Mexico para arrancar y destruir, plantar y edificar," Fr. Pedro González diffidently wrote from San Ignacio to the Franciscans in a circular dated July 7th, 1822. ("Santa Barbara Archives.")

resignation of Governor José Arguello, whose place in October of the same year was filled by José Manuel Rúiz, till then commander of the troops on the frontier, but with the title Jefe Politico.[2]

Canon Fernández, however, went further; he also presumed to lay down regulations for the management of the Indian missions without, apparently, consulting the missionaries as to their practicability, and without examining whether or not the natives were capable of appreciating the change or of profiting by it materially and spiritually, as he doubtless intended that they should. These rules, published under the head of *Reglamento Provisional*, and "which," the Rev. Agent declared, "must for the present govern the missions of California until the Supreme Constitutional Congress of the Mexican Empire determines otherwise," read as follows:

"Article I. Inasmuch as the new citizens of the missions[3] on the arrival of Captain López may have mistaken the civil and rational liberty, which they enjoy through our liberal institutions, for corruption and libertinism, it is necessary that they be made to understand through the Rev. Missionary Fathers, likewise through the comisionado of the ayuntamientos,[4] that there will have to be that respect and veneration which the said Rev. Fathers deserve as spiritual fathers, as they are of their respective missions, and for the character of parish priests which recommends them the more.

"Article II. The property of the missions remain under the immediate responsibility of their respective missionaries until the government disposes what it deems proper concerning the temporalities of said missions.[5]

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[2] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 708; "History of California," vol. ii, 455-456; Hittell, "History of California," vol. i, 663-666.

[3] It appears from this that Agent Fernández had published a decree of emancipation of some kind or other, and that the Indians had quickly availed themselves of its provisions to suit themselves.

[4] Town Councils. This shows that the missions were declared pueblos, and the term "parish priests" in the same article makes it plain that Fernández wanted the friars to be regarded as mere curates.

[5] As the missions were founded and the land cultivated without

"Article III. To the missionary of each mission belongs entirely and exclusively the direction and government which the new citizens have to obey in their labors in the field and in other duties of the missions mentioned, assigning them within bounds so as not to exasperate them by too much work, and seeing that the latter be moderated.[6]

"Article IV. In order that the new citizens understand that the present system is no mere theory or insignificant paper, it is necessary that they be treated by the missionaries with more sweetness than heretofore, that each one of them be given rations, and that, if in addition greater advantages are offered them, they be permitted to use the right which they have by law, in order that they may enjoy the commodity which the mission cannot afford them.

"Article V. There will be at each mission one comisionado by authority of the ayuntamiento of this capital[7] and in those of the south through the same, in order that he take care of and observe the conduct of the natives and act accordingly, to hear their demands and complaints, being himself guided in everything by the instructions which the respective ayuntamiento will have to give them, and the said comisionado will be paid from the necessary provisions by the respective missions.[8]

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aid from the government, it is remarkable that the government should so hastily constitute itself sole owner of such property. No government would make the same attempt with regard to private or other corporate property.

[6] That in Lower California too much work could not well be imposed in the cultivation of land we have seen frequently. There was little land to cultivate, except possibly in the more northern missions. There was little other work to be done in any branch.

[7] Loreto.

[8] This was practically secularizing the missions, though no such decree had been passed in Mexico as yet, inasmuch as the whole management of the missions was placed in charge of comisionados, despite the sad results obtained through just such arrangement after the banishment of the Jesuits. Fernández burdened the insolvent missions with the salary of individuals whom they did not need, as the friars were doing the work gratis.

"Article VI. Inasmuch as experience has proved that the major-domos of the missions have been more burdensome than helpful to the same, and the natives detest them on account of their injuries, exactions, and arbitrariness, and because of their families on their own grounds, the major-domo at each mission will have to be the citizen whom among themselves they may deem to be most capable of exercising said office.[9]

"Article VII. Since man does not live on bread alone, but must be clothed and must make other indispensable expenditures, it is necessary that, besides the rations, proportionate wages for their labor be given them.[10]

"Article VIII. If in the near future something occur demanding reform, the comisionado (Rev. Fernández) shall be notified at Monterey, or on his return and landing at Cape San Lucas, in order that what is proper may be determined; but if the matter be urgent and demand quicker solution, the Rev. Missionary Fathers will act in conformity with the circumstances as they permit, always directing in accordance with the liberal institutions which so happily govern us, as must be hoped from their patriotism and pastoral zeal. Loreto, July 27th, 1822, the second of the Independence of the Empire.—Agustin Fernández."[11]

In his remarkable Reglamento the Rev. Canónigo and Comisionado Fernández made no provisions whatever for the maintenance of Divine Worship, nor for the support of the missionaries, or parish priests, as he would have them styled. From his ecclesiastical character one should suppose that he would have regulated this matter first of all. However, he seems to have been a politician rather than an ecclesiastic, and therefore judged things from the selfish politician's standpoint. Unfortunately, there have been in history so-called

[9] This last clause orders what is quite just among reasoning and industrious beings, but was a source of confusion and endless jealousies among such creatures as the native Californians.

[10] As the salary of the comisionado would consume the profits of the mission, and the government furnished no aid, it is not plain out of which fund the wages should be paid.

[11] "Santa Barbara Archives," ad annum.

state or liberal Catholics among the clergy, and in Mexico also among the members of religious Orders, who apparently explained the Ten Commandments of God in the lurid light of unchristian politics, instead of adhering to the message Christ entrusted to them and making it plain that politics, like everything else, are subject to approval from the Creator, and that politics and politicians must adapt themselves to His Commandments if they would provide for the good of all. At any rate, Fernández's presence in California proved no blessing to the country. He undoubtedly meant well, but he was just as undoubtedly an impractical theorist, and unacquainted with the needs and character of the Indians. On his arrival at Loreto he most probably lent a willing ear to the unfounded or exaggerated complaints of some shrewd, work-hating natives and friar-hating Mexicans, and then, without investigating, framed his Reglamento.

Whether or not the Dominicans deserved the admonitions and implied reproofs from the imperial comisionado, it is impossible to determine, because of the absolute silence of the records; but the missionaries predicted disaster, both to the mission establishments and to the Indians, from this sudden thrusting of citizenship upon a people that could no more realize or appreciate its worth and its duties than a group of unruly, indolent boys. The result justified the warning of the Dominicans. The neophytes, freed from salutary restraint, surrendered themselves to dissipation and idleness, allowed themselves to be guided by interested schemers, and declined in condition as well as in numbers. Their decadence, Bancroft himself[12] acknowledges, would probably have been more rapid but for the efforts of the missionaries. There are no particulars on record, however; the sources of information from this time on grow even more meager than they have ever been before; but from an appeal for assistance addressed by the governor of Lower California to Governor Luis Antonio Arguello, only one year after the departure of Canónigo Fernández, it is evident that the burdening of each

[12] "History of Texas," vol. ii, 709.

mission with the support of a superfluous agent or comisionado, at a time when the missions could not maintain themselves, was one of those foolish things which political theorists are prone to commit. The appeal from the peninsula sets forth the conditions in Lower California so graphically that it deserves to be reproduced here entire.

"Under date of the 18th of last September," Governor Arguello writes to Fr. Sarriá of Upper California, in 1823, "the governor of Lower California tells me what follows:

" 'The dismal scene which the painful circumstances delineate that surround us on all sides are sure indications of the fatal disaster threatening the distressed little population of this wretched province. This condition impels me, after much reflection, to urge you to co-operate in as far as concerns you in the name of all rights and of the law to prevent such incalculable calamity; for I cannot persuade myself that the leaders in your well-to-do province [13] would see this province tossed about between the anxieties of poverty and want, nor that a reasonable discussion would be admitted by the contemplation that, inasmuch as it was Lower California which at another but happy period cheerfully moved its missions to nurse Alta California at its birth and in its childhood, the latter would feign not to understand the sacred rights of a mother who is already about to expire amid the horrors of destitution, scarcity, and extreme necessity. [14]

" 'Such is the struggle in which this province finds itself, particularly the frontier region, [15] that they are absolutely

[13] The petitioner was in error; Upper California at that time, as a result of the Mexican War of Independence and subsequent political arrangements, was also suffering, though not as grievously as the peninsula.

[14] Lower California justly considered herself to be the mother of Upper California. Therefore the history of Upper California is unintelligible without a knowledge of the contents of this first volume. It is for this reason that the peninsula history was treated as exhaustively as possible.

[15] This statement makes us suspect that Pattie's description of the missions on the frontier, Santa Catalina, Santo Tomás, San Miguél, San Vincente, was confounded with much that he saw in Upper California.

unable to furnish the supplies for the garrison of their military post, since it is true that they scarcely manage to sustain their respective neophytes on short rations.

" 'On this account I find myself in the extreme necessity of supplicating you, entreating you to interest the prelate and the missionary Fathers of your province, in order that they may succor the troops in those missions with the provisions they need and with some blankets and other things of the kind. I give you warning that, if this my petition have no good results, everything is at an end. I expect that on the return of the courier you will be pleased to reply to me, and to direct the comandante of the frontier that he may send for what is petitioned above. If the contrary occur, I shall direct that all the soldiers retire and abandon the missions. For this decisive reason I shall likewise give permission to the missionaries, who are there, to cross the gulf for the other side, as they have petitioned, thus leaving the neophytes to unbridled licentiousness. I shall at once report to the government making you responsible for such great and unbearable distress, because you being able to interfere by supplication and authority that your missions (which have abundant provisions to maintain even the whole province) give aid to the missions on the frontier. It is an easy matter for you to succeed, on account of your position, in a matter in which I could not have succeeded through mine. Meanwhile the government is making arrangements, as I am informed, through which I shall be protected, even though the province be destroyed, and you and the Fathers will take the consequences.

" 'Finally, I hope that you will write to me as well as to the comandante on the frontier by the returning courier in order to make arrangements, let it be in favor of this unhappy province or to the contrary, for the matter is of the greatest necessity.'

"This is forwarded to Your Paternity," Arguello writes to Fr. Sarriá, "in order that you may be pleased to pass it through the missions under your jurisdiction to see what assistance they can offer to that province, and to reply to me as quickly as possible, so that I can give an account to said

governor for his information. God keep Your Paternity many years. Monterey, 26th of November, 1823. Luis Antonio Arguello."[16] The result of this most urgent appeal is not known; but that the conditions on the peninsula in no way improved will appear presently.

Emperor Iturbide, in March, 1823, was forced to abdicate and leave the country, after reigning only ten months. On July 19th, 1824, he was executed for returning to Mexico. The Mexican republic, which followed the empire, was created on November 19th, 1823, by the adoption of the "Acta Constitutiva de la Nacion Mexicana," which provided for a constitution resembling that of the United States. It was promulgated on October 4th, 1824, in the fourth year of the Mexican Independence. In virtue of this instrument the provinces which formerly constituted New Spain, including the Californias, were formed into a federation of nineteen states and four territories. Among those that signed the document was Manuel Ortíz de la Torre, who represented Lower California.[17] The executive power of the government was vested in a president and vice-president, the legislative in a senate and a chamber of deputies. Only the states were entitled to representation in the senate, but each territory in the chamber of deputies was to be represented by at least one "diputado proprietario," or proprietary delegate, and a "suplente," or substitute. While the states were declared independent, free, and sovereign, and each was to organize its own internal government, the territories, to which Lower California was classed, were to be ruled by a governor, appointed by the president, and a territorial legislature elected by the people, but all under the general supervision of the National Congress.

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[16] Arguello to Sarriá. ("Santa Barbara Archives.") José Manuel Rúiz was governor of Lower California at that time.

[17] Hittell, "History of California," vol. ii, 49, 65.

CHAPTER IX.

Echeandia First Governor Under the Republic.—Territorial Legislature.—The Governor An Enemy of the Mission System.—His Regulations.—Unhappy Natives.—Secularization.—Missionaries Protest.—Echeandia Goes to Monterey.—Padrés Lieutenant-Governor and Deputy to the Mexican Congress.—Liberalism.—Quarrels.—Missions Plundered by Savages.—The Last Dominicans.—Fr. Felix Caballero.—The First Bishop of California.—Result of Secularization.—Lasséepas on the Pious Fund.

THE era of a republican form of government without its substance, as in Mexico, was inaugurated for California by the appointment of José Maria de Echeandia as governor of both Californias on February 1st, 1825. He arrived at Loreto on June 22d in company of nine Dominican friars, whose names unfortunately are not known. On July 10th Echeandia opened the territorial legislature. The subject of some of its deliberations was how to raise funds for primary schools at Loreto and San Antonio, two white settlements. The peninsula was divided into the four districts of Cabo de San Lucas, Loreto, Santa Gertrudis, and San Pedro Mártir, each with an ayuntamiento or town council at the principal pueblo of the district. This council was composed of an alcalde, two regidores,[1] a sindico,[2] and a secretary.

As an enemy of religious Orders, Echeandia early made it a point to interfere with the management of the Indian missions. Only two months after his arrival, on August 19th, he issued a reglamento which aimed at nothing less than the secularization of these establishments, that is to say, the removal of the Dominicans from administering the temporalities free of charge and replacing them with salaried officials, who, as experience had shown, took no interest in either the temporal or the spiritual welfare of the neophytes. According to the governor's orders a sufficient proportion of the mission land was to be allotted to the Indians as community property under

[1] Councilmen.

[2] Treasurer, collector, and attorney combined.

the direction of major-domos elected for a number of years from among themselves. The Indians were also to receive the necessary grain and implements for establishing farms, and half of the livestock; the other half was to remain for the support of the churches and missionaries. The latter were reduced to the condition of parish priests, more or less dependent upon the whims of alcaldes and major-domos, and were to occupy themselves only with the spiritual affairs of the Indians.[3]

The enforcing of this plan through the decree of secularization, which was adopted by the Mexican Congress on August 17th, 1833, was like taking children from their parents and turning them over to selfish strangers. It could but have the result which followed. "The unhappy natives," says Bancroft, who approves of Echeandia's ideas, "gradually deserted the now inhospitable missions, and wandered about the hills and beaches looking for food. Occasionally they would work for the recompense of a little watered atole twice a day, and a breech-cloth and blanket every two years, being withal badly treated everywhere. Epidemics and local diseases, moreover, combined to ravage their enfeebled ranks. As for their property, it was to be absorbed partly by settlers, partly by favored individuals, who obtained it as grants, or against nominal purchase money. The secularization decree had already declared such unoccupied lands[4] national and open to rental."[5] This was a most glorious achievement for the enemies of the mission system which had furnished the Indians with three meals a day, decently clothed them, and procured contentment for

[3] Hittell, "History of California," vol. ii, 82-83; Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 709. In a letter, dated March 19th, 1833, and addressed to Governor Figueroa, Echeandia sought to justify his unauthorized plan of secularization with the law of September 13th, 1813. As the subject will be treated at some length in the next volume, it is passed over for the present.

[4] That is to say, the former mission lands taken from the control of the friars, and which as a consequence the Indians had abandoned, because they could or would not work them under the heartless comisionados.

[5] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 709.

all for less than six or seven hours' work; but, then, the unsalaried, unselfish, inoffensive, defenseless religious had been removed, and that result for the anti-Christian politician and land-grabber is sufficient reason to rejoice, whatever the consequences to the people, Indian or civilized.

The missionaries in behalf of their neophytes vigorously protested and opposed the various attempts at spoliation, but all their efforts were in vain. Governor Micheltorena in 1843 indeed ordered the restoration of all the property taken, except the lands already occupied and for which titles had to be obtained from the government, but, as in Upper California, the order came too late to benefit the neophytes, and then the unscrupulous Governor Pico, the last Mexican ruler, in 1846 disposed of nearly all that was left.[6]

Nor did the change of the political system bring contentment to the settlers. "They remained neglected as ever, and so stricken became their condition that petitions were presented in 1827 for the remission of tithes and other imposts, except municipal taxes, for fifteen years. Echeandia was supposed to rule the peninsula from his seat in Alta California, but he did not trouble himself, and his functions were performed by a deputy, who was sometimes appointed by the governor and sometimes by the territorial deputation. On leaving for the north in October, 1825, Echeandia installed as his deputy at Loreto, Lieutenant J. M. Padrés, a member of the territorial deputation, whose liberal[7] ideas brought the

[6] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 709.

[7] "Liberal" in Latin and German countries generally stands for unscrupulous and for emancipated from all restraint that the Ten Commandments impose. It also means determined to rule at all hazards, and to rule against religion. This kind of liberalism, on accession to power, signalizes its valor by warring on helpless, inoffensive monks and nuns, and by robbing them of the homes, hospitals, schools, asylums, and missions which their abstemiousness managed to erect and maintain for the benefit of their fellow men. Places of Divine Worship and the resting-places of the dead, which the very pagans of all ages and countries respected and held sacred, are not sacred to the men who call themselves "Liberals." Mexico, some South and Central American States, and France at pres-

Dominicans into opposition with him. Elected deputy to Congress in the following year, he departed for Mexico, leaving the gubernatorial office to the alcalde of Loreto, Miguel Mesa."

In 1829, however, the territorial deputation took upon itself to reverse this order by selecting its first member, Alférez Mata of the garrison, as sub-jefe politico, or lieutenant-governor. This independent action aroused Echeandia. His representations led the supreme government to appoint Lieutenant-Colonel M. Victoria, and to separate the peninsula from Alta California while subordinating it in military and judicial matters to the comandante-general of Sonora. When Victoria was transferred to the northern province (Upper California) in 1830, he was succeeded by M. Monterde, who, upon his election to Congress in 1831, surrendered the office to the deputation, and its members now rotated monthly as jefe politico. The consequent confusion caused Monterde to be sent back as ruler two years later, and, when again elected deputy, a Peruvian member of the deputation took charge until the arrival, in April, 1835, of the government appointee, Colonel M. Martínez; but so intense was the opposition of the legislative body to this "mainland intruder" that he resigned. Then came a contest among the deputation members for control which led to virulent party spirit and bloodshed. The government thereupon ordered the administration to rest with the alcalde of La Paz, to which place the capital had been transferred in 1830, owing to the destitution of Loreto in natural resources, aggravated by an inundation, which in the preceding year had swept away a large portion of the town. This action served only to unite the factions against the com-

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ent, show what it is to be "liberal." Padrés belonged to this class of political reformers, and naturally the Dominicans soon found themselves in opposition to him. As this volume is growing too bulky, we shall have to postpone dealing with Padrés and his fellow reformers until we reach Upper California, where he sought to establish himself upon the ruins of the missions at the expense of the Indian neophytes. See Bancroft's "Hist. of Texas," vol. ii, 710.

mon enemy. The alcalde, M. Conseco, was cast into prison, and the deputation renewed the rotation in office. The government then imperatively repeated its former order, and, Conseco declining, the second alcalde, Captain Fernando de la Toba, was for a while installed as jefe politico in January, 1837. Luis del Castillo Negrete succeeded him from 1837-1842, and was in turn replaced by Francisco Padilla.[8]

About the same time a quarrel with Upper California occurred concerning the frontier jurisdiction, and the disorder was aggravated by the government's neglect to properly sustain the garrison. The pagan Indians took advantage of the discord and made numerous raids against the missions, and in October, 1839, Mission Guadalupe was plundered and three of the defenders were killed. In 1840 Mission Santa Catalina was burned and sixteen of its neophytes suffered death. In 1846 Lower California was invaded by the troops of the United States and several small battles were fought in which the Californians were defeated; but the Americans withdrew from the territory after peace had been concluded between the governments of the United States and Mexico.[9]

Little more is known about the fate of the missions and their missionaries. Some of the Dominicans became chaplains on board of ocean vessels. One, Fr. Antonio Menéndez, in 1824, accepted the post of presidio chaplain at San Diego, and subsequently he removed to Santa Barbara to fill a like position for the garrison of that port. He died on April 24th, 1832, and the remains were buried in the vault beneath the sanctuary of the mission church. Other friars appear in the registers of Mission San Diego at various periods, notably Fr. Felix Caballero in 1824 and 1832. Fr. Thomas Mansilla of Mission Santo Tomás officiated at a baptism at San Diego Mission as late as February 28th, 1840.[10] A recent publica-

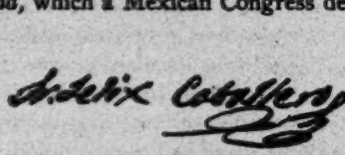
[8] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 710-711; Hittell, "History of California," vol. ii, 311. See Appendix K for list of governors.

[9] Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. ii, 711, 712-718.

[10] Mission Records of San Diego and Santa Barbara.

tion[11] asserts that Fr. Mansilla and a Fr. González were the last Dominicans on the peninsula, and that both served at Mission Santo Domingo as late as 1855, when Bishop Escalante reached Lower California. The same authority states that Fr. Ignacio Ramírez de Arellanes was superior of the missions in 1843-1846, but, being a sympathizer with the American troops, in 1848 emigrated to Upper California. A Fr. Ignacio Ramírez de Arellano, O. P., indeed, appears as missionary in the baptismal records of Monterey from February 15th, 1849, to February 2d, 1853.[12]

Fr. Felix Caballero, like Fr. Peyri of San Luis Rey, seems to have been enthusiastic for the Mexican republic in its first years. Even in his private letters he employs the watchword *Dios y Libertad*, which a Mexican Congress decreed should be



used in all official documents. They were as sincerely meant by those Mexican politicians as *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity* by the French Jacobins, but intended to captivate the simple-minded. By the year 1832, however, Fr. Caballero's ardor, owing to the anti-Christian legislation which he might have foreseen from the class of men at the head, had abated. He thereafter dropped the silly whim and was satisfied with the more appropriate and time-honored *Dios le guarde* or *Viva*

[11] "Mother of California," by A. W. North, 71-72. North on page 60 mentions a Fr. Domingo Luna as "provisional vicar"; he probably means vicar-provincial. Unfortunately little reliance can be placed on what this writer relates outside of what he himself has seen. Of Catholic terms and customs he knows next to nothing. The idea he has of the motives of the missionaries is expressed in this sentence on his second page: "The padres gave their lives in fanatic devotion to the Cross." The Cross to him must be the embodiment of all that is foolish. We have adopted his latitude and longitude in describing the missions.

[12] Records of San Carlos de Monterey.

Jesus![13] On June 25th, 1839, we find him writing from Mission Guadalupe to Governor Alvarado.[14] The same Father is styled "Presidente y Vicario Foraneo de la Baja California" in a letter addressed from Culiacán on March 15th, 1839, to Fr. González Rubio, O. F. M., of Mission San José in Upper California, by the Rt. Rev. Lázaro de la Garda y Ballesteros, bishop of Sonora.[15]

Fr. Francisco García Diego, who later became the first bishop of California, with nine Franciscans of the Apostolic College of Guadalupe, Zacatécas, arrived at Cape San Lucas on his way to Upper California. These Fathers were all Mexicans by birth and enlisted on that account by the Mexican government to take the places of the Fernandinos, who were nearly all Spaniards. On September 5th, 1832, Fr. García Diego from Cape San Lucas notified Governor Figueroa of their arrival in a destitute condition, and asked him to furnish means for their transportation to Monterey.[16] On October 6th the same Father wrote from Casitas to the same official for the same purpose.[17] What steps Figueroa took is not known, but the Fathers finally reached their destination and were put in charge of all the missions from San Antonio to Solano, as will be related in the next volume.

There is nothing more to be said about the missions and missionaries of Lower California. Smallpox, measles, and nameless diseases introduced among the Indians by soldiers, sailors, and adventurers, and ill-treatment swept them off by degrees. Seasons of protracted drought starved the cattle remaining to them. The Pious Fund, which had been their support, was delivered over to officials, to be "administered," who did little but "administer" it, as Doyle says.[18] Unable to support life in the missions, the Indians wandered off into

[13] Caballero to Fr. Narciso Durán, San Miguél, February 31, 1832. ("Santa Barbara Archives.")
[14] "Papeles Originales," tom. ii, in Bancroft's Library.
[15] "Santa Barbara Archives."
[16] "Santa Barbara Archives"; Forbes, "California," 138-140.
[17] "Santa Barbara Archives."
[18] See Preface to Palóu's "Noticias" by Doyle.

the mountains and resumed their former mode of life. Thus they gradually decreased in numbers, until they became nearly exterminated, and the missions ceased to exist. Whatever the so-called secularization act of 1833 left to destroy, was destroyed by subsequent acts of the irreligious Mexican government, notably by the confiscation of the Pious Fund.

In a work entitled "Historia de la Colonizacion de la Baja California," by Ulixes Urbano Lassépas, an official of the Mexican government in Lower California, and printed in 1859 in Mexico City, apparently as a government publication, there is a description [19] of the missions which shows that their population in nearly every case had suffered a great decrease. On page 164 of the history this Mexican official says that "the greater number of the northern missions lying between Santa Catarina and San Ignacio are to-day (1859) veritable skeletons, some in ruins, scarcely indicating the spot where formerly stood the houses of worship and other buildings. The animals have disappeared from the fields, the native population has died, silence reigns where formerly was heard the humming of a mill, the bells of the chapels, and the lowing of the herds. One of the principal causes of this decadence was without doubt *the application of the Pious Funds of California to purposes other than those for which they were designed.*"

[19] See "Foreign Relations," United States vs. Mexico, 1902, Appendix II, page 90; Preface to Doyle's edition of Palóu's "Noticias."

CHAPTER X.

The Vicissitudes of the Pious Fund.—Decision of the Tribunal at The Hague.—List of Dominicans in Lower California.

WE now close our narrative on the missions and missionaries of Lower California with an official statement as to what became of the Pious Fund, to which Lassépas refers in last paragraph of the preceding chapter. Reporting to the Secretary of the United States, Mr. Jackson H. Ralston,[1] Agent for the United States in the matter of the Pious Fund before the Hague Tribunal, writes as follows: "As early as the year 1697 certain members of the Order of Jesus, with the permission of the King of Spain and upon the condition that they should not have power to draw against or from the royal revenues for such purpose, undertook the conversion of the Indians of the Californias, and to effect this end collected considerable sums of money and entered upon their work. From time to time large contributions were made to assist in the development of the missions established or designed to be established by them or by their successors, the total of such contributions down to the year 1731 reaching $120,000. In 1735 properties valued at about $40,000 were deeded for the same purpose, and in 1747 an additional contribution, finally amounting to the sum of $120,000, was made. Later, and about the year 1784, some $400,000 reached the fund from another source.[2]

"These moneys, to which were added various smaller contributions from time to time from other sources, constituted what became known as 'The Pious Fund of the Californias,' which, during the earlier portion of its existence, was entirely

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[1] "Report of Jackson H. Ralston, Agent of the United States and of Counsel, in the Matter of the Pious Fund Case." The Report was made to Hon. John Hay, Secretary of the United States, on November 10th, 1902. See pages 9-15, "Appendix II, Foreign Relations, United States vs. Mexico."

[2] Palóu, "Noticias," tom. i, 191-193. See Part III, chapter xiii, this work.

managed and controlled by the Order of Jesus. Later, and upon the expulsion of that Order from the dominions of the King of Spain, that monarch acted as trustee, delivering the charge of the missions of Upper California to the Franciscans, and of Lower California to the Dominicans. When Mexico threw off her allegiance to Spain, the Mexican Government, through a junta, managed the fund for the pious uses intended by the founders. On September 19th, 1836, Mexico enacted a law looking toward the establishment of a bishopric for the two Californias, and providing that the person selected therefor should receive from the public revenues $6000 per annum, with certain additional allowances, and further providing that 'the property belonging to the Pious Fund of the Californias shall be placed at the disposal of the new bishop and his successors, to be by them managed and employed for its objects or other similar ones, always respecting the wishes of the founders of the fund.'[3]

"The Mexican legation to the Holy See, on April 6th, 1840, notified the Papacy that 'the Mexican Government had taken all proper measures so that the new prelate may not lack a decent income, which is necessary to sustain the expenses and respect and dignity of a bishop, and in addition, according to a decree of Congress, the Pious Fund destined for the support of missions in the Californias is to be placed at his disposal.'

"Immediately after receiving this notification, and in consequence thereof, on April 27th, 1840, the bishopric of the Californias was created, and Francisco García Diego appointed thereto, he assuming his office in the latter part of the year.

"On February 8th, 1842, by decree of that date, the Mexican Government repealed the law of September 19th, 1836, placing the management of the Pious Fund in the hands of the bishop of the diocese, and reassumed its direction, as the decree said, 'for the purpose of carrying out the intention of the donors in the civilization and conversion of the savages.'

"On October 24th of the same year a further decree was

[3] For the First Bishop of the Californias, see the next volume.

passed, formally incorporating the properties of the Pious Fund into the national treasury, and directing the sale of the real estate and other property for the capital represented by their annual product at 6 per cent per annum, and acknowledging an indebtedness of 6 per cent per annum on the total proceeds of the sale, at the same time pledging the revenue from tobacco to the payment of the income corresponding to the capital of said fund.

"After the purchase of Upper California by the United States from Mexico in 1848, Mexico failed to pay any part of the income to the proper recipients in Upper California, and as a consequence, upon the formation of the mixed commission, under the treaty of 1868, to adjust claims of citizens of the United States or of Mexico against the other government, the Archbishop of San Francisco, and the Bishops of Monterey and Grass Valley,[4] through the American agent, presented their claim against the Republic of Mexico for a proper portion of the income of said fund, bringing it to the attention of the mixed commission on March 30th, 1870, a formal memorial being filed December 31st, 1870. A large amount of evidence was filed with the memorial, and Mr. Cushing, on behalf of Mexico, on April 24th, 1871, filed a motion to dismiss. After full consideration of this motion and of all the evidence adduced on behalf either of the United States or Mexico, the American arbitrator found in favor of the claimants for $904,700.99, and the Mexican arbitrator for the defendant Government.

"Because of this difference of opinion, the case was submitted to the umpire, Sir Edward Thornton, who, on November 11th, 1875, awarded against Mexico and in favor of the claimants the sum of $904,700.99 in Mexican gold, being twenty-one years' interest at the rate of $43,080.99 per year; or, in other words, 6 per cent upon one-half of the capitalized value of the Pious Fund, it being considered by him that the proper apportionment of interest in the fund itself between Upper and Lower California would be one-half to each. Attention

[4] Now Sacramento Diocese.

being called to an error in computation, this sum total was, by the further order of the umpire, reduced to $904,070.99. This award was duly paid by Mexico, although the Mexican secretary of foreign affairs, by letter said that 'though the final award in the case only refers to interest accrued in a fixed period, said claim should be considered as finally settled in *toto*, and any other fresh claim in regard to the capital of said fund or its interest, accrued or to accrue, as forever inadmissible.' This position Secretary Fish (United States) declined to entertain. Mexico, on January 20th, 1890, made its last payment on account of the Pious Fund award, and shortly thereafter, and on August 3d, 1891, Hon. William F. Wharton, as Acting Secretary of State, took up the matter of the claim for the interest which had accrued since 1869; the same subject being renewed by later Secretaries of State, including Hon. James G. Blaine, Hon. John W. Foster, Hon. Walter Q. Gresham, Hon. John Sherman, Hon. W. R. Day, and, finally, by yourself" (Secretary Hay).

The case was placed before the Tribunal of Arbitration at The Hague, which on October 14th, 1902, unanimously decided and pronounced as follows:

1. "That the said claim of the United States of America for the benefit of the Archbishop of San Francisco and of the Bishop of Monterey is governed by the principle of *res judicata* by virtue of the arbitral sentence of Sir Edward Thornton of November 11th, 1875; amended by him October 24th, 1876.

2. "That conformably to this arbitral sentence, the Government of the Republic of the United Mexican States must pay to the Government of the United States of America the sum of $1,420,682.67 Mexican, in money having legal currency in Mexico, within the period fixed by article 10 of the protocol of Washington of May 22d, 1902.

"This sum of $1,420,682.67 will totally extinguish the annuities accrued and not paid by the Government of the Mexican Republic—that is to say, the annuity of $43,050.99 Mexican from February 2d, 1869, to February 2d, 1902.

3. "The Government of the Republic of the United Mexican States shall pay to the Government of the United States of America on February 2d, 1903, *and each following year on the same date of February 2d, perpetually*, the annuity of $43,050.99 Mexican, in money having legal currency in Mexico." [5]

Hence Mexico must forever, each year, pay to the Catholic Authorities of Upper California six per cent on one-half of the Pious Fund Property, which the Mexican Government confiscated and diverted into its treasury despite the intention of the donors, and which sum annually amounts to $43,050.99. The other half of the Pious Fund Property and its income belongs to the Catholic Church in Lower California; but inasmuch as that territory at present is part of Mexico, where no one dare claim anything for religious purposes, where churches, chapels, and the very places of Christian burial are confiscated, and where there is no court to compel the government to use the money according to the intention of the benefactors, that is to say, for the spread and maintenance of the Catholic Faith, the peninsula is obliged to leave said money in the hands of the government along with all other church property which it holds in violation of all divine and human rights, merely because that rabidly atheistic government happens to be physically stronger.

It now remains for us to add the list of the Dominican missionaries as far as it was possible to ascertain the names. With few exceptions these religious reached Lower California before the year 1800.

LIST OF DOMINICAN FATHERS IN LOWER CALIFORNIA.

Abad, Miguel,
Acebedo, Pedro,
Águila, Manuel del,
Ahumada, Thomas de,
Aivar, José,
Apolinario, Mariano,
Armesto, José,
Arviña, Rafael,
Belda, Vincente,
Berragero, Antonio,

[5] "Appendix II, Foreign Relations, United States vs. Mexico," page 18.

Caballero, Antonio,
Caballero, Felix,
Caballero, Rafael,
Calvo, Joaquin,
Caulas, José,
Codina, Jaime,
Coello, Jorge,
Concepcion, Antonio,
Conouse (?), Jose,
Cruz, Romantino (?) de la,
Cruzado, Antonio,
Cuculla, Francisco,
Duro, Josef,
Escolá, Raimundo,
Espin, José,
Estéves, José,
Fernández, Antonio,
Fernández, Mariano,
Fernández, Vincente,
Fontcuberta, Sigismundo,
Galisteo, Francisco,
Gallego, Miguel,
Gándara, Pedro (?),
Gandiaga, Pedro,
García, Manuel,
Gómez, Juan Crisóstomo,
Gonzalez, Pedro,
Grijalva, Juan Pablo,
Herrera, José,
Hidalgo, Miguel,
Hontiyuelo, Francisco,
Lafuente, José,
Lázaro, Antonio,
Loriente, José,
López, Miguel,
López, Ramon,
Luesma, Antonio,
Luna, Domingo,
Mansilla, Tomas,
Marín, Tomas,
Martín, José,
Mesa, (?),
Mora, Vincente,
Muñóz, Nicolas,
Naranjo, José,
Pallás, Caietano,
Peña, Bonifacio Gómez de la,
Pineda, José Miguel de,
Pons, Melchor,
Portela, (?),
Ramirez de Arellano, Ignacio,
Rivas, Juan,
Rúiz, José Manuel,
Sales, Luis,
Salgado, Juan Maria,
Sánchez, José Antonio,
Santolarra, José,
Santos, Ramon de,
Sanz, Placido,
Solá, Bernardo,
Soldevilla, Gerónimo,
Surroca, Eudaldo,
Tejeiro, Ricardo,
Timon, Domingo,
Tiol, Jacinto,
Valdellón, Tomás,
Valero, Joaquin,
Varela, Roque,
Verduzco, (?),
Vidaurreta, José,
Villatoro, José García,
Yoldi, Mariano,
Zárate, Pablo Maria de,
Zavaleta, Martin.

APPENDIX.

A.

The First Church and the First Holy Mass in the New World.

(To Page 9.)

"Post elapsos vero aliquot dies ab insulae istius expugnatione, nonnulli fratres nostri, inter eos Frater Joannes Piretius, qui Columbo, ne a tanta provincia discederet, instantissime suasit, ad has partes secunda navigatione trajecere, atque praesenti provinciae in hunc modum initium dedere. Is namque Frater Joannes Piretius, primo in istam insulam ingressus, straminaceum tuguriolum sibi edificari jussit; inibique primum Sacrum fecit, atque demum Eucharistiae Sacramentum asservandum curavit. Et haec prima Occiduarum omnium Indiarum ecclesia est." ("A few days after taking possession of that island some of our friars, among whom was Fr. Juan Pérez who had most urgently counseled Columbus not to abandon so grand an undertaking, passed over to those parts on the second voyage, and laid the foundation for the present province (i. e., the Franciscan Province of Santa Cruz de Cuba). This same Fr. Juan Pérez, who first set foot on that island, had a hut erected of boughs and covered with straw, where he offered up the first holy Mass, and then took care to have the Blessed Sacrament preserved there. This was the first church in all the West Indies.") Fr. Franciscus Gonzaga, Minister-General, in his large work "De Origine Seraphicae Religionis Franciscanae," Pars Quarta, pag. 1198, Romae, 1587. With him agree the following ancient writers and others quoted by Fr. José Coll, O. F. M., in "Colón y La Rábida," pp. 241-260, Madrid, 1892.

Fr. Antonio Daza, O. F. M., "Cronica General," lib. ii, parte iv, cap. iii, Valladolid, 1611.

Fr. Diego de Córduba, O. F. M., "Cronica de la Provincia de Peru," lib. vii, cap. xiv, p. 104, Lima, 1651.

Fr. Juan del Olmo, O. F. M., "Árbol Seráfico," art. 9, sec. 3, Barcelona, 1703.

Fr. Juan Meléndez, O. P., "Tesóros Verdaderos de las Indias," lib. i, cap. i, Rome, 1681.

Fr. Luke Wadding, O. F. M., "Annales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum," ad annum 1493, Lyons, 1625-1654.

Fr. Francis Harold O. F. M., "Epitome Annalium," ad annum 1493, Rome, 1662.

Juan Diez de la Calle, "Memorial y Noticias Sacras y Reales del Imperio de las Indias Occidentales," cap. xxix, Madrid, 1646.

B.

The First Vicar-Apostolic in the New World.

(To Page 10.)

Historians relate that the vicar-apostolic, who on the second voyage of Columbus in 1493 reached West Indies, was a member of the Order of St. Benedict. The discovery in 1851 of a copy of the Bull appointing the first vicar-apostolic proved this general opinion incorrect. The first part of the Bull of Pope Alexander VI., which is dated June 25th, 1493, reads as follows:

"Alexander, Episcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto filio Bernardo Boil, fratri Ordinis Minorum, vicario dicti Ordinis in Hispaniarum regnis, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

"Pils fidelium, praesertim Catholicorum regum et principum, votis, quae religionis propagationem divinique cultus augmentum et fidei Catholicae exaltationem ac animarum salutem respiciunt, libenter annuimus, eaque, quantum cum Deo possumus, favoribus prosequimur oportunis. Cum itaque, sicut charissimus in Christo filius noster, Ferdinandus rex, et charissima in Christo filia nostra, Elisabet regina, Castellae et Legionis, Aragonum et Granatae, illustres, Nobis nuper exponi fecerunt; ipsi fervore devotionis accensi, desiderantes quod fides Catholica in terris et insulis, per eos de novo versus partes occidentales et mare Oceanum repertis, antea aliis incognitis, ac aliis imposterum reperiendis, floreat et exaltetur; decreverunt te ad partes illas destinare, ut inibi, per te et alios presbyteros saeculares vel religiosos ad id idoneos et per te deputandos, verbum Dei praedicetis et seminetis, ac incolas et habitatores insularum et terrarum praedictarum, qui fidei nostrae cognitionem non habent, ad fidem ipsam ac religionem Christianam reducatis, et in mandatis Domini eos ambulare doceatis et instruatis; Nos, sperantes quod ea, quae tibi duxerimus committenda, fideliter et diligenter exequeris, tibi, qui presbyter es, ad insulas et partes praedictas, etiam cum aliquibus socils, tui vel alterius Ordinis, per te aut eosdem regem et reginam eligendis, superiorum tuorum vel cujusvis alterius super hoc licentia minime requisita, accedendi et inibi, quamdiu volueris, commorandi; etc. etc.

"Nulli ergo etc. Nostrae concessionis, elargitionis, indulti, voluntatis et decreti infringere etc. Si quis etc.

"Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno etc. MCCCCLXXXXIII, Septimo Kalendas Julii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Primo."

Gratis de mandato Smi D. N. Papae, Collat. Phy. de Pontecurvo, pro Registr. A. de Mucciarellis. N. Casanova.

(The document is in the Secret Archives of the Vatican, Reg. 777f. 122.)

From the address, "Alexander, Bishop, etc., to the beloved son Bernard Boil, friar of the Order of Minors, vicar of said Order in the Spanish dominions, etc.," it is evident that the appointee was not a Benedictine, but a Franciscan. From history we know that the first vicar-apostolic, who went to America, was not a Franciscan, but a Friar Minim of the Order of St. Francis de Paul, only lately founded. This discrepancy has given rise to two opinions. Franciscan writers, notably Fr. Coll, O. F. M., in "Colón y La Rábida," and the author of "St. Francis and the Franciscans" with Count Roselly de Lorgues, the biographer of Christopher Columbus, claim that King Ferdinand, the husband of Queen Isabella, forged the Papal Bull to the extent of substituting "Minimorum" for "Minorum" in favor of Fr. Bernardo Boil, the Minim, and thus defrauded Fr. Bernardo Boil, the Friar Minor, who, it is said, happened to be vicar among the Franciscans at the same time.

The defenders of the other opinion assert that "Minorum" in the copy of the Papal Bull is merely an error of the copyist, who wrote "Minorum," a title with which he was familiar, for "Minimorum," a title which was new, and that Fr. Bernardo Boil, the Minim, was of right as he was in fact the first vicar-apostolic in the New World.

The writer held the former view until he secured a copy of the Bull of Pope Alexander VI. Since then he came to the conclusion that the belief which charges forgery rests on a poor basis, and that the claim that the copyist committed an error is reasonable. The copy of the Bull (the original so far has not been discovered), as far as it is reproduced on the preceding page, shows two erasures of two different words, as can be seen in the holographic copy on page 414, vol. i, of the new "Catholic Encyclopedia." After the word "illustres" occurs what seems to read "nuper," but this word is canceled. Further down between "mare" and "Oceanum" another word is canceled. If a copyist could commit such errors as these, it is not improbable that he might have substituted a known title for one with which he was not so familiar.

What, however, proves disastrous to the claim of Fr. Coll and his adherents is the fact that there is no evidence, except that word "Minorum" in the copy of the Bull, that a Fr. Bernardo Boil, O. F. M., ever existed. We know who Fr. Bernardo Boil, the Minim, was; that he was most probably born at Tarragona in 1445; that he had been a member of the Benedictine Order of the Congregation of Montserrate until he joined the Minims of St. Francis de Paul some years before the discovery of America; that he went to the West Indies in 1493; and that in 1495 he was

sent to Rome by the saintly founder of the Minims; whereas of Fr. Bernardo Boil, the Friar Minor, there appears to be absolutely no trace in the records or anywhere else.

Fr. Coll himself, "Colón y La Rábida," page 294, confesses, "We shall not conceal that in the 'Cuadro Sinoptico,' (Paris, 1878), where are recorded the names of the vicars-general of the Spanish (Franciscan) Family from 1415 to 1516, when the vicars were abolished and commissaries-general came into existence in our Order, during that whole century the name of no Boil is found; but might not the Father Bernardo Boil, Franciscan, to whom the Bull alludes, have been a vicar-provincial?" First it must be proved that he ever existed.

Moreover, from the Bull it is clear that Ferdinand and Isabella jointly asked for the appointment of a vicar-apostolic, and that they jointly nominated for that position Fr. Bernardo Boil. Queen Isabella certainly knew whom she was nominating, and she also knew whether or not the person, who actually went to America as vicar-apostolic, was identical with her candidate. It is preposterous to charge her with participating in the forgery of a Papal Bull, and without her consent no other person could have been substituted. Hence, until the original Bull, which may exist somewhere in Spain, is discovered, or until the existence in 1493 of Fr. Bernardo Boil, the Friar Minor, is proved, we are forced to conclude that the copyist committed an error. (See for the arguments on both sides of the controversy Fr. José Coll, O. F. M., in "Colón y La Rábida," Madrid, 1892, and the "Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia," Madrid, 1892, tomo xix.)

C.

The First Bishop of Florida, U. S. A.

(To Pages 14-15.)

The first bishop appointed for a diocese within the present territory of the United States was the Franciscan Fr. Juan Xuárez (also written Juárez, Suárez). He was one of the twelve Friars Minor whom the Most Rev. Fr. Francisco Quiñones, Superior-General of the Seraphic Order, had sent to Mexico in 1824. While he held the office of guardian of the monastery at Huexotcingo in the present State of Puebla, he was chosen to accompany the expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez, who intended to found a colony in Florida. In order to give the settlement a proper organization

in ecclesiastical matters, Fr. Juan Xuárez was nominated bishop of Florida and of Rio de las Palmas, now Pánuco, Mexico.

Some doubt has been cast upon this fact by the late eminent Historian Dr. John Gilmary Shea. In his "History of the Catholic Church," vol. i, page 111, he declares the statement that Xuárez was a bishop to be "utterly unfounded," though in an earlier work, "Catholic Missions," Shea himself styled Fr. Juan Xuárez Bishop of Florida.

While reviewing "Alzog's History" in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review," vol. iv, page 138, Shea goes still farther. "In the Spanish portion," he writes, "we find the silly fable of Friar Juan Xuárez having been bishop of Florida given as a fact, and the assertion made that he and his companions were the first missionaries to set foot on our territory. That Xuárez was a bishop is contradicted (?) by every contemporaneous document, by the silence of all (?) the Spanish writers, and by intrinsic (?) facts. The reference made to a modern French writer, who compiled without accurate guides, was the only (?) authority for the fable."

Let us see how Dr. Shea is borne out by the facts. It is true, there is no evidence that Fr. Juan Xuárez ever received episcopal "consecration"; he never was consecrated bishop; but there is good authority, apart from the modern French writer, to show that Fr. Juan Xuárez was nominated by Emperor Charles V. to the new See of Florida and Rio de las Palmas; quite sufficient reason, according to Dr. Shea himself, to honor the first Franciscan who entered our territory with the title of bishop. On page 139, vol. iv, "American Catholic Quarterly Review," Shea informs us that "Under the Bull of Pope Julius II., the Catholic king nominated bishops for the Indies. They were constantly spoken of as bishops."

Fr. Francis Harold of Limerick, who published an abbreviated edition of Fr. Luke Wadding's "Annales Ordinis Fratrum Minorum" at Rome in 1662, has this to say on the subject in his "Epitome Annalium Ordinis Minorum," ad annum 1527, no. 1: "Alii quoque Franciscani ad Yucatanae peninsulam missi sunt. . . . His autem religiosis a Caesare serio commissum est, ut Dei suasque leges a provinciarum praefectis observari curarent. . . . Sed idipsum quoque **Designato Episcopo Franciscano**, et quatuor fratribus commendatum est, qui cum Pamphilo de Narvaez, Provinciae Floridae et Palmarum Fluvii transfretarunt." (Other Franciscans also were sent to the peninsula of Yucatan. These religious were earnestly commissioned by the emperor to see that the laws of God and his own were observed by the governors of the provinces. . . . But the same commission was given to the **Franciscan Bishop-Elect**, and to the four friars who sailed with

Pámphilo de Narvaez, the governor of the province of Florida and the River of Palms.")

Again, in paragraph 5, ad annum 1527, Fr. Harold says: "Cum plurimae in Christi caulam oves Evangelii ministri compellerent, ne pastoribus destituerentur, ex eadam Observantium Familia selecti sunt aliquot: pro Episcopatu in urbe Mexicana erigendo, Fr. Joannes á Zumárraga; pro Darieni Episcopatu missus est Fr. Martin de Béjar; ad Floridae Provinciae Sedem, Fr. Joannes Suárez, quibus etiam graviter commendatum est, ut provinciarum praefectos, inter se discordes, conciliarent, et gravissimis Indorum praesuris moderentur." (Since the ministers of the Gospel gathered so very many sheep into the fold of Christ, lest they be destitute of shepherds, several were selected from the same Family of Observants (Franciscans): for the diocese to be erected in the City of Mexico, Fr. Juan á Zumárraga, to the diocese of Darien, Fr. Martin de Béjar was sent, to the See of the province of Florida, Fr. Juan Suárez, who were likewise strictly charged to make peace among the quarreling governors, and to remedy the worst grievances of the Indians.")

In the last paragraph the Franciscan annalist mentions the important circumstance that Fr. Xuárez was named bishop of Florida about the same time that Fr. Juan á Zumárraga received the nomination for first bishop of Mexico. Those were not the days of steamships and railroads, nor were there any telegraph or telephone lines. Between the nomination of a bishop and the arrival of the Bulls from the Pope authorizing the consecration of the nominee years often passed by, so that not unfrequently the bishop-elect departed from life before the consecration could take place. This was the case with the first bishop-elect of Florida. While Bishop Zumárraga was not consecrated until Sunday, April 27th, 1533, six years after his nomination, Bishop-elect Xuárez, who had been named with him in 1527, perished on or near the shores of Florida in 1528.

Moreover, Barcia (Don Gabriel de Cárdenas y Cano), the best authority on the Florida of ancient times, and whom Shea recognizes as authority for everything else, in his "Ensayo Cronológico," Década Segunda, Año MDXXVII, page 9 (Madrid, 1723), writes that "A 17 de Junio salió de San Lucar Pánfilo de Narvaez, Gobernador, Adelantado, y Capitan General de las Provincias desde el Rio de las Palmas hasta Florida, á conquistar y pacificar la Tierra Firme, con cinco bajeles y 600 hombres, en que iba Fr. Juan Suárez por Obispo de aquel distrito."

Finally, Antonio de Herrera, "Historia General," tom. ii, década 4, lib. ii, cap. iv (Madrid, 1601), says that "Xuárez fué presentado para Obispo de aquel distrito."

D.

The Right of the Missionaries to be Supported.

(To Page 133.)

On this subject the Rev. Miguél Venegas, S. J., in his "Noticia de la California," tomo ii, parte iii, sec. xi, pp. 236-242, quite rightly says: "There is nothing so good in the world that it may not have different views and reasons for and against it; but, in truth, in the present case that appears more in order and more Christian which prudence dictated. The missionaries might, indeed, have been sent among the Indians like sheep among the wolves without staff and without bag; but he who admires this in the Apostles for the founding of churches, will not for all that condemn the collections which the same men took up among the faithful, nor the distribution of provisions by the deacons in charge of the orphans and widows, which could not have been done unless there had been some funds. Much less will he dare disapprove of the donations, which have been made to the same churches from the very time of the Apostles until now in the form of tithes, first-fruits, offerings, real estate, workmen, stipends, and fees for Divine Worship, and for the decent support of the bishops and the minor clergy who serve the churches.

"If these revenues, though often so meager, must not be condemned, what reason can there be to decry the poor and infrequent donations to those of the clergy who, stripping themselves more, banish themselves from their country, relatives, and friends, and devote themselves to live in the farthest corner of the world, deprived of every convenience, of all society, of all corporal and intellectual enjoyment, in the midst of thousands of dangers and labors among savages, for the sole purpose of attracting them to Jesus Christ? How could they possibly live upon alms from the Indians, when almost the only means to convert them is that they receive alms from the missionaries? It is laudable to live upon alms, as many religious Orders do; but likewise it is laudable to gain a living from the own farm, without asking the faithful, as some others do. The Society (of Jesus) practises both ways. It is apostolic to preach the Gospel while obtaining the means of subsistence by begging; but it is likewise apostolic to preach the Gospel while providing for one's self, and for those belonging to one's self, by means of the labor of one's own hands without begging. The Society practised both ways in California; but the one and the other way is exposed to difficulties and criticisms.

"The apostolic ministry may appear to be, and even may be,

an excuse for the obtaining of alms. Endowments, or landed property, may appear to be, and even may be, an incentive to luxury and comfort rather than a preventive of destitution. The Society avoids the one as well as the other when it receives nothing for its ministrations, nor even in its churches permitted collections, collection-boxes, nor requests (quando ni recibe cosa alguna por sus ministerios, y aun en sus iglesias no admitió limosnas, zepillos, ni demandas); but, on the other hand, the greater part of its members live upon alms obtained by begging wherever they may. Where it has plantations, it maintains its members in such moderate style that it does not go beyond the indispensable.

"The Society has haciendas (plantations) for its colleges; but even when something abounds, which is not common, on that account each individual does not cease to be truly poor, for he receives clothing and subsistence only. The rest are the tales of the ignorant rabble. To provide all decently with these necessaries, funds are requisite and by means of these the observance of the Rule, labor, the contempt of worldly goods, evangelical poverty itself, and the spirit of the members are maintained. If the funds were lacking for the community, and each individual had to take care of himself and provide for himself, soon likewise the members would be lacking in discipline, regularity, work, and true poverty itself. For this reason, what cannot be maintained either by means of alms, or with funds obtainable, the Society abandons. Hence, for that which must be upheld, when there is no possibility to continue purely by means of alms, which is more conformable to its spirit, the Society admits funds and endowments for the sustenance of those employed.

"These considerations obliged St. Francis Xavier to admit the assignments which King Juan III. of Portugal liberally made for him and his companions for the purpose of propagating the faith throughout the Orient. Without them, how could the expenses for his many journeys and voyages, for his subjects, for so many newly-founded missions, seminaries, and colleges have been covered? For all these purposes endowments and donations, which Catholic kings with marvelous generosity have made in the Americas and the Philippines, were admitted in order to bring the light of the Gospel to countless nations. For the same reasons in Europe there are found throughout many dioceses missions with fixed revenues. Finally, it was by this means that the Society, in order to plant, maintain, and spread the faith in California, could educate youths and train apostolic men; but not for the purpose of hoarding up wealth. Let the intelligent and dispassionate reader see what other means there are than those adopted, namely the acceptance of donations, and let him decide whether these are contrary to the Spirit of Jesus Christ? . . .

"Though the magnanimous and pious King Philip V. commanded that at his expense the missions of California should be assisted with everything necessary for Divine Worship, such as bells, images, vestments, lamps, oil, and altar-wine, which his Majesty furnished to all the missions of America, nevertheless, this order was never executed. All has been paid, and it is being paid, from the allowance of the missionaries, from alms, and from the product of the missions. At the expense of the missionary, who is the parish priest of the Indians, the church building is erected and furnished, the missionary supported, and ordinary as well as extraordinary demands are paid. However, this is not the only drawback encountered by the missionaries of California. All the world over the laborer is worthy of the recompense for his labor; and it is not too much, if he that serves the altar, lives by the altar; for he that sows what is spiritual among the faithful, it seems just, should share somewhat in that which is temporal. Hence it would not have been strange, if the new California Christians had supported and had served their missionaries with some things of temporal use; but, on the contrary, the pastors and Jesuit missionaries are the ones that at their expense and care had to maintain not only the churches, but also their neophytes." What Venégas here states in connection with the Jesuits is equally true of their successors, the Franciscans and Dominicans, except that the friars admitted no endowments for colleges and convents under any title whatsoever, as may be learned from Appendix F.

E.

Our Lady of Guadalupe.

(To Page 174.)

Seven missions in Lower California were dedicated in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary under various titles. They were Our Lady of Loreto, Our Lady of Sorrows in the South, Our Lady of Sorrows in the North, Our Lady of Guadalupe, Our Lady of the Angels, Our Lady of the Rosary, Our Lady of Pilár. The one dearest to the hearts of the Mexicans is Our Lady of Guadalupe under which title the Blessed Virgin Mary is called the Patroness of Mexico. The origin of this devotion dates back to the year 1531, only ten years after Cortés had taken possession of the Mexican capital. The account of the remarkable event in substance is as follows:

On Saturday, December 9th, 1531, Juan Diego, a poor Christian Indian, while on his way from Tolpetlac to Tlatelulco, now a part of the capital, to hear holy Mass and receive instructions at the Franciscan church of Santiago, was obliged to pass the brow of a rugged, barren hill, known as Tepeacac. He suddenly heard the sounds of the most delightful music, and turning his eyes upwards, whence the sweet strains came, with amazement he beheld an arc of glorious coloring. In the center shone a brilliant light whence rays of various colors spread out in every direction. Diego stood bewildered and contemplated the wonderful vision from the midst of the splendor, until he heard his name called. Drawing nearer, he saw in the radiance a lady of surpassing beauty who in a gentle voice bade him ascend to where she stood. The lady in the Aztec language, and in a voice inexpressibly tender, said to him: "My son Juan, whither art thou going?" "I am going," Diego replied, "most noble Lady and Sovereign, to Mexico, to the Tlatelulco quarter, to hear Mass and the instructions which the ministers of the Lord, our priests, give us." "Know, then," the Apparition continued, "my much beloved, that I am the ever Virgin Mary, the Mother of the true God, the Author of life, He, who has created and preserves all things. It is my will that on this place there be built in my honor a temple, in which I will show forth all my goodness and love, for I am the Mother of mercy; and to thee, and such as thee, and to all who love me and confidently invoke my name, who call on me in their trials and afflictions, I shall show forth that mercy. I will be mindful of their tears and tribulations and will give them consolation and relief. In order that my will may be fulfilled, I command thee to go to the city of Mexico, to the palace of the bishop, and tell him that thou art sent by me, and that I wish a temple to be raised on this spot in my honor. Thou shalt also tell him all that thou hast seen and heard; and be assured that thy work and thy service will be pleasing to me, and I will reward thy labor and diligence. Thou hast heard my words, beloved son; go, therefore, and do as thou art bidden." Prostrating himself before the lady, the Indian replied, "I will go, my Lady and my Queen, as thy humble servant in order that thy will and thy word may be fulfilled."

Juan hastened to the city, and went straight to the bishop's house. Fr. Juan á Zumárraga, O. F. M., the first bishop of Mexico, and a fearless defender of the Indians, with no little astonishment heard the story of the pious Diego, but, fearing that the Indian might be the dupe of a delusion, he kindly dismissed him with the promise that he would consider the matter.

With a heavy heart Juan Diego in the evening returned to the spot and found the lady awaiting him. Casting himself at her

feet, he related his failure to interest the bishop, "and this is, I believe because of me," he added. "I beseech thee, therefore, O Virgin, my Lady and my Queen, that thou choose some noble and honorable man to whom credit will be given; and that thou committest to him thy will and thy word, for I am poor, and lowly, and unknown, and it is useless that I am sent. Pardon, O Virgin, my Lady and my Queen, if I have offended before thy face or incurred thine anger."

The Virgin listened until Diego had finished his plaint, and then said: "Hear, my beloved son, and understand that I am not without clients and servants to send; but it pleases me and it is my will that thou undertake this work, and that it be accomplished by means of thee. I command thee to go again to-morrow to the bishop and tell him to erect the temple I demanded, and say that she who sent thee is the Virgin Mary, Mother of the true God." Poor Diego expressed his willingness to obey, but declared that he feared he should have no more success than the first time.

On the following day, Sunday, December 10th, Juan Diego again repaired to the bishop's palace. The servants were in no hurry to announce him, but at last he was admitted to the prelate's presence. With tears in his eyes he related that he had seen the Mother of God a second time, and that she had again charged him to ask that a temple be built on the spot where she had appeared. Zumárraga questioned him closely, made him describe every circumstance, and then instructed him to ask the lady to give him some sign whereby he might know that the message was from the Mother of God. After Juan had departed, the prudent bishop ordered two of his attendants to follow the Indian secretly and to report everything they might observe. When Diego reached the bridge, which crossed a small stream near the foot of the mount, he disappeared from view, nor could the closest search discover the least trace of him. The spies returned to the bishop and expressed it as their firm belief that the Indian was an impostor.

Meanwhile Juan Diego continued on his way, unconscious of the miracle performed in his behalf, and related to the Virgin the result of his mission. The lady bade him return the next morning when he should have the sign the bishop demanded. At his home he found his uncle, Juan Bernardino, grievously sick. This prevented him from visiting the hillside on the next day as he had promised. On the second day, December 12th, his uncle seemed to be at the point of death, wherefore Diego hastened to call a priest to administer the last sacrament. On the way to Tlatelulco he remembered that he had failed to keep his promise on the day before. In his simplicity he hoped to avoid meeting the lady by taking another path. In doing so he arrived at a small

fountain near the foot of the hill. From there he suddenly beheld the Virgin descending surrounded by the same brilliant light as on the first occasion. The vision dazzled him. Conscience-stricken and trembling he fell upon his knees. The lady addressed him in most tender accents, and asked, "My son, whither art thou going? and what road art thou taking?" Quite confused Juan Diego related his predicament, and then promised to carry out her commands as soon as he had brought the priest to his uncle. The Virgin consoled him, and bade him have no fear for his relative, as she had cured him at that same hour. She then told him that she would now give him the sign for the bishop. "Go, my beloved son, to the top of the hill where thou didst see me first; pick the roses which thou shalt find growing there, and fetch them to me in thy mantle, when I will tell thee what thou shalt do and say."

Juan obeyed without a word, though he well knew that no flowers ever grew on that barren spot. When he reached the summit, he was amazed to find a number of beautiful rose-bushes, fresh and fragrant and wet with the dew of the morning. He gathered the roses in his tilma or mantle, which was nothing more than a square piece of cloth, and brought them to the lady. She took them into her hand,s and putting them back in the cloak she said to Juan, "This is the token thou shalt take to the bishop. Tell him that by this he shall do what I have commanded. Show what thou carriest to no one, nor do thou open thy cloak till thou art in the presence of the bishop. Tell him all that thou hast seen and heard, and he will take courage to build my temple." The Virgin then dismissed him.

When Diego arrived at the bishop's house, the servants would not admit him for a long time. They wanted to see what he carried. Through a slight opening they saw the roses and tried to seize them, but they caught at nothing. The flowers seemed to be only painted or woven into the cloth. They then informed the bishop, who called the Indian into his presence. Falling on his knees Juan delivered his message, and added, "Here is the sign thou didst want, and which the lady sends to thee." With this he opened his mantle and displayed the fresh roses, and, to his own as well as the bishop's astonishment, the glorious likeness of the Blessed Virgin herself was found imprinted on the mantle. Zumárraga called in the members of his household, and all acknowledged the miraculous nature of the roses and of the apparition. With his own hands the prelate untied the two corners of the cloak from behind the Indian's neck, and placed the picture in his oratory. On the following day he accompanied Diego to the hill where the apparition had occurred, and there ordered the temple built. The Indian now hastened with some of the bishop's servants to the house of his uncle, whom he found perfectly cured.

Juan Bernardino related that a beautiful lady had appeared to him on the previous morning. She informed him that she was the Blessed Virgin, that she restored him to health, that she wanted a temple erected on the spot where his nephew had seen her, and that it should be known as Santa Maria de Guadalupe.

No further evidence was needed. The fame of the apparition spread all over the country and captivated the poor Indians, who rejoiced that one of their number, and not one of the haughty foreigners, had been chosen to see the Virgin, and that she herself had deigned to represent herself on the picture as one of them. They danced and sang, and the burden of their song were the pathetic and beautiful words, "The Virgin is one of us, the Indians! Our pure Mother! Our Sovereign Lady! The Virgin is one of us." That was the beginning of the end of idolatry in Mexico. When the temple had been erected the picture was transferred thither in procession and placed above the altar; there it has been venerated ever since.

The choice of Mount Tepeacac for a church in honor of the Mother of God was most appropriate. According to Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, O. F. M., (quoted by Don Francisco Pimentel, "Obras Completas," tom. iii, p. 83, Mexico, 1904) "there were three or four places where it was customary to offer very solemn sacrifices, and to which the people would come from very distant regions. One of these is here in Mexico (that is to say, the region around the present Federal District of Mexico), where there is a hill called 'Tepeacac.' The Spaniards call it 'Tepeaquilla,' but now it is known as Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. On this place there used to be a temple dedicated to the mother of the gods, who was called 'Tonantzin,' which means 'Our Mother.' There they used to offer many sacrifices in honor of that goddess, and for them they would come from very distant parts, as many as twenty leagues from all the surrounding country of Mexico, and they would bring many offerings. The concourse of the people in those days was grand, and they would all say, 'Let us go to the feast of our mother.' Now that the church of Our Lady of Guadalupe is built there, the people still call her 'Tonantzin,' taking occasion from the practise of the preachers who called Our Lady the Mother of God, 'Tonantzin.'" (Fr. Sahagún came to Mexico from Spain in 1529.)

"In regard to the painting itself," says the puzzled Bancroft, who for a wonder relates the history of Our Lady of Guadalupe truthfully without a sneer, "we find the Virgin represented as standing with the right foot on a crescent moon, supported by a cherub with wings outstretched, and hands clasped upon her breast. A rose-colored tunic richly embroidered with gold covers her form,

and a girdle of velvet clasps her waist. The mantle, decorated with stars, partially covers the head, on which rests a crown with ten points, or rays. The artist Cabrera describes the countenance as exquisitely beautiful in every feature, and maintains that, even if a person were ignorant of the origin of the painting, he could not deny, on seeing it, that it is supernatural work. The figure is surrounded by an aureola encompassed by a luminous-edged cloud." (See the frontispiece of this volume.)

"In 1835," Bancroft continues, "a formal investigation was made with regard to the genuineness of the existing painting, from which it was discovered that its identity with the one miraculously depicted on the mantle of Juan Diego, was not proven until its removal from its place on the old altar on account of repairs, when attention was attracted to its extraordinary weight. Examination revealed the fact that it was attached to the top of Zumárraga's table, on which was an inscription by the bishop, certifying this to be the true and original picture. The painting had been stretched upon five boards, solidly joined together by tree-nails. The carpenter, who accompanied the committee, testified to the antiquity of the boards, while the wooden nails were like those used by the Indian carpenters in the bishop's time." (Bancroft, "History of Mexico," vol. ii, 403-408.) With this account compare Theodore Hittell's version in his "History of California," vol. ii, 46-48. In justice to Hittell it must be stated that he merely furnishes a literal translation from the Spanish of a story fabricated by J. B. Alvarado, the notorious governor of Upper California. The writer has a copy of the Spanish original. Alvarado, the writer was told by the best authority, "would get drunk." He must have been in some such condition when he wrote the ridiculous story of Guadalupe. No Mexican or Spaniard in his senses, unless he be a Voltarian, would perpetrate such an impious absurdity.

F.

Apostolic Colleges.

(To Page 289.)

Apostolic Colleges were seminaries in which Franciscan volunteers were trained for the missions, notably Indian missions. They were independent of any province or custody, and directly subject to the Franciscan Commissary-General for the Indies who resided at Madrid.

The first Apostolic College in America was established at Querétaro, Mexico, where by virtue of the Bull "Sacrosancti Apostolatus" of Pope Innocent XI., dated Rome, May 8th, 1682, the Franciscan monastery of Santa Cruz belonging to the province of Saints Peter and Paul of Michoacán, was withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the provincial and erected into an Apostolic College for the training of missionaries. Later a similar institution was founded at Guadalupe, Zacatécas, by the Venerable Fr. Antonio Margil, one time missionary in Texas. The third in point of time and importance was the Apostolic College of San Fernando in the city of Mexico, established by authority of the Pope and of King Fernando VI. in 1734. It was this institution which furnished the missionaries for both Lower and Upper California. The Fathers were generally called Fernandinos to distinguish them from those of Santa Cruz, who were known as Queretareños, and from those of Guadalupe who were designated as Zacatecanos, or Guadalupanos.

The special constitution of these Colleges, which was incorporated in the Papal Bull, provided for a superior with the title of guardian and four discretos or councilors elected by the community every three years. The guardian, however, was chosen by the commissary-general from three candidates proposed by the Fathers in chapter assembled. In addition a vicar was elected who presided and governed in the absence of the Fr. Guardian.

The guardian, with the consent of the discretos, could admit any friar, cleric or lay-brother, from any of the provinces, provided the applicant, after due examination as to health, virtue and studies was judged suitable and worthy by the discretos; nor could any one except the commissary-general prevent his admission. A novitiate was attached to the College, into which suitable young men were received and where they were trained by one of the Fathers who was elected at the chapter and bore the title master of novices.

The community at the College was never to consist of more than thirty friars, of whom twenty-six were to be priests and four lay-brothers. The latter attended to housework and the collecting of alms.

Inasmuch as these monasteries were to excel in spirituality and self-denial, the Papal Bull expressly directed "that in said seminary the Rule of the Friars Minor should be most strictly observed, as well in regard to poverty in general as in regard to the special regulations concerning the quality and number of wearing apparel, going barefooted, fasting, etc., particularly with regard to providing the necessaries for the friars in sickness and in health according to our mode of life, so that all live in community, and that in

no case any friar shall be permitted to have, neither in charge of the apostolic syndic nor in charge of spiritual friends, whosoever the owner may be, any money deposits for his own necessities.

"That indispensably every day they shall devote two hours to mental prayer, one in the morning and one in the evening. The Divine Office shall be recited in choir at stated hours . . . at which and at the conventual Mass, and at the other community exercises all without exception shall be bound to be present. (Matins and Lauds were chanted at midnight.)

"That every day for two hours there shall be lectures and conferences for one hour after the conventual Mass on the language of the Indians, and for one hour after Vespers on the manner of converting, teaching catechism, and instructing converts. No one shall be excused from attending these lectures, nor from giving an account on the subject of the lecture if he be questioned.

"That no secular person shall be permitted to enter the interior parts of the convent, but in the outer cloister a decent and edifying room containing a few plain seats, shall be set apart, where male seculars desiring to speak with any of the Fathers for their consolation may be received and comforted.

"That the guardian, or in his absence the presiding Father, on suitable occasions, or when he deems it necessary, shall send out missionaries by twos, or in larger numbers, as it shall seem expedient for the conversion of the people, assigning to them the villages, districts, and territories in which the several religious may preach their missions. Some, however, shall be left at the seminary to carry on the exercises of the community, and these may be sent out when the others return.

"That if any of the missionaries without legitimate cause, which must be approved by the discretos, shall have excused himself from preaching the missions according to the regulation of the Fr. Guardian, or if in the missions he shall have accepted anything beyond moderate food, or shall have given bad example, or in the seminary shall have disturbed the peace of the community, or in attending the community and other exercises to be observed as said before shall have been notably negligent, and if reproved once and again by the guardian shall not have improved, the guardian himself, with the counsel and consent of the discretos, may, if he had been a member of a province, expel him from the seminary and return him to his province, which shall be obliged to receive back.

"That the said commissary-general shall be bound, either personally or through his commissary especially appointed for that purpose, to visit said seminary every three years, and at each visitation he shall question each one about the observance of all aforesaid regulations. . . . And inasmuch as we hope that, in-

spired by the grace of God, by means of these ministers of His Word, many pagan nations will be converted to the faith, whose neophytes it is necessary to preserve in the faith embraced and to administer to them the sacraments, it is ordered that some of the said missionaries, who are necessary to perform said work, shall remain among the converted people, after they have notified the guardian of the seminary and received permission from him, and they shall always remain subordinate to the same guardian and subject to correction from him, as above. . . . They may remain in charge of souls thus converted to the faith only so long until it shall have pleased the bishop, to whom the territory pertains, or in the future may pertain, to assign secular priests to whom he may commit the care of the souls. (In cura animarum sic conversarum ad fidem, tamdiu solummodo poterunt remanere, quoadusque Episcopo, ad quem terra pertinet, vel in posterum pertinebit, placuerit Presbyteros Saeculares, quibus animarum curam committat, destinare.) While, however, the said missionaries shall continue in said charge, **they can accept nothing on the title of curates or missionaries, but must live strictly upon the alms obtained by begging or otherwise offered.** (Quamdiu, vero praedicti missionarii in praedicta cura remanserint, nihil ex titulo curatorum, vel doctinarum possint accipere, sed praecise ex mendicatis eleemosynis, vel ultro oblatis vivere debent.)" . . . ("Gobierno de los Regulares de la America," by Fr. Pedro Joseph Parras, tomo ii, pp. 82-93, 169, Madrid, 1783.)

There is no mention of a time limit for the missionaries; but four years later, in the Bull "Ecclesiae Catholicae" of the same Pope Innocent XI., it was ordained that "To the missionaries who had during ten years occupied themselves laudably in the service of the missions, and who desired to return to their province, the guardian and discretos shall not refuse that permission, nor the testimony of having complied with their obligation." Nor did this regulation originate with the religious, but was issued in the decree of King Felipe II. in 1563, and later adopted by the Pope. ("Los misioneros, que por diez años se hayan ocupado loablemente en el exercicio de las misiones, y quieran volverse á sus provincias, el guardiano y discretos no les podrán negar esa licencia, ni el testimonio de haber cumplido con su obligacion." ("Gobierno de los Regulares de la America," ut supra, p. 169.)

These were the principal special regulations under which the Franciscan missionaries toiled among the Indians of California in addition to the rules laid down by St. Francis himself. From this it is evident that all the so-called historians, who have written about the missions of California, and who have accused the friars of enriching themselves or their Order, will have to revise their assertions in order to bring them within the lines of truth.

G.

Indian Veracity.

(To Pages 325 and 404.)

"I would caution all superiors of the secular or regular clergy," says Fr. Pedro Joseph Parras, O. F. M., who had lived in Paraguay and held many prominent offices in his Order, ("Gobierno de los Regulares de la America," tom. ii, no. 937, p. 430, Madrid, 1783) "when there is question of removal or of other corrections, to avoid juridical examinations (of Indians). I do not know that any credence can be given where Indians must be employed as witnesses. (No se que alguna pueda hacer fe, donde han de servir los Indios de testigos.)" Parras then recites one case in which he with three other synodal examiners came to the conclusion that the testimony of eight Indians agreeing in the affirmative amounted to only very imperfect proof. "We four synodal examiners," he writes, "based our decision on the practical knowledge of what the Indians are. They generally give the reply which they perceive the judge wants them to give. (Respondan por lo comun lo que conocen que quiere el juez que respondan.) Lest this appear an exaggeration on my part, let the Regulations of Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (of Peru) be read. . . . After he had by experience acquired a practical knowledge of the Indian character, he issued this order:

"In grave cases never fewer than six Indians should be examined, and after the judge has questioned them and found them agreeing, no more credence shall be accorded them than that which would be given to one trustworthy witness. (Que en las causas graves nunca se examinen menos de seis Indios, y despues de examinados por el juez de la causa, y hallados contestes, no se les deba dar mas fe, que aquella que se daria á un solo testigo idoneo.)" (Parras, ut supra, no. 938.)

In conformity with this the Third Council of Lima declared that, when the necessity is urgent for accepting the oath of Indians, and upon their testimony alone depends the verification of the truth, "the judge shall look carefully to the credit which should be given to men in whom the facility for perjuring themselves is notorious." (Parras, ut supra, no. 938.)

Bishop Montenegro of Quito (Parras, ut supra) relates a case in which the curate of a pueblo was accused by Indians before the ecclesiastical judge. Wearied with the endless evidently insincere charges, the judge at last resolved to test the veracity of the native witnesses by introducing some altogether foreign questions. Among others he asked:

"Is it true that on a certain day, when this curate had finished his Mass, the holy King David appeared clad in all his royal robes, and that this curate then killed him in the presence of his parishioners in the very same church?" All the Indians swore under oath that such was the truth, and that they had been present! On another occasion under similar circumstances other Indians testified that they had seen the Most Holy Trinity with their bodily eyes! (See also Bancroft, "History of Texas," vol. i, 551.)

Solórzano, ("Politica Indiana," tom. i, lib. ii, cap. xxviii, nos. 34-36, pp. 210-211) also advises those concerned to be very cautious in taking the testimony of Indians, as little faith can be placed in what they say under oath, "on account of the little firmness and stability of their judgment and depositions, and on account of the suspicion we shall always have of the falsity of their testimony."

Experienced missionaries among the Indians are well aware of this characteristic of their imaginative people, and therefore pay little attention to what Indians say against others, unless these natives are well instructed and of tried piety and virtue. Nevertheless, it must not be supposed that Indians are given to lies under all circumstances; but in the case of juridical questioning, as Fr. Parras states, they seem to be under the impression that they ought to furnish the answer which the questioner expects, and which they are shrewd enough to detect from the form or tone of the question, or which they know from other circumstances.

Whether the Indian can always be believed on other occasions is another question. Rev. Jacob Baegert, S. J., ("Nachrichten," para. i, sec. viii) asserts that the Californians "in one breath say six times 'yes,' and as many times 'no.' (Sie sagen in einem Athem sechsmal 'Ja,' und ebenso vielmal 'Nein')." They can certainly not be believed when excited by passion.

The Chippewa Indian language in the northern States has a unique conjugation, the dubitative, with moods, tenses, active and passive voices, and affirmative and negative form, which the native uses when he relates what he knows to be untrue, or what he himself does not believe to be true, or when he is in doubt, which is more often the case than not. He can thus talk all day without saying anything positive. The listener may later discover that what he heard was untrue, and will declare that the Indian lied. The Chippewa would not regard it as lying, because he had employed the appropriate form of speech. Of course, under such circumstances the Indian's testimony is of no value. (Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga, "Grammar of the Otchipwe Language," Detroit, 1850.)

H.

The Power Exercised by Spanish Kings Over the Church in America.

(To Pages 393 and 470.)

"The Kings of Spain acted in virtue of the delegation and special commission of the Supreme Pontiffs (Alexander VI. and Julius II.), who in consideration of the spiritual advancement of the faithful and the conversion of the infidels existing in those territories (of the New World) had made them (the kings) their legates and commissaries with full power to administer the things temporal and spiritual which related to that purpose" (the propagation of the faith). (Fr. Pedro Joseph Parras, O. F. M., "Gobierno de los Regulares in America," tom. i, cap. ii, no. 13, p. 11-12.)

"In virtue of this and other concessions obtained later," says Joaquín García Icazbalceta, ("Juan de Zumárraga," cap. xiii, 128-129) and somewhat by reason of custom and abuse, the Kings of Spain came to acquire such power in the ecclesiastical government of America that, with the exception of what is purely spiritual, they exercised an authority which appeared pontifical. Without their permission no church, monastery, nor hospital could be erected; much less could a diocese or parish be established. No priests or religious went to the Indies without express license. The kings named the bishops, and without awaiting (Papal) confirmation sent them to manage their dioceses. They assigned the boundaries of the dioceses, and changed them when they pleased. Theirs was the privilege to present and nominate for every benefice or office, down to that of the sacristan, if they wished. They severely reprimanded, summoned to Spain, or banished any ecclesiastical person, bishops included, who, if they many times came to disputes with the governors, would not fail to hear the king's voice. The kings administered and collected the tithes, and determined who had to pay them and how, without regard to the Bulls of exemption. They fixed the revenues of the benefices, and increased or decreased them as they judged convenient. They took notice of many ecclesiastical affairs, and by resorting to force, paralyzed the action of the tribunals or prelates of the church. In fine, not a single disposition of the Supreme Pontiff could be executed without the consent or 'pase' of the king."

Had writers on the Spanish Inquisition, for instance, considered this position of the Church in Spain, they might have avoided making themselves guilty of most unjust and ridiculous criticisms.

The subject will receive further treatment in the next volume. What has been said suffices to show that the missionaries in Spanish dominions were very much hampered. The wonder is that they effected so much.

I.

Some Indian Language Specimens.

(To Pages 548, 550, 552, 554.)

1. The Lord's Prayer in the language of the Guaicuro Indians:

"Kepe-dare tekerekadatemba dai, ei-ri akatuikepu-me, tschakarrakepu-me ti tschie. Ecun graciari atume cate tekerekadatemba tschie. Ei-ri jebarrakeme ti pu jaupe datemba, pae ei jebarrakere, aena kea. Kepecun bue kepe ken jatupe untairi. Kate kuitscharrake tei tschie kepecun atacamara pae kuitscharrakere cate tschie cavape atukiara kepetujake. Cate tikakamba tei tschie, cuvume ra cate ue atukiara. Kepe kakaunja pe [illegible]acara tschie. Amen." (Rev. Jacob Baegert, S. J., "Nachrichten aus der Kalifornischen Halbinsel," para. ii, sec. ix, p. 186; Pimentel, "Obras Completas," tom. i, 427-428.)

2. The Lord's Prayer in the idiom of the Cochimí Indians at San Jose de Comundú and San Francisco Javier:

"Pennayu nakaenamba, yaa ambayujup miya mo, buhu mombojua tammala gkomenda hi nogodogno de muejueg gkajim; pennayula bogodogno gkajim, guihi ambuayujup maba yaa Kaeammet e decuinyi mo puegign; yaam buhula mujua ambayujupmo de dahijua, amet e no guilugui, ji pagkajim. Tamada yaa ibo tejueg guiluguigui pamajioh e mo, ibo yanno puegin; guihi tamma yaa gambuegjula Kaepujui ambinyijua pennayula dadaudugujua, guilugui pagkajim; guihi yaa tagamuegla hui ambinyyjua hi doomo puguegjua, hi doomo pogounyi; tamuegjua, guihi ufi mahel Kaeammet e dicuin yumo, guihi yaa hui mabinyi yaa gambuegjua pagkaudugum. Amen." (Rev. Francisco Javier Clavijero, S. J., "Historia de la Baja California," Adiciones al Libro Primero, p. 116; Pimentel, "Obras Completas," tom. i, 431-432.)

3. The Lord's Prayer in Cochimí as recited at San Ignacio:

"Ua-bappa amma-bang miamu, ma-mang-a-jua huit maja tegem. Amat-ma-thada-bajua ueuem; kem-mu-jua amma-bang vahi-mang amat-a-nang la-uahim. Te-guap ibang gual guieng-a-vit-a-jua iban-a-nang packagit; muht-pagijua abadakegem, machi uayeog-

jua packabaya-guem. Kazet-a-juangamuegnit-pacum; guang ma-yi-aog packabanajam. Amen." (Clavijero, ut supra; Pimentel, p. 432.)

4. The Lord's Prayer in Cochimi at Santa Gertrudis, San Francisco de Borja, and Santa Maria de los Angeles:

"Cahai apa, ambeing mia, mimbang-ajua val vuit-maha: amet mididuvai jua cucuem: jemmujua, amabang vihi mieng, ame tenang luvihim. The-vap yicue timiei: digua, i bang-anang gna cahitte-vichip nuhigua aviuveham, vi chip iyegua gnaca-viuvem: casse-tasuang mamenit-gnakum, guang tevisiec gna cavignaha. Amen." (Clavijero, ut supra; Pimentel, p. 432.)

For other specimens and for comparisons of the Lower California and Mexican languages see Pimentel, "Obras Completas," tom. i.

J.

Hubert Howe Bancroft's Histories.

(To Pages 527, 562.)

The writer in places severely criticizes statements made by Bancroft, the reputed author of the histories which pass under his name. That these strictures are not unjust will be seen from the following paragraphs reproduced from "The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association," vol. viii, July, 1904, pp. 87-88:

"It has long been an open secret that Bancroft is not the sole author of the thirty-nine octavo volumes bearing his name on the title-page. The fact that he tacitly claims sole credit would naturally lead to the inference that such collaborators as aided him must have been men of inferior ability, since otherwise they would have demanded recognition of their work. Mr. Morris," (who in "The Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society," vol. iv, no. 4, pp. 287-364, December, 1903, exposes the methods of H. H. Bancroft), "brings out the fact, however, that they really were well-fitted for their work, and that one of them was already an author of established reputation when she joined the Bancroft library force. Need of one kind or another seems to have reduced them all to the necessity of submitting to the agreement that so long as they remained on Bancroft's staff, they were to claim no public recognition. . . .

"He was in the main, therefore, simply a managing editor. He was the actual author, as appears from Mr. Morris's analysis, of

only about four of the completed volumes. The 'North Mexican States and Texas,' (which treat of Lower California) it may here be noted, was not Bancroft's work at all. The first volume of it was written entirely by Henry Lebbeus Oak. In the second, the Texas part is by J. J. Platfield; the rest of the volume is by a Finlander, who wrote under the name of William Nemos.

"Mr. Bancroft's lack of frankness, his failure to apprehend the ethics of authorship, could not fail to bring discredit upon his work. His business instincts and training, too, while they made him in some respects an excellent director of a great undertaking, led him to hurry his collaborators, with a view to saving expense, and, what was worse, to distort the facts so as to make the work popular." Mr. Morris (ut supra, page 360), moreover, finds that "the only characteristics which were common to the literary corps, as shown by the study of their biographies, were good education, ill-health, and liberal religious views," that is to say, like their chief, Bancroft, they never possessed any religious convictions or had thrown them overboard. Hence it is not surprising that, when they describe the missionaries, their ways, and their motives, the Bancroftian scribes and their chief talk like a blind man about colors. It cannot be denied, however, as Mr. Morris shows, "that in collecting and organizing this immense amount of material, much of which would have been lost with the passing of the Western pioneers, Bancroft has done thankworthy service to human kind."

K.

The Governors of Lower California.

(To Page 591.)

Luis de Torres y Tortolero	1697-1699
Antonio García de Mendoza	1699-1701
Isidro de Figueroa	1701
Estévan Rodríguez Lorenzo	1701-1746
Bernardo Rodríguez Lorenzo	1746-1750
Fernando de Rivera y Moncada	1750-1767
Gaspar de Portolá	1767-1769
Juan Gutiérrez (temporarily)	1769
Antonio López del Toledo (temporarily)	1769-1770
Matias de Ármona	1769-1771
Bernardino Moreno (temporarily)	1770
Felipe Barri	1771-1775
Felipe de Neve	1775-1782
Fernando de Rivera y Moncada (Lt. Governor)	1776-1780
José Maria Estrada (Lt. Governor)	1781-1783
Pedro Fages	1782-1791
José Antonio Roméu	1791-1792
José Joaquin de Arrillaga (Lt. Governor)	1783-1792
José Joaquin de Arrillaga (temp. Governor)	1792-1794
José Francisco de Ortega (Lt. Governor)	1792-1794
Diego de Borica	1794-1800
José Joaquin de Arrillaga (Lt. Governor)	1794-1800
José Joaquin de Arrillaga	1800-1805
Felipe de Goycoechea	1806-1814
José Dario Arguello	1814-1821
José Manuel Ruiz	1822-1825
José Maria de Echeandia	1825-1829
José Maria Padrés (Deputy)	1825-1826
Miguel Mesa (Deputy)	1826-1829
Manuel Victoria	1829-1830
Mariano Monterde	1830-1831
The Territorial Deputation by Rotation	1831-1833
Mariano Monterde	1833-1834
The Territorial Deputation (temporarily)	1834-1835
M. Martinez	1835
M. Conseco	1836
Fernando de la Toba	1837
Luis del Castillo Negrete	1837-1842
Francisco Padilla	1842

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S. Felipe de Jesus.

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Aguage San Juan

Los Romanes

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Aguage de Sta Rafael.

Naciones de Gentiles no conocidas.

Aguage

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Aguage

Mision de las Dolorosas Norte empezada.

Aguage

Mision de S. Ignacio.

Aguage

M.G de S. Juan Bautista Emp.

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Morro hermoso

B. de S. Christoval

La Asuncion

Los abrejos.

Farallon de los Alcatraces

Puerto de anclage descubierto año 1685

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Mision de la Purisima Concepcion

Mision de San Joseph de Comondu

Mision de S. Fran. Xavier

Mision de S. Luis Gonzaga

Sierras del Laguey

Mision de Dolores del Sur

Pta del Marques

Rio Gila.

Rio Salado

Sierra grande descubierta desde el Rio Gila año 1699.

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Nissoras.

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Casa grande

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Victoria

S. Eugenio

S. Angelo

S. Pantaleon

Rosario

S. Marcos

S. Salvador

Quiburis

S. Cruz

S. Maria de Suamca.

S. Lazaro

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S. Bonifacio

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S. Cosme

San Serafin.

S. Francisco Xavier de Bat.

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Opodepe.

Bana ichi

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Real de S. Juan Bautista.

Azetui

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Populo

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Ures.

Alamos.

Nacari.

Metape

S. Miguel

Tonichi

Onabas

Nure

Pta de San Xavier

GUAIMAS.

Rio Hiaqui

Provincia de Ostimuri

Puerto de S. Martin

Rio Mayo.

Provincia de

Esteros de S. Marcos

Puerto y esteros de San Lucas

Rio del Fuerte

Ahome.

S. Miguel

Bahia de Sta Maria

Rio de Cinaloa

Farallon

Bajos de Cinaloa

Rosario

Mision de la Paz

Bahia de la Paz.

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Enramada de las Palmas.

Cabo de la Cruz.

Bahia de S. Bernabe.

Cabo de San Lucas

Sierra Madre

Canal de Ballenas

Islas de las Ballenas

Islas de las Animas

Islas de San Lazaro

Islas de S. Josef

Islas de S. Ignacio

Islas de S. Thomas

Islas de S. Geronimo

Islas de S. Bernabe

Islas de S. Benito

Islas de S. Pedro Martir

Islas de S. Esteban

Islas de S. Lorenzo

Islas de S. Francisco

Islas de S. Joseph

Islas de Santa Cruz

Islas de Monserrate

Islas de Carmen

Islas de Coronados

Islas de Tiburon

Islas de Angel de la Guarda

Islas de Tortuguitas

Islas de Galapagos

Islas de S. Marcos

Islas de S. Ildefonso

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Islas de S. Ana

Islas de S. Agueda

Islas de S. Ignacio

Islas de S. Josef